

Approaches to Greek Poetry

Trends in Classics – Supplementary Volumes

Edited by

Franco Montanari and Antonios Rengakos

Associate Editors

Evangelos Karakasis · Fausto Montana · Lara Pagani

Serena Perrone · Evina Sistakou · Christos Tsagalis

Scientific Committee

Alberto Bernabé · Margarethe Billerbeck

Claude Calame · Jonas Grethlein · Philip R. Hardie

Stephen J. Harrison · Richard Hunter · Christina Kraus

Giuseppe Mastromarco · Gregory Nagy

Theodore D. Papanghelis · Giusto Picone

Tim Whitmarsh · Bernhard Zimmermann

Volume 73

Approaches to Greek Poetry

Edited by

Marco Ercoles, Lara Pagani, Filippomaria Pontani
and Giuseppe Ucciardello

DE GRUYTER

ISBN 978-3-11-062960-6
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-063188-3
e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-062987-3
ISSN 1868-4785

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018963682

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;
detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2018 Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston
Editorial Office: Alessia Ferreccio and Katerina Zianna
Logo: Christopher Schneider, Laufen
Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

Contents

Foreword — 1

Part I: Homeric exegesis in antiquity

René Nünlist

Observations on Aristarchus' Homeric studies — 11

Stephanos Matthaios

Eratosthenes, Crates and Aristarchus on the Homeric dual. Rethinking the origins of the 'analogy vs. anomaly controversy' — 25

Filippomaria Pontani

***Chi* — 51**

Daniela Colomo

Glossary to *Odyssey* VIII in a new papyrus fragment from the Leipzig Papyrus- und Ostrakasammlung — 61

Part II: Homeric and Hesiodic exegesis in Byzantine manuscripts and texts

Lara Pagani

The *Iliad* "*Textscholien*" in the Venetus A — 83

Fausto Montana

The oldest textual witness of John Tzetzes' *Exegesis of the Iliad* — 107

Davide Muratore

On the sources of Lascaris' edition of the *D-scholia* on the *Iliad* — 133

Marta Cardin and Olga Tribulato

Enumerating the Muses:

Tzetzes in *Hes. Op.* 1 and the parody of catalogic poetry in Epicharmus — 161

Part III: Pindar between scholia and lexica

Claudio Meliadò

***Aristarchomastix*. Dionysius of Sidon between epic and lyric poetry — 195**

Grazia Merro

Theon's Pindaric exegesis: New materials from *marginalia* on papyri — 213

Maria Cannatà Fera

Criticism of Pindar's poetry in the *scholia vetera* — 233

Giuseppe Ucciardello

A lexicographical collection in two manuscripts of Cyrillus' *Lexicon* and a new *testimonium* on Pindar — 261

Part IV: Aeschylus in the exegetical tradition

Marco Ercoles

The imaginative poet:

Aeschylus' *phantasiai* in ancient literary criticism — 287

Renzo Tosi

Aeschylus' scholia in ms. *Ath. Iber.* 209: Two examples — 315

Caterina Franchi

Around Europe in two hundred years:

The wanderings of ms. *Ath. Iber.* 209 — 325

Afterword

Franco Montanari

Ancient scholarship today — 345

List of Contributors — 355

Index rerum — 359

Index locorum — 371

Foreword

This volume collects papers presented at a three-day international conference held at Bologna University (Alma Mater) on May, 23rd–25th, 2016 within the framework of the project FIRB 2012-Futuro in Ricerca “Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Aeschylus: forms and transmission of the ancient exegesis” funded by the Italian Ministry for Education, University and Research (MIUR). The conference brought together the core members of the four research units (Bologna, Genoa, Messina, Venice) with highly qualified scholars from Italy and abroad (UK, Germany, Greece), some of them already engaged in a fruitful collaboration with the research teams. We are grateful to all the invited speakers and the large audience.

To begin with, a few words about the project and its articulation. Reading and studying the corpora of ancient and Byzantine scholia is not an easy task: it requires a preliminary knowledge of the complex mutual relationships between the different layers of these peculiar texts as well as of the interaction of the corpora themselves with their direct or indirect forebears. This effort is complicated by the fact that many works or collections pertaining to ancient scholarship are badly or not yet fully edited. The last decades have seen a remarkable surge of interest in this field, as is recently testified by *e.g.* the *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship* by Montanari/Matthaios/Rengakos or Eleanor Dickey's handbook on the same topic.¹ Fresh efforts in producing modern editions of the scholia to Sophocles or Euripides have just gone into press or are currently ongoing.² This revived interest is very promising and it continues to enhance and modify our knowledge of ancient scholarship and the way in which we are accustomed to discuss these texts and the editorial and exegetical challenges they pose.

Within this framework, the FIRB project has been mainly aimed at covering selected aspects of the critical re-appraisal of Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and Aeschylus in Greek culture throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages. The exegetical material has been handed down in a fragmentary way and in multiple sources encompassing *inter alia* corpora of scholia, lexicographical and grammatical works, scholarly texts on papyri. Our efforts have been concentrated on some pivotal aspects of this daunting and complex field: the material form of the transmission of the exegesis, the examination of some branches of the manuscript

¹ Montanari/Matthaios/Rengakos 2015; Dickey 2007.

² Merro 2008 (ed. of the scholia to the *Rhesus*); Cavarzeran 2016 (ed. of the scholia to Euripides' *Hippolytus*), Xenis 2010a, 2010b and 2018 (edd. of the scholia to Sophocles' *Electra*, *Trachiniae* and *Oedipus at Colonus*), Mastronarde 2017 (preliminary studies towards an online edition of the full corpus of the scholia to Euripides).

evidence hitherto only partially explored, the indirect tradition and the various ways in which the exegetical heritage was received and assimilated in grammatical and lexicographical works.

Homer's *Iliad* and its exegesis have been the focus of the Genoa unit. The ancient and Byzantine scholarly debate on the *Iliad* has been investigated with an in-depth look at the genesis of the various scholiastic classes.³ Some editorial enterprises launched by members of the group also deserve a special mention: a new and really comprehensive edition of the scholia to the *Iliad* (including also the so-called 'D-scholia' and 'h-scholia' both omitted by Erbse's monumental work);⁴ a re-foundation of the *Lessico dei grammatici greci antichi* (LGGA) now hosted at Brill's website as *Lexicon of Greek Grammarians of Antiquity*.⁵ Moreover, a *Supplementum Grammaticum Graecum* (SGG) is currently being prepared: it will consist of critical editions, equipped with translation and commentary of ancient grammarians in close connection with the Jacoby's project (*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*) edited by Stefan Schorn (KU Leuven).⁶

The impressive amount of ancient and Byzantine scholarship on Homer's *Odyssey* and Hesiod has been sifted by the Venice team, leading on the editorial side to the completion of a new volume of the *Scholia in Homeri Odysseam* (books ε-ζ; the following one, covering the books η-θ, is under way), and to the preparation of the first critical edition of John Tzetzes' *Exegesis on the Erga* of Hesiod, an edition which takes into account for the first time all known extant manuscripts.⁷ Other specific topics investigated by the team cover the scanty traces of ancient commentaries to Hesiod on papyrus, some linguistic aspects of Hesiodic exegesis in the lexicographical sources of the Imperial age, as well as forgotten chapters of the Homeric exegesis during the Renaissance.⁸

The Messina group has been working on Pindar and his exegesis throughout the centuries, and has pursued various lines of research: a textual reappraisal of some papyrus commentaries and their relationship with the *scholia vetera*, challenging the widely held belief in the key-role played by Didymus in the development of the scholiastic corpus;⁹ an in-depth exploration of the manuscript tradition of the Moschopoulean commentary to Pindar, only partially edited by Abel in 1891, which has led to a fresh reappraisal of largely neglected fourteenth- and

³ See e.g. Pagani 2014.

⁴ Montana/Montanari/Muratore/Pagani 2017.

⁵ Montana/Montanari/Pagani, in progress.

⁶ Schorn, in progress.

⁷ Pontani 2015 and Cardin, forthcoming.

⁸ Tribulato, forthcoming; Cardin/Pontani 2017; Pontani 2018.

⁹ Merro 2015 and this volume.

fifteenth-century manuscripts;¹⁰ the discovery of some snapshots of exegetical material on Pindar still unedited or overlooked in the repository of late antique and Byzantine lexicography.¹¹

Finally, the exegesis on Aeschylus has been the main concern of the Bologna group, whose research activity has been centered on a broad range of subjects, such as the much-discussed relationship between scholia and ancient *hypomnemata* and lexicography, and a re-assessment of the traces of metrical scholarship and of Stoic and Epicurean exegesis lurking behind our scholiastic material and not yet explored into detail.¹² The careful evaluation of some underestimated manuscripts such as the *Ath. Iber.* 209 (*olim* 161) with its layers of subsequent annotations also deserves an appropriate mention, since the Athos ms. and its history shed new light on the different ways of reading Aeschylus during the Byzantine age and the Renaissance.¹³

The aim of the project was to critically re-evaluate some strands of the ancient and medieval scholarship by adopting an interdisciplinary methodology which blends modern editorial techniques developed for ‘problematic’ or non-authorial medieval texts with current trends in the history of philology and literary criticism.¹⁴

The structure of the present volume reflects by and large the lines of research sketched above. The first section deals with various aspects of the Alexandrian studies on Homer. René Nünlist gives a flavour of his wider investigation of the scholarship of Aristarchus of Samothrace by tackling the latter’s use of metaphor and metonymy (against the background of the Aristotelian categorisation of these terms), his approach to synonyms (particularly the use of the terms ἀντιφράζω and ἐκ παραλλήλου with respect to the mechanisms of verbal expression and syntax), and his views on the authenticity of the *Homeric Hymns*. Starting from a fresh look at the ideas of Eratosthenes, Aristarchus and Crates on the Homeric dual (as transmitted in some scholia to the *Iliad*), Stephanos Matthaïos offers an overall reappraisal of the so-called “anomaly vs. analogy controversy”, from the famous testimony of Varro through the most recent (sometimes skeptical) scholarly views on this topic: he argues that the controversy did exist, and that Eratosthenes should be considered as a forerunner of Crates in the anomalous field. Filippomaria Pontani takes his cue from a largely neglected scholium

¹⁰ Ucciardello, forthcoming.

¹¹ Meliadò 2015 and Ucciardello, this volume.

¹² Ercoles 2015 and forthcoming.

¹³ Ercoles/Franchi, forthcoming and Franchi, this volume.

¹⁴ Pontani 2016.

to ζ 297 in order to discuss the idea that Aristophanes of Byzantium probably used the χ as a critical sign in his *ekdosis* of the *Odyssey*: this incidentally suggests that Aristophanes might indeed, as W. Slater believed, have been the first to produce something like a critical *hypomnema* to Homer. Finally, Daniela Colomo provides the *editio princeps* of *PLips* inv. 1397, a fragment of a papyrus roll of unknown provenance (first century AD) carrying a glossary to *Odyssey* book 8.

The following section deals with questions related to the ancient exegesis on the *Iliad* and on Hesiod, focusing particularly on the scholiastic tradition transmitted by medieval manuscripts and on specific features of some important witnesses. Lara Pagani addresses the issue of the “short scholia” in ms. *Venetus A* and their relationship with the frame-scholia in the same codex. This juxtaposition is traced back to one and the same exegetical tradition: at a certain point it split up into two different paths, responding to different needs, and was later recombined in one single book, with the aim of gathering together all the remains of ancient scholarship and, presumably, of displaying the difference in the type of reading aid supplied by each of the two scholiastic sets. Fausto Montana investigates some scholia penned in ff. 1rv of ms. *Laur. pl.* 32.3 (dated to the eleventh-twelfth centuries on palaeographical grounds) which are not the expected *scholia exegetica* on *Il.* 1.5–12, but rather match passages of John Tzetzes’ *Exegesis of the Iliad* on the same lines: a textual comparison with the corresponding passages in the direct tradition of Tzetzes’ work proves the anteriority of the *Exegesis*, thus forcing us to date the Laurentian ms. after 1143 (likely to be the *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the work). The inquiry of Davide Muratore aims at ascertaining which manuscripts have been employed for the production of Janus Lascaris’ *editio princeps* of the D-scholia: the main exemplar was ms. *Vat. gr.* 33 (whose use by Lascaris is also suggested by the entries in the lending registers of the Vatican Library), whereas totally new scholia and material unknown to the main witnesses of the D-scholia probably derive from a manuscript of the paraphrase of the *Iliad* attributed to Michael Psellos, from Eustathius’ *Parekbolai*, from ms. *Par. gr.* 2681 (owned by Lascaris himself), and, perhaps, from a codex of the ‘h family’. This section closes on a Hesiodic note: a complex paper by Marta Cardin and Olga Tribulato tackles John Tzetzes’ puzzling note to the first two words of the *Erga*, which lists the names of the Muses as reported in Hesiod himself, Eumelus, Epicharmus and Aratus; a fresh analysis of the manuscript transmission of Tzetzes’ commentary, combined with a meticulous linguistic analysis of these name lists (especially Epicharmus’), yields new conclusions on their sense and their *Sitz im Leben*.

The third set of papers is centered on Pindar and some strands of his exegesis and reception in the *scholia vetera* and lexicography. Claudio Meliadò deals with

Dionysius of Sidon, a grammarian of the second century BC. After a survey on his scholarship on epic poetry, including the evidence recently provided by a Florentine papyrus (PL III/979), Meliadò discusses Dionysius' activity on lyric texts (Pindar and probably also Alcman) as it emerges from scholiastic and lexicographical sources. Grazia Merro aims chiefly at tracking down Theon's commentary on Pindar: Theon has been commonly identified as the intermediate step between Didymus' commentary and the medieval scholia. This 'Didymo-centric' approach is revisited and refined by Merro: she contends that new material from Theon might be identified in some marginal annotations of Pindar papyri in view of the analogies with items in the medieval scholia that manifestly derive from Theon himself. Maria Cannatà focuses on several instances of criticism on Pindar in the *scholia vetera*. An early stage of this reception might be contemporary with the poet's lifetime, and has left traces in the scholia showing a clear preponderance of positive judgements. On the other side, the negative remarks on Pindar's work made by the scholiasts (or their sources), however often clumsy or absurd, reveal here and there a perceptive understanding of some crucial aspects of the poet's technique. This section is rounded off by Giuseppe Ucciardello's paper on a little-known orthographic collection transmitted anonymously by two manuscripts of the lexicon attributed to Cyrillus (*Vall.* E 11 and *Laur. pl.* 59.49). After an overview of this material, the author examines an unpublished lexicographical annotation quoting Pindar and Hippocrates on teeth, which might ultimately derive from Diogenianus. This item represents an interesting case-study of the multifaceted paths of dissemination of Pindar's legacy in lexicography.

The last three papers concern ancient exegesis to Aeschylus from two different perspectives: the focus of the first two articles (Ercoles and Tosi) is on the layers of earlier scholarship preserved by Byzantine scholia; the third (Franchi) investigates the history of ms. *Ath. Iber.* 209 (I), an important witness of Aeschylus and his exegesis. Ercoles takes into account some scholia on *Seven against Thebes* and *Eumenides* that resort to the complex notion of *phantasia*, whose different uses point to various approaches to tragedy: beside a rhetorical interest in the so-called *enargeia* or 'graphic quality' of language and in the spectacular visual effects of stage production, there is also a distinctively philosophical, presumably Stoic, interest in epistemological aspects. Tosi, on the other hand, focuses on the scholia on *Pers.* 14 and 869-871 preserved by the Athos ms., both offering an attempt at explaining difficult passages: the first one absurdly applies to Aeschylus an odd Homeric gloss going back to the so-called Glossographers; the other, deriving from a lost commentary by John Tzetzes, takes over from Homeric exegesis a conceivable interpretation of Acheloos. All in all, these two cases restate the need for a careful and well-balanced consideration of every single

scholium. In a stratified and long-lived manuscript such as the Athos codex, the qualitative difference between scholia also largely depends on the different hands which penned annotations in the margins. Franchi tries to reconstruct this history mostly through the study of some marginal notes in the manuscript, which allow to trace its wanderings through time and space (from – possibly – Constantinople to Crete, then to Italy and, finally, back to Greece, to the Monastery of Iviron, where it landed from Margounios' library at the beginning of the seventeenth century). Such annotations, often jotted down by (occasional) readers, clearly show a picture of the manuscript as a working tool which could be annotated and easily written on: something quite different, that is, from modern commented editions or editions *cum notis variorum*.

The volume is rounded off by an outline of the crucial issues relating to the studies on ancient scholarship, written by Franco Montanari and addressing specifically the role of Aristotle and the Peripatos in the birth of Alexandrian philology, as well as the cultural, historical and textual relevance of the critical and philological activity of the Alexandrians and of their later colleagues.

Bibliography

- Cardin, M. (ed.) (forthcoming), *Ioannis Tzetzae Exegesis in Hesiodi Opera et Dies*.
- Cardin, M./Pontani, F. (2017), "Hesiod's Fragments in Byzantium", in Ch. Tsagalis (ed.), *Poetry in Fragments: Studies on the Hesiodic Corpus and its Afterlife*, Berlin, 245–288.
- Cavarzeran, J. (ed.) (2016), *Scholia in Euripidis Hippolytum. Edizione critica, introduzione, indici*, Berlin/New York.
- Ercoles, M. (2015), "Alcuni scolii 'metrici' pre-tricliniani a Eschilo e la loro possibile fonte", in *Eikasmos* 26, 319–332.
- Ercoles, M. (forthcoming), "Dottrine filosofiche ellenistiche negli scolii antichi a Eschilo", in E. Cingano (ed.), *Commentaries on Greek texts. Problems, methods and trends of ancient and Byzantine scholarship*, Roma.
- Ercoles, M./Franchi, C. (forthcoming), "Gli scolii ai *Persiani* di Eschilo nel ms. *Ath. Iber.* 209 (olim 161)", in G. Cavallo (ed.), *Reinterpretare Eschilo*, Roma.
- Mastronarde, D. (2017), *Preliminary Studies on the Scholia to Euripides*, Berkeley.
- Meliadò, C. (2015), "Pindaro ed Eschilo negli scolii a Eliano", in *SemRom* 4, 235–241.
- Merro, G. (ed.) (2008), *Gli scolii al Reso euripideo*, Messina.
- Merro, G. (2015), "POxy XVII 2085: un "nuovo" commentario di Teone?", in *Aegyptus* 95, 3–24.
- Montana, F./Montanari, F./Muratore, D./Pagani, L. (2017), "Towards a new critical edition of the scholia to the *Iliad*: a specimen", in *TiC* 9/1, 1–21.
- Montana, F./Montanari, F./Pagani, L. (eds.) (in progress), *Lexicon of Greek Grammarians of Antiquity*, BrillOnline Reference Works (referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/lexicon-of-greek-grammarians-of-antiquity).
- Montanari, F./Matthaios, S./Rengakos, A. (2015), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*, Leiden/Boston.

- Pagani, L. (2014), “Through the warping glass. A reconsideration on Venetus A subscriptions and the birth of scholiography”, in F. Montana/A. Porro (eds.), *The birth of scholiography. From types to texts*, Berlin/New York (= *TiC* 6/1 [2014]), 39–53.
- Pontani, F. (ed.) (2015), *Scholia Graeca in Odysseam*. III. *Scholia ad libros ε-ζ*, Rome.
- Pontani, F. (2016), “Thoughts on Editing Greek Scholia: The Case of the Exegesis to the *Odyssey*”, in E. Göransson *et al.* (eds.), *The Arts of Editing Medieval Greek and Latin: A Case-book*, Toronto, 312–337.
- Pontani, F. (2018), “On the Good King according to Homer: A Sixteenth-Century Treatise by Christophoros Kondoleon”, in Klooster, J./van den Berg, B. (eds.), *Homer and the Good Ruler in Antiquity and Beyond*, Leiden, 239–258.
- Schorn, S. (ed.) (in progress), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Part IV, BrillOnline Reference Works (referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/fragmente-der-griechischen-historiker-iv).
- Tribulato, O. (forthcoming), “(En)listing the Good Authors: The Recreation of Linguistic Unity in the Antiatticist”, in R. Lämmle/C. Scheidegger Lämmle/K. Wesselmann (eds.), *Lists and Catalogues in the Ancient World and Beyond*, Boston/New York.
- Ucciardello, G. (forthcoming), “Readers of Pindar during the Palaeologan Age: the marginal annotations of Vat. Urb. gr. 140”, in Cingano, E. (ed.), *Commentaries on Greek texts. Problems, methods and trends of ancient and Byzantine scholarship*, Rome.
- Xenis, G. (ed.) (2010a), *Scholia vetera in Sophoclis Electram*, Berlin/New York.
- Xenis, G. (ed.) (2010b), *Scholia vetera in Sophoclis Trachinias*, Berlin/New York.
- Xenis, G. (ed.) (2018), *Scholia vetera in Sophoclis Oedipum Coloneum*, Berlin/Boston.

René Nünlist

Observations on Aristarchus' Homeric studies

Abstract: The chapter combines three observations that all originate with a larger study on Aristarchus' semantic explanations: (1) unlike Aristotle, in his influential model of metaphor, Aristarchus differentiates between metaphor and metonymy, a distinction already found in a papyrus treatise tentatively attributed to Theophrastus; (2) in discussing particular instances of synonymous words, Aristarchus observes that Homer 'contrasts' (ἀντιπράζει) two different words of essentially the same meaning, which testifies to his speech diversity; (3) contrary to the *communis opinio* on the matter, Aristarchus probably held the *Homeric Hymns* to be a genuine work of Homer.

1 Metonymy vs. Metaphor

In order to reconstruct Aristarchus' views on metonymy and metaphor respectively, it is useful to start with his semantic analysis of the adjective κωφός, which to his mind either means 'mute' or 'deaf'.¹ A chief witness is a bT-scholion that, in the wake of Friedländer (1853), has been attributed to Aristonicus and is therefore considered to represent Aristarchus' opinion on the matter. The note in question deals with a well-known passage from *Iliad* 24. There Apollo expresses the view that by dragging Hector's corpse around Patroclus' tomb Achilles maltreats the earth, which is described as κωφή (*Il.* 24.54). The adjective's meaning is discussed in the relevant scholion as follows:

(1) ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀναίσθητον. κέχρηται δὲ τῷ <ε>ἰδικῶ ἀντὶ τοῦ γενικοῦ. κωφὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ προΐεμενον φωνήν· “κωφὸν γὰρ βέλος” (*Il.* 11.390) καὶ “κύματι κωφῶ” (*Il.* 14.16) (sch. bT *Il.* 24.54c Ariston.).

<κωφή is used here> in the sense of (i.e., has the meaning) 'without sense (or feeling)'. For <Homer> has used the species instead of the genus. κωφὸν also <designates> something that does not utter a voice (i.e., something that is mute), <e.g.> 'mute missile' and 'mute wave'.²

1 Cf. sch. A *Il.* 11.390a (≈ Su. κ 2308), A *Il.* 14.16a, bT *Il.* 24.54c (these scholia, and all others discussed in this paper, have been attributed to Aristonicus), with Lehrs (1882, 117–18), Roemer (1924, 20, 23–4).

2 Translations are mine, unless indicated otherwise. They regularly add in pointy brackets what the text of the scholion tacitly presupposes.

In the first part of the scholion (on the second, see below), Aristarchus clearly uses a type of explanation for which several parallels can be adduced from other scholia that can be attributed to Aristonicus.³ Taken together, these notes demonstrate that Aristarchus considered αἴσθησις ('sense-perception') a genus (γένος), of which several species (εἶδη) exist: hearing, touch, vision, etc. This general analysis can be visualised in the form of a stemma. The top of the stemma is occupied by the one genus, αἴσθησις ('sense-perception'), which branches into several species (εἶδη) at the lower level. Read against this backdrop, text (1) easily yields sense. *Iliad* 24.54 means that Achilles maltreats an earth that is literally deaf. But a trope is involved that allows readers to understand that the earth actually has no sense-perception. It is ἀναίσθητος to Achilles' activity. The trope in question is to use the species 'hearing' instead of the genus 'sense-perception'. Text (1) does not expressly state that κωφή means 'deaf' here. But the second part leaves little room for doubt. "κωφόν also <designates> something that does not utter a voice (i.e., something that is mute)", for which two Homeric parallels are given, the mute missile and the mute wave (on which see below). This second meaning ('mute') clearly presupposes a first meaning 'deaf' from which it is set apart.

The opposition between genus (γένος) and species (εἶδος) in all likelihood originates with Aristotelian philosophy and is a standard tool in Aristarchus' grammatical system, as Matthaïos has shown.⁴ The same scholar also suggests a connection to a papyrus treatise that has tentatively been attributed to Theophrastus (P.Hamb. 128 = Theophrastus Appendix F 9 Fortenbaugh). Irrespective of whether Theophrastus is indeed the author, the papyrus' date (ca. 250–200 BC) in any case predates that of Aristarchus' career. It is thus perfectly possible that he was familiar with the theory expounded in the papyrus. Matthaïos' argument in favour of a connection is plausible and can even be pushed a little further.

Of the treatise's many interesting points, the crucial one in the present context is where its author actually parts with Aristotle's well-known model of metaphor and its four categories, as explained in chapter 21 of the *Poetics*:

(2) μεταφορά δέ ἐστιν ὀνόματος ἀλλοτρίου ἐπιφορά ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἐπὶ εἶδος ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶδους ἐπὶ τὸ γένος ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶδους ἐπὶ εἶδος ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον (Arist. *Po.* 1457b6–9).

³ Cf. sch. A *Il.* 4.343a (≈ Su. α 936), A *Il.* 11.532b, A *Il.* 15.252b.

⁴ Matthaïos 1999, 249–51, on his fr. 18.

A metaphor is the application of a word that belongs to another thing: either from genus to species, species to genus, species to species, or by analogy (trans. Halliwell).

According to the papyrus treatise, however, Aristotle's first two types of metaphor, from genus to species and *vice versa*, do not actually belong to the rubric μεταφορά. Instead, the author considers them a form of μετουσία (lit. 'participation', col. 2, ll. 27–33). The term μετουσία and its pedigree are a particular problem that lies beyond the scope of this paper. It is, nevertheless, clear that μετουσία roughly designates 'synekdoche'. Whereas the term μεταφορά ('metaphor') assumes that a word is 'transferred' from its literal surroundings to an area that is essentially foreign to it, its counterpart μετουσία ('synekdoche') expresses that one element 'partakes' of the other. The two elements essentially belong to the same domain. Hearing, for instance, is one possible species (εἶδος) of the genus (γένος) sense-perception and can thus metonymically represent it; it is not metaphorically transferred to another domain. I am suggesting, in other words, that Aristarchus is following the papyrus treatise's model and not Aristotle's.

The relevant argument is not entirely watertight because it must resort to evidence that has its problems, especially with this type of material. No one is ignorant of the fact that scholia have gone through multiple stages of transmission. One consequence is that modern scholars can never be certain that the scholia "represent the *ipsissima verba* of the grammarians".⁵ This in turn means that caution is called for when their argument is built on considerations of terminology. This said, it is nevertheless remarkable that Aristarchus' numerous examples of μεταφορά (and cognates) never deal with a transition from genus to species or *vice versa*.⁶ All his examples of μεταφορά nicely fit into the remaining two Aristotelian categories, that is, from species to species and by analogy.⁷ On the other hand, those Aristarchean notes that, like text (1), comment on the transition from genus to species and *vice versa* do not normally make use of additional terminology that would help to understand his categories and their

⁵ Dyck 1993, 774 n. 5.

⁶ No fewer than approximately fifty Aristarchean notes treat metaphorical expressions, which is why no full list is given here: sch. A *Il.* 1.37e (+ *test.*), A *Il.* 1.51c, A *Il.* 2.49b (+ *test.*), etc., also text (3).

⁷ Cf. text (2). In this connection it is worth mentioning that, when explaining the workings of metaphor in chapter 21, Aristotle himself shows little interest in his first two categories. He thus (involuntarily?) paved the way for the view that they actually do not belong to the rubric 'metaphor' in the first place. Conversely, chapter 25 of the *Poetics* does suggest solving 'problems' by means of metaphors from species to genus (1461a16–21).

boundaries. There is, however, one exception. A note on *Iliad* 4.343 explains that Homer uses the verb ἀκούω ('to hear') in the meaning ἐπαισθάνεσθαι ('to perceive'), "because hearing is a species of sense-perception" (εἶδος αἰσθήσεως, sch. A *Il.* 4.343a). And this figurative usage of the verb is referred to with the adverb τροπικῶς ('figuratively, by means of a trope'). Unfortunately, there is no parallel for this term in the other notes that can be attributed to Aristarchus. So it cannot be ruled out that this note is the proverbial swallow that does not make a summer. Still, the fact that Aristarchus never uses the term μεταφορά (and cognates) for the transition from genus to species or *vice versa* and the fact that such a transition is at least once referred to by a different term, τροπικῶς, both make it more likely than not that he followed the model of the papyrus treatise (and not Aristotle). He too considered the transition from genus to species and *vice versa* a form of (semantic) synekdoche – or at least not a form of metaphor.⁸

Another complicating factor must not go unmentioned. The second part of text (1) argues that *Iliad* 11.390 should be understood as 'mute missile' (κωφὸν βέλος). In the Homeric passage, Diomedes, who has just been hit by Paris' arrow, emphatically downplays its effect ('Ah, it's nothing, a mere scratch!'). Even though the Homeric scene seems largely unproblematic, it is not immediately clear what one is to make of a 'mute missile'.⁹ Is it flying without making noise (i.e., silently, imperceptibly)? Does it not inflict pain? Be that as it may, the actual problem is that Aristarchus' note on the very passage gives an explanation that differs from the one given in text (1):

(3) ὅτι κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀφὴν κωφὸν τὸ ἀνεπαίσθητον (sch. A *Il.* 11.390a [cf. b] ≈ Su. κ 2308).

<The marginal sign,> because, with a metaphorical transition from hearing to touch, κωφὸν means 'without sense (or feeling)'.

In other words, the βέλος in *Iliad* 11.390 is 'deaf', which is described as a metaphor from hearing to touch, that is, from species to species (Aristotle's third category, text 2), with the genus 'sense-perception' (αἰσθησις) transpiring from the translation (ἀνεπαίσθητον). The note does not expressly explain the noun βέλος, but it seems likely that Aristarchus understands it here as 'the wound

⁸ Incidentally, Aristarchus occasionally identifies other cases of synekdoche by means of the expression ἐκ τοῦ παρεπομένου ('from what follows': sch. A *Il.* 2.417a, 13.426a, 14.214a, 16.142a, 23.679a, also 4.123a¹), which likewise occurs in the papyrus treatise next to the term μετουσία (col. 2, ll. 27–8).

⁹ Modern scholars tend to attribute κωφόν in *Il.* 11.390 the sense 'blunt' (e.g. *Lfgre* s.v.).

inflicted by the missile', as he does elsewhere.¹⁰ The wound inflicted by a wimp like Paris is deaf. It cannot be felt or, in other words, does not hurt. At any rate, this explanation of κωφόν in *Iliad* 11.390 ('deaf') is not compatible with the one given in text (1), which clearly considers the adjective to mean 'mute'. It is perhaps too rash to conclude that Friedländer's attribution of text (1) to Aristonicus is mistaken. As shown, the notion that hearing is a species of sense-perception is perfectly in line with Aristarchus' views. But the explanation specifically of *Iliad* 11.390 remains a problem that must not be swept under the rug. The possible solution to give Aristarchus only the first half of text (1) and to deny him the second does not help because the explanation of the 'mute wave' in *Iliad* 14.16 at the end of text (1) is in fact in agreement with his note on that passage (sch. A *Il.* 14.16a). There seems to be something wrong specifically with the interpretation of *Iliad* 11.390 in text (1). While this is an unsatisfactory answer to the problem, it does not affect the main point that, in differentiating metaphor and metonymy, Aristarchus appears to be following the author of the papyrus treatise and not Aristotle.

2 Synonyms and speech diversity

This section starts from what is arguably the Homeric word *par excellence*, μῆνις ('wrath'), the notorious opening word of the *Iliad*. Given the word's prominence, it is hardly surprising that Aristarchus discusses its meaning on several occasions.¹¹ What is less expected, however, is that the relevant notes seem to contradict each other. The salient point is whether or not there is a noticeable difference between μῆνις and other terms that belong to the same semantic field, for instance, χόλος. To judge from the collected evidence, Aristarchus does not seem to express an unequivocal opinion on the matter. On the one hand, several notes clearly argue that μῆνις and χόλος are synonyms, for example, in the commentary on a passage from *Iliad* 15. Ares is angry and on the verge of entering the battle. Had Athena not prevented him from doing so, "there might have been wrought another anger (χόλος), and bitterness (μῆνις) from Zeus, still greater".¹²

¹⁰ Sch. A *Il.* 8.513b (sim. Su. β 234), also sch. A *Il.* 14.439a, with Lehrs (1882, 59), van der Valk (1964, 96).

¹¹ Ap.S. 112.24, sch. A *Il.* 4.513a, 9.261b, 15.122a, 16.30b, 16.62a, 19.67b, 23.543b, 24.395.

¹² ἔνθα κ' ἔτι μείζων τε καὶ ἀργαλέωτερος ἄλλος | παρ Διὸς ἀθανάτοισι χόλος καὶ μῆνις ἐτύχθη (*Il.* 15.121–2, trans. Lattimore).

The immediate juxtaposition of the two semantically related words caught Aristarchus' attention and had him mark the passage with the marginal sign:

(4) ὅτι ἐκ παραλλήλου ὡς ἰσοδυναμοῦντα τὸν χόλον καὶ τὴν μῆνιν (sch. A *Il.* 15.122a).¹³

<The marginal sign,> because <Homer has put the words> 'anger' (χόλος) and 'wrath' (μῆνις) in juxtaposition (ἐκ παραλλήλου) as synonyms (lit. as having the same force/meaning).

This explanation is straightforward and not really open to doubt. On the other hand, there are notes such as the one on the passage from *Iliad* 4 where Apollo emphatically urges the Trojans to launch an attack because Achilles is not fighting, "but mulls his heartsore anger" (4.513: χόλον θυμαλγέα πέσσει). That passage too was marked with the marginal sign in Aristarchus' text:

(5) ὅτι ἀντιφράζει τὸν χόλον τῇ μῆνιδι ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προσώπου (sch. A *Il.* 4.513a).¹⁴

<The marginal sign,> because <Homer> contrasts (ἀντιφράζει) <the word> 'anger' (χόλος) with 'wrath' (μῆνις) with respect to the same character.

Needless to say, "the same character" must refer here to Achilles. Aristarchus points out that the present passage speaks of Achilles' χόλος ('anger'), whereas elsewhere, in the opening line of the epic in particular, Achilles' emotional state is called μῆνις ('wrath'). The contrast between the two words is expressed by means of the verb ἀντιφράζω. Homer (or Apollo) contrasts χόλος with μῆνις.

One type of note, exemplified by text (4), declares the two words to be synonymous, another, exemplified by text (5), notices a contrast. Is Aristarchus contradicting himself? Or has Aristonicus misunderstood him? As a matter of fact, the contradiction is only apparent.¹⁵ The crucial point is the exact meaning of the verb ἀντιφράζω in text (5) and the parallels listed in n. 14. The same term recurs in Aristarchus' treatment of two other pairs of Homeric words that are roughly synonymous. In *Iliad* 21, Achilles encounters Asteropaeus on the battlefield. Achilles casts his spear, but misses his target. Instead the spear hits

¹³ Sim. sch. A *Il.* 16.30b (ὡς ἰσοδυναμῶν), also 16.62a (παραλλήλως), 23.543b. For the term ἰσοδυναμέω cf. also sch. A *Il.* 1.244c, 2.8b, 5.194a, etc.; on παραλλήλως see below. Juxtaposition of synonymous words is also discussed in sch. A *Il.* 16.636a¹ (ἐξ ἐπαναλήψεως ... τὸ αὐτό, with two parallels: *Od.* 12.92, *Il.* 16.251).

¹⁴ Cf. sch. A *Il.* 9.261b, 19.67b, 24.395 (all with reference to Achilles), also 16.30b (where ἀντιμεταλαμβάνω is used instead of ἀντιφράζω).

¹⁵ The present explanation allows me to solve the riddle that I previously felt unable to crack (Nünlist 2012, 206).

“the high bank (of the river)” (21.171: ὑψηλὴν ... ὄχθην). Asteropaeus, for his part, fails to pull out the spear of Achilles and is killed by him. Achilles then utters a vaunting speech and pulls out his spear “from the river bank” (21.200: ἐκ κρημνοῖο). The spear hits the ὄχθη in line 171 and is pulled from the κρημνός in line 200. Aristarchus cannot help commenting on this peculiar wording:

(6) ὅτι ἀντιπέφρακε τῇ ὄχθῃ (cf. *Il.* 21.171–2) τὸν κρημνόν (sch. *AT Il.* 21.200).¹⁶

<The marginal sign,> because <Homer> has contrasted the ὄχθη with the κρημνός (both ‘river bank’).

A very similar argument is made in a note on a speech from *Iliad* 14. The Trojan Acamas avenges the death of his brother by killing a Greek. He addresses the Greek army a speech of triumph which ends as follows: I killed your comrade “so that punishment for my brother (κασίγνητος) may not go long unpaid. Therefore a man prays he will leave behind him one close to him (γνωτός) in his halls to avenge his downfall in battle”.¹⁷ The passage juxtaposes two terms of kinship, κασίγνητος and γνωτός, which Aristarchus discusses as follows:

(7) ὅτι ἀντιπέφρακε τὸν γνωτὸν τῷ κασίγνητῳ σαφῶς· ἔστι γὰρ ἀδελφός (sch. *A Il.* 14.485a).¹⁸

<The marginal sign,> because <Homer> has clearly contrasted κασίγνητος with γνωτός. For it (sc. γνωτός) is (i.e., means) ‘brother’.

Aristarchus’ argument is essentially the same in both cases (texts 6 and 7): Homer is using in relative proximity two words that are synonymous: ὄχθη and κρημνός (‘river bank’), κασίγνητος and γνωτός (‘brother’). In both notes, the actual purpose of the verb ἀντιπράζω is to draw attention to the speech diversity. Even though the two words essentially mean the same, Homer makes an effort to diversify his epic by using two different words instead of the same. The closer the two words are in the text, the more noticeable the contrast becomes. This contrast, however, does not refer to meaning (the relevant words are in fact synonyms) but the contrast refers to diversity in verbal expression.¹⁹ The wider

¹⁶ Cf. sch. *A Il.* 21.172c, Su. κ 2388.

¹⁷ ... ἵνα μή τι κασίγνητοῖό γε ποινή | δηρὸν ἄτιτος ἔη· τῷ καὶ τίς τ’ εὐχεται ἀνὴρ | γνωτὸν ἐνὶ μεγάροις Ἄρεως ἀλκτῆρα γενέσθαι (*Il.* 14.483–5, trans. Lattimore).

¹⁸ On γνωτός = ‘brother’ see also sch. *A Il.* 15.336, 17.35, with Lehrs (1882, 149).

¹⁹ Contrast in meaning is expressed, for instance, by διαστέλλω: sch. *A Il.* 4.140a, 4.540, 7.482a, 14.424a, etc.

background of these notes may well be didactic, since a standard goal of ancient education was that readers improved their verbal skills by reading the great ‘Classics’, Homer in particular.

With the suggested explanation of the verb ἀντιφράζω, the contradiction in Aristarchus’ treatment of μῆνις and χόλος in texts (4) and (5) turns out to be apparent only. He does consider the two words synonymous;²⁰ at the same time he points out that Homer diversifies his account when he applies them both to the same character.²¹

Aristarchus’ discussion in text (4) is the springboard for two further observations. First, the T-scholion on the same passage deserves attention.²² Its first part consists of a single word and is simply a highly condensed version of Aristarchus’ explanation. The second part, however, reports that other critics (οἱ δέ) offer an alternative explanation. Unlike Aristarchus, they do not treat χόλος and μῆνις as synonyms, but consider χόλος the genus (and, no doubt, μῆνις the species, hence Wilamowitz’ supplement). The similarity of this argument to the one expounded in the first section of this paper will be obvious. Here, however, it is used to contradict Aristarchus.

Second, it is worth taking a closer look at the expression ἐκ παραλλήλου and its twin παραλλήλως. In modern secondary literature, the two expressions are usually taken to designate the juxtaposition of two synonymous words, a feature that is so typical of Homeric style and its redundancies.²³ An examination of the actual attestations reveals, however, that the two expressions are somewhat less specific than the usual rendering in modern scholarship suggests. An important witness is a note on *Iliad* 13. In response to Meriones’ dilemma that, if he returned to the camp to get new weapons, he might look like a coward, Idomeneus tells him not to worry about his valour: “Why need you speak (λέγεσθαι) of it? If now

²⁰ Lehrs’ analysis of the evidence is correct (1882, 132–3), but he fails to explain the peculiar meaning of ἀντιφράζω.

²¹ Unsurprisingly, this use of ἀντιφράζω is found outside of Aristarchus’ commentaries, for instance, in the exegetical scholia: bT *Il.* 13.477b ex., bT *Il.* 15.16b ex. (Erbse withdraws the *crucis* in the *corrigenda*), T *Il.* 16.61b ex. (on χόλος and μηνιθμός, following Aristarchus: sch. A *Il.* 16.62a). In some cases, e.g. sch. bT *Il.* 13.363c ex., the synonymous words are not in textual proximity. This probably means that ἀντιφράζω can also have the more general meaning ‘to express the same idea differently’, which in turn resembles the meaning ‘to translate’ (for which see LSJ s.v.).

²² Sch. T *Il.* 15.122b ex.: παραλλήλως· οἱ δὲ χόλος γενικῶς (“in juxtaposition; others <take> ‘anger’ as the genus”, Wilamowitz supplements, μῆνις εἰδικῶς, “‘wrath’ as the species”).

²³ Cf. e.g. Bachmann (1904, 19), Erbse (1960, 321), Matthaios (1999, 250), Nünlist (2012, 206).

beside the ships all the best of us were to be counted (λεγοίμεθα) ...".²⁴ The passage combines two attestations of the verb λέγομαι in two rather different meanings, as Aristarchus remarks in his note:

(8) ἡ διπλῆ δέ, ὅτι παραλλήλως τὸ λεγοίμεθα, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοίμεθα (sc. *Il.* 13.276), ποτὲ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ διαλεγοίμεθα (sc. 13.275) (sch. A *Il.* 13.276–87).

The diplê (= marginal sign), because λεγοίμεθα <occurs> in juxtaposition, once in the meaning 'to be counted' (in line 276), once in the meaning 'to speak' (in line 275).

Obviously, παραλλήλως cannot refer here to the juxtaposition specifically of synonymous words, since the semantic difference is what triggered Aristarchus' note in the first place.²⁵ The conclusion seems to be that ἐκ παραλλήλου originally designates the notable juxtaposition of words in general, not that of synonymous words specifically. Notes such as text (4) suggest that, normally speaking, the point about the synonymy would expressly be made (ὡς ἰσοδυναμοῦντα). But the T-scholion on the same passage (n. 22) shows how easy it was for the shorthand to acquire the meaning 'juxtaposition of synonymous words' that dominates modern scholarship.

A second witness again makes recourse to the opposition of genus and species that is the subject of section 1. Aristarchus takes exception to Zenodotus' text in *Iliad* 5.162. In a simile, a lion attacks a herd and breaks the neck "of a heifer or an ox" (πόρτιος ἢ ἐ βοός). Zenodotus' text has βουκόλου ('cowboy') instead of πόρτιος ('heifer') and is rejected by Aristarchus in the following way:

(9) ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει "βουκόλου ἢ ἐ βοός". παραλλήλως δὲ τὸ εἶδος τῷ γένει τέταχεν (sch. A *Il.* 5.162a).

<The marginal sign,> because Zenodotus writes 'of a cowboy or an ox'. But <Homer> has put species (i.e., heifer) and genus (i.e., ox) in juxtaposition.

²⁴ τί σε χρή ταῦτα λέγεσθαι; | εἰ γὰρ νῦν παρὰ νηυσὶ λεγοίμεθα πάντες ἄριστοι ... (*Il.* 13.275–6). The translation of line 276 follows Aristarchus' interpretation ('to be counted'), whereas modern scholarship favours the meaning 'to assemble' or 'to be selected' (*Lfgre* s.v.). The meaning 'to assemble' is not unknown to Aristarchus (sch. A *Il.* 2.435a¹).

²⁵ Virtually the same argument is made in sch. *Od.* 4.451d Ariston. (p. 48–9 Carnuth). Cf. also sch. A *Il.* 15.437–8 on the difference (διαφορά) between two pronouns in juxtaposition. Erbse (1960, 321 with n. 2) recognises that text (8) is different, but curiously writes that παραλλήλως can designate both synonymy and homonymy, as if the two were the same. Incidentally, text (8) is perhaps better seen as discussing polysemy.

As in text (8), παραλλήλως cannot refer here to literal synonymy. Instead, it indicates the juxtaposition of genus and species that, according to Aristarchus, was not recognised by Zenodotus, who therefore felt the need to alter the text.²⁶ The overall conclusion is, to repeat, that ἐκ παραλλήλου and παραλλήλως normally describe words in juxtaposition or textual proximity. The specific nature of the juxtaposition that is highlighted by Aristarchus must be worked out by carefully analysing the relevant note and the Homeric passage to which it refers.

3 The genuine works of Homer

The starting-point is again a semantic question, more specifically a feature of Homeric poetry that, in the wake of Milman Parry, is now usually called ‘generic epithets’. The point of reference is a passage from *Iliad* 14 where Diomedes mentions his father Tydeus, “whom now the heaped earth covers over in Thebe” (14.114: ὃν Θήβησι χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν). In his note on the passage, Aristarchus maintains that the expression χυτὴ ... γαῖα (‘heaped earth’) is not generic:

(10) ὅτι “χυτὴ γῆ” ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐπιχειομένη, οὐ καθολικῶς, ὡς “<γαῖα> μέλαινα” (*Il.* 2.699 etc.) καὶ “<γαῖα> φερέσβιος” (*Hes. Th.* 693, *h.Ap.* 341) (sch. A *Il.* 14.114a).

<The marginal sign,> because χυτὴ γῆ is the earth that is heaped up over the dead bodies, not generically, like ‘black <earth>’ and ‘life-bearing <earth>’.

The argument is straightforward. Of the epithets that can form a phrase with the noun ‘earth’ (γαῖα), ‘black’ (μέλαινα) and ‘life-bearing’ (φερέσβιος) are generic, while ‘heaped’ (χυτὴ) is not.²⁷ The latter has a meaning that is specific to its particular context. The problem is that Aristarchus’ second example of a generic epithet, φερέσβιος, is not attested in Homer, neither the adjective as such nor the

²⁶ Similarly, in sch. A *Il.* 5.194a Zenodotus takes exception to a pair of synonyms in juxtaposition, which is again defended by Aristarchus.

²⁷ The point that χυτὴ (γῆ) is not generic occurs elsewhere (sch. A *Il.* 6.464b, 23.256, sch. *Od.* 3.258f, with Lehrs 1882, 102, Severyns 1928, 223), though without contrasting it with epithets that are in fact generic as in text (10). On Aristarchus’ treatment of generic epithets see Nünlist (2009, 300–1, with lit.).

specific phrase γαῖα φερέσβιος, which is the focus of his observation.²⁸ The phrase γαῖα φερέσβιος is found once in Hesiod (*Th.* 693) and once in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (341).²⁹ Text (10) has therefore been included in a recent article in which I examine the meaning of the well-known phrase Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὀμήρου σαφηνίζειν ('to elucidate Homer from Homer'). Among other things, the article offers a list of fifteen examples where Aristarchus' argument decisively rests on evidence that is not Homeric. The list thus demonstrates that he does not follow his rule with utmost rigour.³⁰

The fundamental point that Aristarchus occasionally takes the liberty to ignore his own methodological principle remains valid, but it is less clear to me now whether it was appropriate to use text (10) as evidence. In arguing the point, I followed the *communis opinio* that Alexandrian scholars normally do not treat the *Homeric Hymns* as genuine.³¹ This general view, however, needs to be qualified in at least two ways. First, it is an argument from silence. The Alexandrian critics are believed to doubt the authenticity of the *Hymns* because they ignore them.³² Second, the very word φερέσβιος is explicitly considered Homeric by Aristarchus' pupil Apollodorus of Athens.³³ Normally, this is taken as the proverbial exception that proves the rule. Leaving aside the dubiousness of this methodological principle, it is perhaps worth taking Apollodorus' testimony more seriously. If he took the *Homeric Hymns* to be genuine, why not his teacher Aristarchus? There is no positive evidence to the contrary.³⁴ And text (10) may well point in the other direction if one assumes that Aristarchus adduces two generic epithets, μέλαινα and φερέσβιος, that he both considers genuinely Homeric.

²⁸ Sch. A *Il.* 10.226 (= Glossographers fr. 7a Dyck) demonstrates that Aristarchus had a clear view of whether or not a word is attested in Homer.

²⁹ For the adjective φερέσβιος see also *h.Cer.* 450, 451, 469, *hh* 30.9. The noun-epithet formula γαῖα μέλαινα is common (*Il.* 2.699 etc.).

³⁰ Cf. Nünlist (2015, esp. 391–3 for the fifteen examples).

³¹ The *locus classicus* is Pfeiffer's assertion that Aristotle codified the view that only the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are by Homer (Pfeiffer 1968, 73–4). Pfeiffer himself admits, however, that Aristotle considered the *Margites* to be genuine too (*Po.* 1448b30). What is more, it is clear neither what the evidence is for Pfeiffer's claim that Zenodotus followed Aristotle in holding *Iliad* and *Odyssey* alone to be genuine (1968, 117, 204–5) nor why this 'codification' should automatically and universally be shared by all the Alexandrians, since they disagree on so many other questions.

³² Wünsch (1914, 152).

³³ FGrHist 244 F 281 = sch. Ge *Il.* 21.319d ex., cf. *test.* 16 Allen/Halliday/Sikes.

³⁴ To my knowledge, sch. A *Il.* 7.475a is the only Aristarchean fragment that touches upon the question of works that have falsely been attributed to Homer (τὰ ἐπιβεβληκότα Ὀμήρῳ). No details are given.

Moreover, there is another witness that corroborates this hypothesis. A simile in *Iliad* 16 says about wolves, among other things, that, after devouring a deer, their “belly is full” (16.163: περιστένεται δέ τε γαστήρ). Aristarchus deliberates how to analyse the verb:

(11) ὅτι ἔστι μὲν ἐκδέξασθαι καὶ τὸ στενοχωρεῖται· “στεινόμενος νεκύεσσιν” (*Il.* 21.220)· ὥστε καταστρέφειν εἰς τὸ βαρύνεται. βέλτιον δὲ παρεμπεπτωκέναι τὸ σ ὡς ἐπὶ γῆς φερέσβιου ὥστε εἶναι καὶ τὸ “περιστένεται” ἀντὶ τοῦ περιτείνεται διὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι τοῦ αἵματος (sch. A *Il.* 16.163a, sim. b).

<The marginal sign,> because, on the one hand, it is possible also to understand <the belly> ‘is congested’, <cf.> ‘congested with dead bodies’ (*Il.* 21.220, Scamander speaking of himself), with the result that <the meaning here> is moving toward <the belly> ‘is heavy’. It is, however, better <to assume> that the *sigma* has been inserted, as in γῆ φερέσβιος, with the result that περιστένεται has the sense of <the belly> ‘is stretched’, owing to its being filled with blood.

The preferred second solution considers the *sigma* in περιστένεται to be ‘parasitic’, a general linguistic phenomenon for which the parallel (γῆ) φερέσβιος is adduced. This explanation, which culminates in connecting the relevant verb περιστένεται with περιτείνω (‘to be stretched’), is unlikely to win favour with modern Homerists, but in the present context this is hardly relevant. Just as in text (10), Aristarchus appears to consider φερέσβιος a Homeric adjective, which now provides a suitable example of parasitic *sigma*.³⁵ The preceding argument is perhaps not strong enough actually to prove that Aristarchus considered the *Homeric Hymns* genuine. But it certainly raises this explanation as a possibility that deserves to be taken seriously.³⁶

In this connection, another observation is worth making. The fifteen examples that demonstrate how Aristarchus sometimes resorts to non-Homeric

³⁵ Incidentally, Apollodorus of Athens (cf. n. 33) refers to φερέσβιος for the same reason (parasitic *sigma*). In light of text (11) it seems likely that he is following his teacher Aristarchus. φερέσβιος receives the same explanation in ‘Tryphon’ *Pass.* 1.18, 2.16 Schneider (under the rubric παρέμπτωσις), Hdn. 2.292.11 Lentz (= EM 790.40), *Ep.Hom.* ε 98 Dyck.

³⁶ A second example is something of a long shot. Sch. A *Il.* 22.494a mentions that the noun κοτύλη is a type of cup and has a masculine equivalent, κότυλος. That form is actually not found in Homer (which is why Friedländer athetised the relevant section of the scholion, in turn defended by van der Valk 1963, 587–8) and poorly attested in general (all quoted by Athenaeus: Alcaeus fr. 417 Voigt, Ion of Chios 19 F 51 Snell, Aristophanes fr. 68.2 K–A, Hermippus fr. 29 K–A, Plato Com. fr. 46.9, 48 K–A, Eubulus fr. 71 K–A, Polemon fr. 88 Preller, and, postdating Aristarchus, Diodorus *Gloss. ital.* 128 K–A, Pamphilus fr. XVII Schmidt). It is striking, but perhaps no more, that one of the rare attestations of κότυλος comes from an *Homeric Epigram* (14.3).

evidence (see n. 30 above) have a common denominator: Aristarchus normally makes it explicit that he is quoting or referring to an author other than Homer – with two exceptions. One is text (10), the other a note on a passage from *Iliad* 18 where he takes issue with Zenodotus' text. Zenodotus apparently did not like the phrase ὅπα χάλκεον ('brazen voice', 18.222), presumably because it contradicts the rules of grammatical agreement (feminine noun, masculine adjective). He therefore read χαλκήην and incurred Aristarchus' criticism:

(12) <ὅτι> ἀμέτρως ὁ Ζηνόδοτος “ὅπα χαλκήην”, οὐ συνείς ὅτι παραπλήσιόν ἐστι τὸ σχῆμα τῷ “κλυτὸς Ἴπποδάμεια” (*Il.* 2.742) καὶ “θερμὸς αὐτμή” (*Hes. Th.* 696 = *h.Merc.* 110) (*sch. A Il.* 18.222b¹).³⁷

<The marginal sign, because> Zenodotus unmetrically <reads> ὅπα χαλκήην, not understanding that the scheme (*sc.* feminine noun with masculine adjective) is similar to 'famous Hippodameia' (κλυτὸς Ἴπποδάμεια) and 'warm blaze' (θερμὸς αὐτμή).

Aristarchus argues that the combination of a feminine noun with a masculine adjective is a departure from 'standard' Greek that, at least in poetry, is not uncommon and illustrates the point with two examples. The first is the standard Homeric example for this phenomenon (see fr. 33 Matthaios with *test.*). The second is not attested in the Homeric epics. Since Aristarchus is not explicitly saying that he is quoting Hesiod, it may well be that he actually has in mind the identical passage from the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*. That passage does not need to be marked as non-Homeric because Aristarchus considers the *Hymns* genuine.³⁸

The view prevalent in modern scholarship that the Alexandrian critics denied Homer the *Hymns* solely rests, as seen, on the argument that they ignore them. Texts (10) to (12) seriously undermine this argument.³⁹ This in turn means that, at the very least, the possibility that Aristarchus held the *Homeric Hymns* to be genuine can no longer be ruled out.

³⁷ Cf. *sch. T Il.* 22.480a², *sch. Od.* 4.442c, 4.709b1 (all attributed to Aristonicus).

³⁸ In this he is followed by Lesbonax fr. 2 Blank, who equally considers θερμὸς αὐτμή Homeric. For Kayser (1861, 354) the thought that Aristarchus might quote the *Hymns* or Hesiod was so unbearable that he concluded Aristarchus must have read θερμὸς αὐτμή in *Od.* 12.369 (rejected by Ludwig in his edition).

³⁹ Further research may well produce more examples such as text (10), whose connection with the *Homeric Hymns* is not identified in Erbse's edition. Incidentally, an exegetical scholion (*sch. bT Il.* 1.477b ex.) is referring to *hh* 28.4.

Bibliography

- Bachmann, W. (1904), *Die ästhetischen Anschauungen Aristarchs in der Exegese und Kritik der homerischen Gedichte*, Teil 2, Nürnberg.
- Dyck, A. (1993), 'Aelius Herodianus: recent studies and prospects for future research', in *ANRW* II 34.1, 772–94.
- Erbse, H. (1960), *Beiträge zur Überlieferung der Iliasscholien*, München.
- Friedländer, L. (1853), *Aristonici Περὶ σημείων ἱλιάδος reliquiae emendatiores*, Göttingen.
- Kayser, W. (1861), "Bemerkungen zu Homer", in *Philologus* 17, 350–4.
- Lehrs, K. (1882), *De Aristarchi studiis Homericis*, 3rd ed., Leipzig.
- Matthaios, S. (1999), *Untersuchungen zur Grammatik Aristarchs: Texte und Interpretation zur Wortartenlehre*, Göttingen.
- Nünlist, R. (2009), *The Ancient Critic at Work: Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia*, Cambridge.
- Nünlist, R. (2012), 'Aristarch und das frühgriechische Epos', in Meier-Brügger, M. (ed.), *Homer, gedeutet durch ein großes Lexikon. Akten des Hamburger Kolloquiums vom 6.–8. Oktober 2010 zum Abschluss des Lexikons des frühgriechischen Epos*, Berlin, 193–214.
- Nünlist, R. (2015), 'What does Ὅμηρον ἔξ Ὀμήρου σαφηνίζειν actually mean?', in *Hermes* 143, 385–403.
- Pfeiffer, R. (1968), *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginning to the End of the Hellenistic Age*, Oxford.
- Roemer, A. (1924), *Die Homerexegese Aristarchs in ihren Grundzügen*, ed. by E. Belzner, Paderborn.
- Severyns, A. (1928), *Le cycle épique dans l'école d'Aristarque*, Liège.
- van der Valk, M. (1963–4), *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad*, 2 vols., Leiden.
- Wünsch, R. (1914), 'Hymnos', in *RE* 9.1, 140–83.

Stephanos Matthaios

Eratosthenes, Crates and Aristarchus on the Homeric dual. Rethinking the origins of the ‘analogy vs. anomaly controversy’

Abstract: The corpus of the Iliadic scholia preserves two testimonies documenting Eratosthenes’ views on the Homeric use of the dual and at the same time placing the Cyrenaic scholar within the ancient debate on the peculiarities and the correctness (or incorrectness) of the dual forms attested in Homer. Starting from an analysis of both Eratosthenes’ fragments and on the basis of the particular connection between Eratosthenes, Crates and Aristarchus drawn in these testimonies, my paper aims at investigating the theoretical background of the ancient views on the Homeric use of the dual. The investigation leads to a substantial quarrel between Alexandrian and Pergamenian scholarship, the so-called ‘analogy vs. anomaly controversy’. After a discussion of the ancient quarrel and also of the objections expressed by current research on its historicity, I will try to reconsider the contents of the debate and also evaluate the position of Eratosthenes within this issue.

Introduction

The corpus of the Iliadic scholia preserves two testimonies documenting Eratosthenes’ views on the Homeric use of the dual and at the same time placing the Cyrenaic scholar within the ancient debate on the peculiarities and the correctness (or incorrectness) of the dual forms attested in Homer. The first testimony, *Schol. Hom. Il.* 10.364*b*, refers to the morphology of the verbal dual.¹ According to Aristonicus, Aristarchus argued against Eratosthenes’ interpretation of the form διώκετον in *Il.* 10.364. The problem underlying this passage is the meaning of διώκετον according to its grammatical person and tense and, beyond that, the

My sincere thanks go to the editors of the present volume for their accurate reading and their stimulating comments, from which my contribution took immense advantage. I am also greatly indebted to Ineke Sluiter (Leiden), Alessandro Garcea (Paris-Sorbonne), Pierre Swiggers and Alfons Wouters (both KU Leuven) for their feedback on a previous version of my paper.

¹ The scholion is quoted below, p. 29. The grammatical problem attested in this testimony and the ancient explanations are also discussed below, p. 28–31 and 44–45.

correct assignment of the Homeric dual forms in -τον to the morphological paradigm of the verbal dual. The second testimony, *Schol. Hom. Il.* 24.282, concerns the semantics of dual, especially the quantitative relation expressed by the dual in its Homeric usage.² Eratosthenes is once more attacked by Aristarchus, in this case because he accepted – in agreement with the Pergamene scholar Crates of Mallos – the dual in a plural sense; this explanation is in Aristarchus' view totally wrong. The interpretative principle of Eratosthenes and Crates is illustrated on the basis of the quantitative relation expressed by the dual expression τὼ μὲν ζευγνύσθην in *Il.* 24.281. If one followed Eratosthenes' and Crates' view – this is the objection of Aristarchus as reported by Aristonicus –, the dual would refer not to the two persons κῆρυξ καὶ Πρίαμος mentioned in *Il.* 24.282, but to the nine sons of Priam enumerated in the previous passage *Il.* 24.249–52. Both issues, morphology and semantics of dual, present a controversial topic within ancient as well as modern Homeric scholarship and linguistics.

The two Homeric scholia were for the first time accommodated in an edition of Eratosthenes' fragments through Strecker's collection of Lycophron's, Euphronius' and Eratosthenes' works on Attic comedy, published in 1884. According to Strecker, both quotations stem from Eratosthenes' treatise *On the Old comedy*; furthermore, they are presented in Strecker's edition as a single unit.³ *Schol. Hom. Il.* 10.364*b* appears as the main fragment – this is Eratosth. fr. 35 –, whereas *Schol. Hom. Il.* 24.282 serves just as a *comparandum* to the previous scholion. The connection of both scholia and their appearing under one and the same fragment, as well as their adscription to Eratosthenes' writing *On the Old comedy* are problematic. For several different reasons more recent research has raised objections against Strecker's view on the provenance of one or both Homeric scholia and on their assignment to the specific work of Eratosthenes.⁴ Also the combination of

² The testimony is cited verbatim below, p. 31. See the discussion below, p. 31–33 and 43–44.

³ See Strecker 1884, 34. For Eratosthenes' writing Περί τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας and for its title and contents as well as for the sources of the extant fragments, see Strecker 1884, 12–22, Nesselrath 1990, 176–180, Bagordo 1998, 37–40 and Geus 2002, 291–301; cf. Knaack 1907, 383–384, Pfeiffer 1978, 200–203, Tosi 1994, 167–171 and Matthaïos 2011, 56–57.

⁴ The first scholar to doubt Strecker's adscription of *Schol. Hom. Il.* 24.282 to Eratosthenes' work *On the Old comedy* was Knaack 1907, 384. Concerning the provenance of *Schol. Hom. Il.* 10.364*b*, however, Knaack followed Strecker's attribution of the scholion to the specific Eratosthenic writing. Conversely Pfeiffer 1978, 202 expressed some reservations on Strecker's adscription of *Schol. Hom. Il.* 10.364*b* to Eratosthenes' work *On the Old Comedy*, but he left *Schol. Hom. Il.* 24.282 unmentioned. Tosi 1994, 171, took both quotations into consideration and thought that Eratosthenes' views documented in both scholia probably derived from „un σύγγραμμα di Eratostene sull'uso omerico del duale“. Based on the evidence of a previously unknown work of Eratosthenes with the title Εἰς τὸν ἐν τῇ Ἰλιάδι attested in P.Turner 39 (l. 2), Geus 2002, 303 n. 105 thought

both Homeric scholia in one single fragment, in a way that one serves as a testimony for the other, seems doubtful, though research has followed Strecker's view in regarding them together as a single unit.⁵ The first question, i.e. the original place of each fragment or of both of them within Eratosthenes' oeuvre, cannot be presented in detail in this paper.⁶ In connection with this issue, however, it should be mentioned that the fact that the explanation of διώκετον reported in *EM* 280.28 s.v. on the basis of a testimony deriving from Aristophanes (fr. 603 Kassel/Austin) does not correspond to that of Eratosthenes,⁷ makes the assignment of *Schol. Hom. Il.* 10.364*b* to Eratosthenes' treatise *On the Old Comedy* appear problematic. Yet, the testimony from *EM* provided the most apparent argument for Strecker's assumption according to which the explanation of the Homeric dual form διώκετον was motivated by the language of comedy and, as such, was originally part of the relevant Eratosthenic writing.⁸ Since Strecker's reconstruction proves to be questionable, one should pose the question of the provenance of both Eratosthenic fragments anew.

The most plausible candidate seems to be the treatise of the Cyrenaic scholar consisting of two books under the title *Grammatika*, the oldest treatise known to us dealing with philological science and, inasmuch as we can be aware of its

that the subject of this Eratosthenic work could have been the investigation of the Homeric use of dual; according to Geus' view, both fragments could derive from this specific treatise of Eratosthenes; see also Geus 2002, 302 n. 104. On Geus' views, however, concerning the existence of an Eratosthenic treatise exclusively dealing with the dual, and on the possible contents of the Eratosthenic work known through P.Turner 39, see Matthaios 2011, 57 n. 12. It is also worth noting that Bagordo 1998, 127–136, esp. 135, in his edition and enumeration of Eratosthenes' fragments deriving from the work *On the Old comedy* leaves Strecker's fr. 35 unmentioned.

⁵ Callanan 1987, 53–54 explicitly counted on the theoretical connection of both Eratosthenic fragments to each other. See also Bagordo 2016, 87–88. In direct relation to Eratosthenes' views documented in both Iliadic scholia, the *apparatus testimoniorum* of both passages Erbse 1969–88, III 79 (ad *Schol. Hom. Il.* 10.364*b*) and V 572 (ad *Schol. Hom. Il.* 24.282) make reference to one another, thus indicating that the principle underlying Eratosthenes' explanation of the Homeric use of dual in these two Iliadic cases was the same.

⁶ An exhaustive discussion of the issue is provided in my forthcoming edition of Eratosthenes' fragments deriving from the treatise *Grammatika*. On this writing of the Cyrenaic scholar, see below, p. 28 with n. 9.

⁷ On the explanation of διώκετον in *EM* 280.28 s.v., see below, p. 30–31 with n. 22.

⁸ The testimony from *EM* 280.28 s.v. διώκετον appears in Strecker's collection (1884, 34, ad fr. 35) together with *Schol. Hom. Il.* 24.282 as a further comparandum to the Eratosthenic fragment, i.e., according to Strecker's reconstruction, to *Schol. Hom. Il.* 10.364*b*.

content, with linguistic matters too.⁹ As far as the second question – that is the relation of the Homeric scholia to one another – is concerned, one should admit that the superordinate element of both testimonies is indeed the Homeric dual; each scholion, however, is related to a separate aspect of this grammatical category. The true connective element of both quotations on a theoretical level poses a different question, and this question is the main topic of my contribution.

Focusing especially on the second fragment of Eratosthenes, *Schol. Hom. Il.* 24.282, and on the particular connection between Eratosthenes and Crates drawn in this testimony, my paper aims at investigating the theoretical background of Aristarchus' critique expressed there and, on this basis, the theoretical background of Eratosthenes' and Crates' views on the Homeric use of the dual. Our investigation will lead to a very substantial quarrel between Alexandrian and Pergamene scholarship, the so-called 'analogy vs. anomaly controversy'.¹⁰ The new and actually one of the most important aspects of the following discussion is that in this quarrel, as presented in *Schol. Hom. Il.* 24.282, Aristarchus opposed not only Crates, but also Eratosthenes, in fact one of his most prominent forerunners in the Alexandrian philological school.¹¹

Eratosthenes' fragments: the analysis

As already mentioned, Eratosthenes' fragment transmitted in *Schol. Hom. Il.* 10.364*b* refers to the specific Homeric use of the verb forms in -τον for the third person dual in historical tenses. Apart from διώκετον in *Il.* 10.364, the dual formation of this kind is attested in Homer also in *Il.* 13.346: τετεύχατον/τετεύχετον/ἐτεύχετον¹² and in *Il.* 18.583: λαφύσσετον. Instead of all these three forms,

⁹ Both title and extent of Eratosthenes' *Grammatika* are attested in Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.16.79.3 (*FGrH* 241 T 8). On the character and the contents of the Eratosthenic treatise, see Knaack 1907, 384–385, Pfeiffer 1978, 203, Geus 2002, 304–305 and Matthaios 2011, 57–67.

¹⁰ On the 'analogy vs. anomaly controversy', the evidence related to it and the research views on its existence and meaning, see below, p. 33–42 with reference to relevant bibliography, especially in n. 34.

¹¹ For Eratosthenes' philological activity, see Geus 2002, 26–30, Montana 2015, 111–118; cf. Matthaios 2014, 528–529 and Matthaios 2011, 56 with further bibliography.

¹² On the evidence of the Homeric manuscripts on this verb form, see the apparatus of West 1998–2000, II 19 (ad *Il.* 13.346). Current research mostly accepts the form ἐτεύχετον as correct; see Chantraine 1986–88, I 474, Erbse 1969–88, III 465 (ad *Schol. Hom. Il.* 13.346*b*) and Janko 1992, 91 (ad *Il.* 13.346–8).

Aristarchus¹³ and also modern Homeric grammar expect the forms in -την.¹⁴ Eratosthenes' view is explicitly documented only in respect to διώκετον. The scholion concerning its occurrence in *Il.* 10.364 attests the following explanations:¹⁵

Schol. Hom. Il. (A) 10.364b (Ariston.). {λαοῦ ἀποτμήξατε} (del. Erbse) διώκετον: ὅτι τὸ διώκετον σημαίνει 'διώκουσιν' {ἢ διώκετε} (del. Friedlaender, cuius deletioni Erbse non consentit), οὐ τὸ 'διωκέτην' (A: <ἐ>διωκέτην Erbse praeceunte Friedlaender), ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης (fr. 35 Strecker). ἔστιν οὖν 'τὸν Δόλωνα διώκουσιν' ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ἐδίωκον', ὃν τρόπον «αἱ μὲν ἀλετρεῦουσι μύλησ' ἔπι» (*Od.* 7.104) ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ἠλέτρευνον'.

According to Aristonicus' report, Eratosthenes regarded the form διώκετον as grammatically equivalent to διωκέτην and, with all probability, he accepted it as such in the Homeric text. Consequently, Eratosthenes understood it as a past tense, whereas Aristarchus took it as a present, which, on the basis of the interpretative principle of a tense commutation, he semantically equated with the imperfect expected in a narration. Beyond the peculiarity of the Homeric language to permute tenses,¹⁶ Aristarchus recorded that the ending -τον in the third person dual applies only for primary tenses, not for secondary ones.¹⁷ Eratosthenes, on the other hand, thought that in Homer a dual verb form in -τον replaces – or, at least, can replace – the normally expected form in -την in the third person of historical tenses.

Aristarchus explained in the same way the two other Homeric forms of dual of this kind in *Il.* 13.346 and 18.583.¹⁸ We do not know whether Eratosthenes

13 On Aristarchus' views on the dual form of this kind, see *Schol. Hom. Il.* 10.364b, which is discussed immediately below, as well as *Schol. Hom. Il.* 13.346b (on τετεύχετον according to the Aristarchean reading) and *Schol. Hom. Il.* 18.583a (on λαφύσσετον); on the last form, see also the second part of *Schol. Hom. Il.* 18.583b deriving from Aristonicus. The Homeric scholia on τετεύχατον/τετεύχετον/ἐτεύχετον (*Il.* 13.346) and on λαφύσσετον (*Il.* 18.583) are verbatim cited and discussed below, n. 18 and 19.

14 On the Homeric use of the dual forms in -τον for the third person dual in historical tenses, see Wackernagel 1916, 54 n. 4, Meister 1921, 35–36 with n. 1, Chantraine 1986–88, I 95 and 474 and Schwyzler 1939, I 666–667.

15 The scholion is quoted according to my forthcoming edition of Eratosthenes' fragments (see above, n. 6).

16 On Aristarchus' explanatory principle based on the assumption of a tense commutation, see Matthaios 1999, 331–340.

17 On the echo the Aristarchean explanation found in contemporary research, see below, p. 45.

18 See *Schol. Hom. Il. (A) 13.346b* (Ariston.). {ἀνδράσιν ἡρώεσσι} τετεύχετον: ὅτι ἀντὶ τοῦ (...) τεύχουσι. χρόνος δὲ ἡλλακται· ἔστιν γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔτευχον, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ «ἦ κεμάδ' ἦε λαγῶν ἐπείγετον» (*Il.* 10.361) ἀντὶ τοῦ ἠπειγον; *Schol. Hom. Il. (A) 18.583a* (Ariston.). λαφύσσετον: ὅτι

commented on them too, though this possibility cannot be certainly ruled out. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that the exegetical scholia of the bT class on these Homeric lines attest an explanation of both forms which reflects Eratosthenes' view.¹⁹ If the exegetical commentators do not refer to an explanation going back directly to Eratosthenes, one can – concerning their possible source – assume that these comments derive from a discussion on the Homeric use of dual which took place within the Pergamene philological school.²⁰ In this case, the Pergamene scholars recalled Eratosthenes' reasoning on the use of διώκετον in *Il.* 10.364 in order to explain the two other problematic dual forms in *Il.* 13.346 and 18.583. This would in turn imply that Pergamene scholarship, unlike Aristarchus from the Alexandrian side, favoured Eratosthenes' explanation of the strange Homeric use of dual verb forms ending in -τον in the third person of historical tenses, such as διώκετον in *Il.* 10.364. Yet, both interpretative principles, the Eratosthenic one and that of Aristarchus, are attested side by side in the D-scholion to *Il.* 10.364 and in *Ep. Hom.* τ 55.²¹ A different approach, however, is reported by Apollonius Dyscolus and also in *EM* 280.28 (s.v. διώκετον): in these testimonies, the dual forms are explained on the basis of the assumption of a commutation of persons – i.e. the form of the second person is used instead of that of the third one; as far as the tense is concerned, the verb διώκετον is thought

χρόνος ἡλλακται· τὸ γὰρ λαφύσσετον λαφύσσουσιν, παρείληπται ὅμοιον τῷ «λαοῦ ἀποτμήξαντε διώκετον» (*Il.* 10.364).

19 See *Schol. Hom. Il.* (T^b) 13.346c (ex.): <τετεύχαστον> διὰ (τὸ) μέτρον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐτετευχάτην; *Schol. Hom. Il.* (bT) 18.583b (ex. | Ariston.). λαφύσσετον: ἔδει διὰ τοῦ η. | ἢ ἐνεστώς ἐστιν ἀντὶ παρῳηκότος. (...). The last scholion attests side by side both explanatory principles, the Eratosthenic one and that of Aristarchus.

20 A similar case, in which exegetical commentaries apparently rely on Pergamenian views, is represented by the explanation of ἔπειτα in *Il.* 9.169 as a particle meaning δὴ. According to *Schol. Hom. Il.* 9.169a this explanation goes explicitly back to Crates (fr. 9 Broggiato); on this scholion and on Crates' explanation, see below, p. 32–33. Crates' interpretation is recorded in a series of exegetical scholia of the bT class to all those Iliadic occurrences of ἔπειτα with the meaning of the particle δὴ; for the relevant material, see the testimonies collected in the apparatuses of Aristarchus fr. 155 Matthaios (ad l. 6 [1999, 155]) and of Crates fr. 9 Broggiato (ad l. 12 [2001 (2006) 19]). On these testimonies and their provenance, see Matthaios 1999, 539–540.

21 See D ad *Hom. Il.* 10.364: λαοῦ ἀποτμήξαντε διώκετον: (...). τρία δὲ ῥήματα ἔστιν παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ τὸ τοῦ παρῳημένου δυϊκὸν τρίτον εἰς -ον λήγον ἔχοντα παραλόγως, τοῦτο καὶ <τὸ «ἀνδράσιν ἡρώεσσι τετεύχαστον» (*Il.* 13.346) καὶ τὸ <add. Lascaris> «ἔγκατα καὶ μέλαν αἷμα λαφύσσετον» (*Il.* 18.583). οὐκ ἔστιν μέντοι ἄντικρυς (ἀπτικοῦς Q, ἀπτικῆς Lascaris) δυϊκῆς σημασίας· ἀναθεώρησιν γὰρ ἔχει πληθυντικὴν παρατατικὴν. τὸ γὰρ 'διώκετον' ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐδίωκον κεῖται, καὶ τὸ «ἀνδράσιν ἡρώεσσι τετεύχαστον (-ετον ZA)» (*Il.* 13.346) ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔτευχον, καὶ τὸ «λαφύσσετον» (*Il.* 18.583) ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐλάφυσσον; *Ep. Hom.* τ 55 ([Hdn.] *Ep.*). τετεύχαστον (*Il.* 13.346): τέσσαρα σημειοῦνται παρ' Ὀμήρῳ μὴ φυλάξαντα τὴν τῶν προσώπων ἀναλογίαν· κτλ.

to be in the imperfect.²² In the majority of these testimonies, the use of the specific dual forms in Homer is regarded as a παραλογία, i.e. as an irregularity, in other words, as an anomaly.²³

The second fragment of Eratosthenes, transmitted in *Schol. Hom. Il.* 24.282, does not refer to the morphological paradigm of the dual, but to its particular meaning as a specific grammatical number, i.e. to the quantitative relation expressed by the dual forms:

Schol. Hom. Il. (A) 24.282 (Ariston.). κῆρυξ καὶ Πρίαμος < --- ἔχοντες> (suppl. Villoison): ὅτι εἰ μὴ προσέθηκε τὸν στίχον, οἱ θέλοντες συγχεῖσθαι τὰ δυϊκὰ παρ' Ὀμήρω, Ἐρατοσθένους (test. ad fr. 35 Strecker) καὶ Κράτης (fr. 36 Broggiato), ἔλεγον ἂν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐννέα Πριαμιδῶν τετάχθαι «τῶ μὲν ζευγνύσθην» (*Il.* 24.281).

In this scholion Aristarchus does not attest a concrete explanation of Eratosthenes and Crates on the dual expression in *Il.* 24.281–2. He only describes a hypothetical case in order to show that Eratosthenes' and Crates' views, according to which Homer uses the dual in the sense of the plural by constructing a dual (verb) form referring to more than two entities, are actually mistaken, if one reads Homer carefully. For *Il.* 24.282 actually mentions two persons, Priam and Idaeus, who serve as the subject of the expression τῶ μὲν ζευγνύσθην in *Il.* 24.281 and, accordingly, as the reference object of the dual forms. This, however, means that Eratosthenes, just like Crates, 'mixed up' and consequently misunderstood the Homeric use of dual in several cases. The expression συγχεῖσθαι τὰ δυϊκὰ²⁴ provides the key for the reconstruction of Eratosthenes' theories – and of those of Crates as well. The same expression is also attested in *Schol. Hom. Il.* 9.168a with reference to another problematic case, actually the most representative case of

²² See Apollonius Dyscolus, *Pron.* 110.2: οὐ πιθανὴν ἀπολογίαν τινὲς φασιν, ὡς ἐν ῥήμασι παραλλαγὴ προσώπων· «διώκετον (*Il.* 10.364) γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ διωκέτην· καὶ ἐν ὀνόμασιν· ἥελιος (*Il.* 3.277) γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἥλιε· καὶ ἐν ἐγκλίσει· δέχεσθαι (*Il.* 1.20) ἀντὶ τοῦ δέχεσθε· οὕτω καὶ ἐν προσώποις ἀντωνυμιῶν». μένει γὰρ ἡ αὐτὴ παραλογία. πρὸς οἷς καὶ ἃ παρατίθενται, ἔθιμα διαλέκτων; *EM* 280.28 s.v. διώκετον· ὅτι οἱ Ἀττικοὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τρίτοις προσώποις τῶν δυϊκῶν (τῶν παρατατικῶν coni. Gaisford) τοῖς δευτέροις χρῶνται, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης (fr. 603 Kassel/Austin)· «καταντιβολεῖτον αὐτὸν ὑποπεπτωκότες. / ἐκμαίνετον τὸν πατέρα τοῖς ὀρχήμασι». τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ· «διώκετον ἐμμενὲς αἰεῖ» (*Il.* 10.364)· (...) οὐκ ἡδύνατο γὰρ εἶναι 'διωκέτην'. On the testimony of *EM*, the quotation from Aristophanes and the relevance of the latter to the dual problem, see Bagordo 2016, 87–89.

²³ See D ad *Hom. Il.* 10.364; Apollonius Dyscolus, *Pron.* 110.6–7; cf. *Ep. Hom.* τ 55 – the testimonies are quoted in n. 21 and 22.

²⁴ On the meaning of the expression, see Callanan 1987, 54; cf. Broggiato 1998, 137 and 2001 [2006] 152.

the confusion caused by the Homeric use of dual and, in Aristarchus' view, of the mistaken explanations proposed by several scholars:

Schol. Hom. Il. (A) 9.168a (Ariston.). Φοῖνιξ μὲν πρωτίστα <Διὶ φίλος ἡγησάσθω> (suppl. Vil-loison): ὅτι Φοῖνιξ προέρχεται καὶ οὐ συμπρεσβεύει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά ὥστε μὴ συγχεῖσθαι διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς τὰ δυνικά.

Aristonicus' report is associated with a difficult problem of Homeric scholarship, which until now remains controversial and unsolved by means of grammar. This is the sense of the dual forms occurring in *Il.* 9.182–198 as indicators of the number of the ambassadors sent by Agamemnon to Achilles.²⁵ The question is whether, apart from Odysseus and Ajax, also Phoenix belonged to the embassy. Aristarchus thought that embassies consisted of only two members. Accordingly, Phoenix could not belong to it; the members of the embassy were exclusively Odysseus and Ajax. Crates, on the contrary, regarded also Phoenix as a member of the embassy. Both Crates and Aristarchus justified their views on the ground of linguistic reasons. Aristarchus regarded the use of dual in the Homeric passage as strong evidence for his argument; Crates, on the other hand, accepted the use of dual in the sense of plural by recalling the interpretative principle *dualis pro plurali* (συγχεῖσθαι τὰ δυνικά).²⁶ The contradictory views led Aristarchus and Crates to different explanations of ἔπειτα in *Il.* 9.169; the relevant *Schol. Hom. Il.* 9.169a brings both scholars in direct opposition to each other:

Schol. Hom. Il. (A) 9.169a (Ariston.). αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' Αἴας τε μέγας <καὶ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς> (suppl. Erbse): ἡ διπλῇ, ὅτι τὸ ἔπειτα Ἀρίσταρχος (fr. 155 Matthaios) ἀντὶ χρονικοῦ παραλαμβάνει, ἀντὶ τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὡς καὶ «Ἑρμείας μὲν ἔπειτα» (*Od.* 10.307). βούλεται γὰρ πρῶτον τὸν Φοῖνικα ἀπεληλυθότα εἰς τὸ σκῆνωμα, εἴτα τὸν Ὀδυσσεά καὶ τὸν Αἴαντα ὡς πρεσβεύοντας. ὁ δὲ Κράτης (fr. 9 Broggiato) τὸ ἔπειτα ἀντὶ τοῦ δὴ συνδέσμου λαμβάνει.

Whereas Aristarchus explained ἔπειτα as a temporal adverb in the meaning of μετὰ ταῦτα – accordingly, Phoenix departed first, while Odysseus and Ajax followed later in their function as the normally expected two members of the

²⁵ See Pötscher 1993 and Hainsworth 1993, 81–82 (ad *Il.* 9.168–9) and 85–87 (ad *Il.* 9.182) with a summary of the research arguments on this issue. On Aristarchus' and Crates' views, see Matthaios 1999, 378–382 and Broggiato 2001 [2006], 151–153 and 199–200 with further bibliography. The ancient explanations on embassies in Homer and on the number of their members are discussed by Schmidt 1976, 249–250.

²⁶ See Broggiato 2001 [2006], 152.

embassy –, Crates claimed that ἔπειτα is a particle meaning δὴ.²⁷ His explanation thus implies a simultaneous departure of Phoenix, Odysseus and Ajax.²⁸ Yet, in the scholion introducing the whole issue – i.e. in *Schol. Hom. Il.* 9.168a –, Aristonicus maintains the explanation proposed by Aristarchus is the only way to preserve a consistent use of the dual in Homer. Otherwise, the dual forms in the Homeric text would not correspond with their reference object, which, as we will see,²⁹ constitutes a kind of ἀνωμαλία.

The very last sentence of *Schol. Hom. Il.* 9.168a (ὥστε μὴ συγχεῖσθαι διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς τὰ δυϊκά) is the connective element between this testimony and *Schol. Hom. Il.* 24.282. The only difference between the two scholia is that, according to the second one, not only Crates, but also Eratosthenes before him, favoured the same explanatory principle, i.e. the assumption of the Homeric use of the dual in a plural sense. But what is actually the reason for the divergent explanation of the Homeric dual? This is the core of the problem and, from this point of view, the heart of the opposition between Aristarchus on the one hand and Crates and Eratosthenes on the other. In my view, this opposition is originated in the so-called ‘analogy vs. anomaly controversy’.

The ‘analogy vs. anomaly controversy’ in context

At the beginning of his grammatical manual *Parangelmata* – whose initial parts are transmitted also in the first paragraphs of the Τέχνη γραμματική known under his name³⁰ – Dionysius Thrax declared the ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός, the calculation of analogical proportions, as one of the tasks undertaken by grammarians for the interpretation of literature and its linguistic peculiarities.³¹ In mentioning the

²⁷ Crates’ explanation is recorded in several exegetical scholia of the bT class to the Homeric occurrences of ἔπειτα, in which it is held as a particle meaning δὴ; on the relevant material, see above, n. 20.

²⁸ Cf. Matthaios 1999, 539–540.

²⁹ See below, p. 36–37.

³⁰ On Dionysius Thrax and his philological-grammatical treatise and on the authenticity issue of the Τέχνη γραμματική transmitted under his name, see Matthaios 2014, 543–545 and Montana 2015, 159–161 with further bibliography.

³¹ Dion. Thrax *Ars.* 5.2–6.3: Γραμματική ἐστὶν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων. Μέρη δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἕξ· πρῶτον ἀνάγνωσις ἐντριβῆς κατὰ προσῳδίαν, δεῦτερον ἐξήγησις κατὰ τοὺς ἐνυπάρχοντας ποιητικοὺς τρόπους, τρίτον γλωσσῶν τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις, τέταρτον ἐτυμολογίας εὔρεσις, πέμπτον ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός, ἕκτον κρίσις ποιημάτων, ὃ δὴ κάλλιστόν ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ. Dionysius’

principle of analogy Dionysius reflected the methodological approach of the Alexandrian philological school, which, as several Homeric scholia confirm,³² was followed in order to ascertain the correctness of a form in terms mainly of prosody, orthography and proper inflection in the Homeric text. But also beyond the single case, Alexandrian grammar regarded analogy as one of the main criteria for the establishment of linguistic correctness.³³ The importance attached to the principle of analogy in the ancient theory of *hellenismos* is also demonstrated by a long-lasting quarrel which split the Alexandrian and Pergamene schools and their main exponents, Aristarchus and Crates, in two opposite parties.³⁴ The so-called ‘analogy vs. anomaly controversy’, however, still remains one of the most disputed issues in the history of ancient grammar. Whereas we nowadays mostly agree on the analogical position of the Alexandrian grammarians, Crates’ role within the controversy seems to be questionable and unclear. Even the very existence of the analogy-anomaly quarrel is doubted by current research. It is no longer D. Fehling alone, from the 50s of the previous century (1956–57), but also D. Blank, who in a series of studies (1982, 1994, 1998 and 2005) expressed strong reservations against Varro’s reliability and the attribution of an anomalistic position to Crates.³⁵

In this part of my paper I will try to re-examine the theoretical background of the ancient quarrel and also the objections to its historicity, focusing mainly on the motives of the scepticism expressed in current research. One very specific question resulting from the contemporary views is whether we can combine the analogy-anomaly controversy with a further opposition, that between ἐμπειρία and τέχνη, which refers to the methods and the epistemological value of ancient grammatical doctrine.³⁶ In a first step I will present the main testimonies from

‘grammar’ definition and the six parts. The philological discipline consists of, are attested in Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.57 and 1.250–251. On the fifth part of ‘grammar’ in Dionysius’ system, see Lallot 1998, 80–81, Blank 2000, 410–411 and Wouters/Swiggers 2015, 527–528.

32 A selection of some representative Homeric scholia on the analogical procedure of the Alexandrian scholars is presented by Siebenborn 1976, 71–72 and 81–83. The material deriving from Aristophanes of Byzantium is fully analysed by Callanan 1987, 107–122. On Aristarchus, see Ribbach 1883; cf. Matthaios 1999, 28–30. See also Pagani 2011, 40–41 and 49–52 and 2015, 806–812.

33 See Siebenborn 1976, 56–84; cf. Sluiter 1990, 56–59 and 2011, 296–303, Ax 2000, 109–114, Garcea 2012, 15–18 and Pagani 2015, 832–839 with further bibliography; see also Duso 2017, 49–50.

34 On the quarrel between Alexandrian and Pergamene scholarship on the validity and the legitimization of the principles of ‘analogy’ and ‘anomaly’ in linguistic analysis, see Siebenborn 1976, 97–104, Ax 2000, 109–114, Broggiato 2001 [2006], xxxviii–xli, Matthaios 2014, 540–541, Montana 2015, 150 and Pagani 2015, 838–839 with further bibliography; cf. Duso 2017, 52–55.

35 On Fehling’s and Blank’s views, see below, p. 40–42.

36 On this issue, see Matthaios 2012, 256–263 with further bibliography.

Varro's *De lingua Latina* on the analogy-anomaly controversy. In a second step I will discuss the directions followed by recent scholars in their interpretation of the contents and the existence of the quarrel. On the basis of both testimonies deriving from Eratosthenes, in the final part of my paper I will try to reconsider the contents of the controversy and also evaluate the position of the Cyrenaic scholar within this issue on the one hand and his possible connection to Crates on the other.

Our major witness for the analogy-anomaly controversy as such is Varro in books 8–10 of his *De lingua Latina*. Gellius' testimony is depending on Varro's report.³⁷ On the other side, it is unclear whether Sextus Empiricus in the chapters concerning the *hellenismos* theory (*Math.* 1.176–240) refers to the same stage and to the same conditions of the controversy.³⁸ Varro, on the contrary, situates the analogy-anomaly controversy in place and time by indicating the authorities involved in it in two central passages, in *Lingua* 8.23 and especially in 9.1.

In *Lingua* 8.23 Varro outlines the controversy in its key notions and arguments, though he does not yet mention by name the parties involved:

Varro, *Lingua* 8.23 Goetz – Schoell: (...) *quod utraque declinatione alia fiunt similia, alia dissimilia, de eo Graeci Latinique* (Funaioli p. 118) *libros fecerunt multos, partim cum alii putarent in loquendo ea verba sequi oportere, quae ab similibus similiter essent declinata, quas appellarunt ἀναλογία, alii cum id neglegendum putarent ac potius sequendam <dis>similitudinem, quae in consuetudine est, quam vocarunt ἀνωμαλία, cum, ut ego arbitror, utrumque sit nobis sequendum, quod <in> declinatione voluntaria sit anomalia, in naturali magis analogia.*

The basic position of the analogists' side is the assumption of ἀναλογία, i.e. the regularity principle in the *declinatio* process. The anomalists, on the other side, claim the validity of ἀνωμαλία, which at the same time implies that *consuetudo* has to be taken under consideration as the language's normative principle.³⁹

³⁷ See Gell. NA 2.25.1: *in Latino sermone, sicut in Graeco, alii ἀναλογίαν sequendam putaverunt, alii ἀνωμαλίαν. ἀναλογία est similitum similis declinatio, quam quidam Latine 'proportionem' vocant. ἀνωμαλία est inaequalitas declinationum consuetudinem sequens. duo autem Graeci grammatici illustres Aristarchus et Crates* (fr. 105 Broggiato) *summa ope, ille ἀναλογίαν, hic ἀνωμαλίαν defensavit. M. Varronis liber <ad> Ciceronem de lingua Latina octavus nullam esse observationem similitum docet inque omnibus paene verbis consuetudinem dominari ostendit.* See Fehling 1956, 223–224 and 266 and Broggiato 2001 [2006], 267.

³⁸ On Sextus and Varro and their possible sources, see Siebenborn 1976, 106–107 and Blank 1998, xxxix–xl; cf. Pagani 2015, 838. See also Garcea 2012, 108 and Duso 2017, 53–54.

³⁹ On this Varronian passage, see the commentary of Dahlmann 1940, 87–90; cf. Dahlmann 1932, 70–75 and Ax 2000, 109.

Strongly connected with Varro's description of the controversy in this passage is the testimony in *Lingua* 9.1:

Varro, *Lingua* 9.1 Goetz – Schoell: <*Insignis eorum est error qui malunt quae*> (suppl. Boot) *nesciunt docere quam discere quae ignorant: in quo fuit Crates* (fr. 104 Broggiato), *nobilis grammaticus, qui fretus Chrysippo* (SVF II fr. 151), *homine acutissimo qui reliquit περὶ ἀνωμαλίας* *hlei libri contra analogian atque Aristarchum est nixus, sed ita, ut scripta indicant eius, ut neutrius videatur pervidisse voluntatem, quod et Chrysippus de inaequabilitate cum scribit sermonis, propositum habet ostendere similes res dissimilibus verbis et dissimiles similibus esse vocabulis notatas, id quod est ver{b}um* (corr. Aldus), *et {cum}* (del. Spengel) *Aristarchus, de aequabilitate cum scribit tet det, verborum similitudinem qua{ru}ndam* (del. Groth) <*in*> *inclinatio[n]e[s]* (del. Spengel) *sequi iubet, quoad patiat[ur] consuetudo*.

In this passage the information provided in *Lingua* 8.23 is confirmed, but at the same time it becomes extended and more precise:⁴⁰ the analogy-anomaly controversy is carried on by Aristarchus and Crates; Aristarchus followed the principle of analogy, whereas Crates that of anomaly. In accordance with the apologetic purpose of book 9 of *De lingua Latina*, which serves to defend the principle of analogy, only Crates is being criticized here. Crates is said to have fought with Chrysippus' weapon against Aristarchus, but without recognizing Chrysippus' purposes, which are not closely related to that of Aristarchus. Chrysippus is known for the establishment of the concept of linguistic ἀνωμαλία. According to Diogenes Laertius (7.189) Chrysippus devoted to this topic a special treatise entitled Περί τῆς κατὰ τὰς λέξεις ἀνωμαλίας πρὸς Δίωνα, which consisted of four books. As can be reconstructed from several sources, with the notion of anomaly Chrysippus pointed to the lack of congruency between the word-form (ὁ τύπος τῆς φωνῆς) and the word-meaning (τὸ δηλούμενον). This kind of discrepancy between an ὄνομα/*verbum* and the πράγμα/*res* can be clarified on the basis of the examples given by Apollonius Dyscolus: the verb μάχομαι, for instance, is, concerning its form, a παθητικόν, whereas according to its meaning it is an ἐνεργητικόν; the substantive τὸ παιδίον is a neuter form independently of its reference to a male or a female; Θῆβαι, finally, is a plural name denoting just one sole city.⁴¹ Sextus Empiricus designates this kind of discrepancies explicitly as

⁴⁰ On this passage, see Dahlmann 1932, 76–77, Ax 2000, 109–110, Broggiato 2001 [2006], 266–267, Calboli 2011, 318–320 and Pagani 2015, 812–813 and 838–839 with further bibliography. See now the commentary of Duso 2017, 139–143 on this Varronian testimony.

⁴¹ See Apollonius Dyscolus, *Coni.* 215.18–216.2: φαμέν τὸ μάχομαι παθητικόν, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι τῷ τύπῳ τῆς φωνῆς· εἰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ δηλουμένου, δῆλον ὅτι ἐνεργητικόν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ παιδίον οὐδέτερον διὰ τὸν τύπον, ἐπεὶ ἀμφοτέρων ἐστι διὰ τὸ δηλούμενον· παρατιθέμενος γοῦν τις

ἀνωμαλία.⁴² According to Varro, Aristarchus only claimed that in the field of *declinatio*, presumably in the subfield concerning inflection, there is still a kind of similarity (*quandam similitudinem*) regulating language structure; the principle of similarity should be followed taking under consideration the principle of *consuetudo*. Like in *Lingua* 8.23, Varro states once again that the controversy rests upon a misunderstanding, in this case Crates' misunderstanding of Aristarchus' postulates. Aristarchus was referring only to inflection, the so-called *derivatio naturalis*, and, by following the analogy principle, he did not ignore the principle of *consuetudo*.

Taking into consideration further relevant passages from Varro's *De lingua Latina*, the following arguments related to the controversy become clear.⁴³ According to Crates and his followers, anomalies are omnipresent in language structure, especially in the inflection system, as inappropriatenesses in matters of grammatical gender, number and case clearly show. Gaps in the domain of derivation and inflection would have been avoided, if the principle of analogy were valid. Consequently, neither is analogy right, nor are the explanatory methods of the analogists sufficient. The only applicable norm for providing linguistic correctness is the *consuetudo*; the communication purposes and also the pleasure deriving from language are not disturbed but served through the consideration of anomaly. The analogists, on the other side, admit the existence of language anomalies, but argue that inconsistencies due to anomaly do not speak against the analogy principle. Accordingly, several conditions must be taken into consideration for the proper application of the analogical procedure.⁴⁴ We are informed by Charisius and Donatianus that Aristophanes of Byzantium had already taken into account five criteria for word comparisons and the proportions established in the nominal inflection: the similarity in gender, case, ending, number of syllables and accent. Aristarchus extended Aristophanes' catalogue by adding one

ἀρσενικόν καὶ θηλυκόν, εἴποι ἂν “παρατίθεμαι σοι παιδία”. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Θῆβαι πληθυντικόν, καὶ μία ἡ ὑποκειμένη πόλις. ἔστι καὶ ἐπ’ ἄλλων πλειόνων τὸ τοιοῦτον παραθέσθαι.

⁴² See Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.154: τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα μετακτέον καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐνικά καὶ πληθυντικά τῶν ὀνομάτων. Ἀθῆναι γὰρ λέγονται πληθυντικῶς ἡ μία πόλις καὶ Πλαταιαί, καὶ πάλιν Θῆβη ἐνικῶς καὶ Θῆβαι πληθυντικῶς, καὶ Μυκῆνη καὶ Μυκῆναι. ῥηθήσεται δὲ ἐπιμελέστερον περὶ τῆς ἐν τούτοις ἀνωμαλίας προβαίνουσης τῆς ζητήσεως. On the passages from Apollonius and Sextus see Dahlmann 1932, 52–55, Mette 1952, 11–12, Barwick 1957, 53–55, Siebenborn 1976, 98–100 and Duso 2017, 52. On the term ἀνωμαλία, see Blank 1998, 254.

⁴³ The summary of the arguments of both sides given here is based on the presentation of Ax 2000, 110–112; cf. Pagani 2015, 838–839.

⁴⁴ On the conditions for the proper application of the analogical procedure, see Fehling 1956, 240–250, Siebenborn 1976, 72–84 and Pagani 2015, 834–838.

more criterion, the avoidance of any comparison between compounds and derivatives.⁴⁵ The Charisius-Donatianus testimony is confirmed through the analogies attested for Aristophanes and Aristarchus in the corpus of the Homeric scholia.⁴⁶ Moreover, the proper calculation of proportions reflects the task postulated by Dionysius Thrax in his manual of grammar.⁴⁷

These are, in a brief overview, the main arguments of the quarrel, as attested in Varro's *De lingua Latina*. Modern scholarship, however, has held different views on the value of Varro's testimony and on the dimension of the quarrel as well as on its historicity.⁴⁸ In the 19th century Lersch (1838–41) considered a controversy between analogists and anomalists lasting for almost thousand years, a period which actually covers the whole history of ancient linguistic thought. According to Lersch, the oppositions φύσει-θέσει, ἐμπειρία-τέχνη and ἀναλογία-ἀνωμαλία were of equal value and strongly related to each other in the development process of ancient linguistics.⁴⁹ In Steinthal's view (1890–91), the analogy-anomaly controversy was “ein wissenschaftlicher Gärungsprozess”⁵⁰ already completed in the 1st century BC, when the τέχνη γραμματική was fully developed. Consequently, the controversy could only last from the 2nd century BC, the lifetime of Aristarchus and Crates, until Varro, when it reached its limits.⁵¹

After Lersch and Steinthal scholarship devoted an intensive *Quellenforschung* to Varro, culminated in the studies of Barwick (1922 and 1957), Dahlmann (1932 and 1940) and Mette (1952). Dahlmann regarded Crates as the main source of book 8 of Varro's *De lingua Latina*, the one *contra analogiam*.⁵² Mette recorded not only Varro's entire 8th book, but also Sextus' report under the fragments and

45 See Charisius, *Gramm.* I 17, 149.26–150.2 Barwick (unde Donatianus, GrLat IV 276.5–9): *Huic* (sc. analogiae) *Aristophanes* (fr. 375 Slater) *quinque rationes dedit vel ut alii putant, sex: primo, ut eiusdem sint generis de quibus quaeritur, dein casus, tum exitus, quarto numeri syllabarum, item soni. sextum Aristarchus, discipulus eius, illud addidit ne umquam simplicia compositis aptemus.* On this testimony, see Siebenborn 1976, 74 and Pagani 2015, 834–835 with further bibliography.

46 On Aristophanes, see Callanan 1987, 26–31 and 43–44; cf. Matthaios 1999, 58 and 258 with n. 253 and Ax 2000, 116–127. On Aristarchus, see Matthaios 1999, 17 with n. 20 and 28–30. See also Pagani 2015, 806–812 and Ax 2000, 128–129.

47 See above, p. 33–34.

48 The following survey of older research on the ‘analogy-anomaly controversy’ is based on Siebenborn 1976, 2–13. See also Duso 2017, 53–55.

49 See Lersch 1838–41, I 4–10.

50 See Siebenborn 1976, 4.

51 See Steinthal 1890–91, II 354–361; cf. Siebenborn 1976, 4–5.

52 See Dahlmann 1932, 52–87. On Dahlmann's views, see Siebenborn 1976, 8.

testimonies related to Crates' anomalistic position.⁵³ The analogy-anomaly controversy, however, was no longer regarded as the sole factor involved in the development of ancient grammar, since, according to these scholars, the theoretical framework of ancient, i.e. of Alexandrian, grammar derived mostly from the Stoic τέχνη περὶ φωνῆς.⁵⁴ Thus, the controversy was now connected not with the nature of language, but only with marginal matters such as morphology, prosody and orthography.⁵⁵ At the same time, due to Dahlmann's and especially to Mette's approach, a significant development took shape in the interpretation of the controversy and its scope. The controversy was explicitly explained in the perspective of the opposition between ἐμπειρία and τέχνη.⁵⁶ This opposition originated from Dionysius' Thrax definition of 'grammar' as an ἐμπειρία;⁵⁷ because of his view, Dionysius was later attacked by Ptolemy the Peripatetic and Asclepiades of Myrlea, who postulated that grammar is a τέχνη.⁵⁸ In Mette's view Crates

⁵³ These are the fragments 64a and 64e of Mette's collection (1952). On Mette's reconstruction of Crates' theory see Mette 1952, 2–48; cf. Siebenborn 1976, 8–9. On the 'idiosyncratic' character of Mette's collection of texts and testimonies related to Crates' linguistic theories, see Pfeiffer 1978, 292 n. 38, Broggiato 2001 [2006] xiii–xv and Calboli 2011, 317.

⁵⁴ See Siebenborn 1976, 7. On this model of the evolution of the Alexandrian grammar, see Pagani 2011, 28 with the references to further bibliography in n. 48.

⁵⁵ See Siebenborn 1976, 8.

⁵⁶ See Dahlmann's conclusions (1932, 69): "hier (i.e. in Aristarchus' and Crates' use of the notions of analogy and anomaly) wird erörtert, ob die Deklination der Wörter auf bestimmten festen Regeln beruht, ob sie durch eine rationale τέχνη, eine ars (...) durchzuführen ist, oder ob sie auf der *communis consuetudo* beruht, die nicht auf bestimmte kurze Vorschriften zu bringen ist, sondern nur durch die Übung und Erfahrung, die τριβή oder ἐμπειρία, geschieht. Entschied man sich für die τέχνη, war man Analogist, sprach man sich für die Geltung des Sprachgebrauchs, der συνήθεια aus, befolgte man die Anomalie".

⁵⁷ Dionysius' Thrax definition is quoted above, n. 31; see also the passage from Sextus Empiricus cited immediately below, n. 58.

⁵⁸ See Sext. Emp. *Math.* 1.57: (...) Διονύσιος μὲν οὖν ὁ Θράξ ἐν τοῖς Παραγγέλμασι φησι «γραμματική ἐστὶν ἐμπειρία ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεύσι λεγομένων» ... (1.60–61) ἐγκαλεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Περιπατητικὸς ὅτι οὐκ ἐχρῆν ἐμπειρίαν εἰρηκέναι τὴν γραμματικὴν (αὕτη μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἐμπειρία τριβὴ τίς ἐστι καὶ ἐργάτις ἀτεχνός τε καὶ ἀλογος, ἐν ψυχῇ παρατηρήσει καὶ συγγυμνασίᾳ κεκμένη, ἡ δὲ γραμματικὴ τέχνη καθέστηκεν), ... (1.72–74) Ἀσκληπιάδης τοίνυν μέμφεται τὸν Θράκα Διονύσιον ἐμπειρίαν λέγοντα τὴν γραμματικὴν, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἔφη, ἐγκαλεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐμπειρίαν αὕτην ἀποφαίνειν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τῶν στοχαστικῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν τύχην πλιπτούσων ἐστὶ τεχνῶν, ὥσπερ κυβερνητικῆς καὶ ἱατρικῆς· γραμματικὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶ στοχαστικὴ ἀλλὰ μουσικῇ τε καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ παραπλήσιος. ... ὅθεν τὸ μὲν ἀλλάξας τοῦ ὅρου τούτου τὸ δ' ἀνελῶν, οὕτως ἀποδίδωσι τῆς γραμματικῆς τὴν ἔννοιαν· «γραμματικὴ ἐστὶ τέχνη τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεύσι λεγομένων». On the ἐμπειρία-τέχνη opposition, see Matthaios 2012, 256–263 with further bibliography. On the attack of Ptolemy and Asclepiades against Dionysius Thrax, see Blank 1998, 130–137 and Pagani 201, 18–19.

incorporated the empirical and sceptical source on which both Varro and Sextus rely. Due to his anomalistic position Crates was now thought to be fighting against the Alexandrian λογική τέχνη built up on the principle of analogy, which underlies the linguistic analysis of the Alexandrian scholars.⁵⁹ Mette's concern in reconstructing Crates' empiristic profile can be clearly demonstrated through exaggerations in his argumentation: he even connects Sextus' expression ἔμπειρος λογικῆς ἐπιστήμης (*Math.* 1.79) with Crates' empiricism.⁶⁰ We shall return to this point later on.⁶¹

Fehling (1956–57) investigated the analogy-anomaly controversy in the perspective of the ἐμπειρία-τέχνη opposition, too. In his view, ancient grammar reached its technical level already in the 2nd century BC. Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus were aware of the so-called conditions of similarity to be considered for a proper application of the analogical principle, and even the Τέχνη of Dionysius Thrax presupposed such a highly developed theoretical level. Taking also into account the weaknesses of Varro's way of handling his sources, his idiosyncratic arrangement of theorems and the structuring principle *disputare in utramque partem* followed throughout his *De lingua Latina*, Fehling concluded that a historical reality is not present in what Varro reports.⁶²

Historiographically speaking, the main objection against Fehling's results arose in consequence of Di Benedetto's studies on the authenticity of the Τέχνη γραμματική ascribed to Dionysius Thrax (1958–59).⁶³ Instead of assuming a fully developed grammatical theory in the time of Aristarchus and of presupposing the technical character of the Alexandrian views, the ἐμπειρία was now placed at the foreground of the argumentation. Based on that, Siebenborn discussed the analogy-anomaly controversy anew. Apparently, he did not deny the existence of the controversy; he just reconsidered the significance of the analogical principle for Alexandrian scholarship and, consequently, he reassessed the relevance of the

⁵⁹ See Mette 1952, 44–48, 55 and 62–64. On Mette's views see Broggiato 2001 [2006], xxxiv–xxxviii, Pagani 2011, 29 and 2015, 812–813.

⁶⁰ See Mette 1952, 56.

⁶¹ See below, p. 40–41 and 45 n. 86.

⁶² On Fehling's basic arguments, see Siebenborn 1976, 9–13 and 68–70; cf. Ax 2000, 130, Broggiato 2001 [2006], xxxix, Pagani 2011, 30 and Calboli 2011, 322–325. A reconsideration of the principle *disputare in utramque partem* adapted by Varro for the structure of his *De lingua Latina* and its relevance to the deficiencies of the Varronian presentation is provided by Ax 2000, 140–163. On the question of Varro's reliability and the views of current research on this matter, see the bibliography cited in Pagani 2015, 839 n. 232.

⁶³ On Di Benedetto's arguments, see Siebenborn 1976, 69–70, Pagani 2010 and 2011, 30–37. See also the bibliography cited above, n. 30.

controversy to the ἐμπειρία-τέχνη opposition for the development of ancient grammar.⁶⁴ In his view, the analogy-anomaly controversy originated in the philological interpretation of literary language during Aristophanes' and Aristarchus' lifetime. The analogical procedure reflects the ἐμπειρία of the Alexandrian scholars, thus testifying to the empirical character of the grammatical doctrine claimed by Dionysius Thax. For his view Dionysius was attacked, as already mentioned, by Ptolemy and Asclepiades. Both scholars claimed that grammar constitutes a τέχνη, in the sense that it presupposes and consists of a system of rules regulating the language structure.⁶⁵ According to Siebenborn, their claim corresponds with Crates' statement that grammar belongs to the λογικά ἐπιστήμια.⁶⁶ Consequently, Crates is in Siebenborn's view a 'technician', not an empiricist any more.

Shortly after the research consensus achieved through Siebenborn's study,⁶⁷ the position Crates held in the controversy, together with his objections to the analogical procedure, were examined by Blank in several studies.⁶⁸ Apparently, the background of Blank's investigation is the ἐμπειρία-τέχνη opposition, though from a different perspective and in a different tone than in previous research.⁶⁹ As stated in his article of 2005, Crates does not belong to the opponents of analogy in book 8 of Varro's *De lingua Latina*. In Blank's view, Crates is an analogist just like Aristarchus. Moreover, Chrysippus is according to Blank's argumentation also an analogist. Sometimes Crates proceeded even more rigorously than Aristarchus, and there is no fundamental difference between both scholars –

⁶⁴ See Siebenborn 1976, 63–84 and 119–139. On Siebenborn's views, see Broggiato 2001 [2006], xl, Pagani 2011, 38–39 and 2015, 838 with n. 227.

⁶⁵ See above, p. 39 with n. 58.

⁶⁶ On this point, see Siebenborn 1976, 129–132.

⁶⁷ See e.g. Fehling 1979, 489; cf. Ax 2000, 130–131, Matthaios 1999, 28–32. On the research views after Siebenborn's study, see Pagani 2011, 40–62.

⁶⁸ See Blank 1982, 1–5, 1994, 1998, xxxiv–xl and 2005.

⁶⁹ For the starting point of Blank's argumentation see Blank 2005, 212: "(...) Varro's account of a quarrel should be interpreted in the same light as that of Sextus, as a struggle over the technicity of grammar, including the epistemological status of its rules and its usefulness for life. The analogist side was technical and rationalist, maintaining that language was a rationally ordered system which could be described and understood through precise rules allowing the solution of questions which might arise in the course of reading, writing and interpreting. The empiricist side argued that no complex expertise of grammar could exist, that the rules of technical grammar were incoherent, and that all one needed was the ability to observe common usage and model one's own linguistic practice on that. While there were clearly disagreements among grammarians over the way in which grammatical rules and criteria should be applied, the empiricists were evidently not grammarians, but rather included Epicureans, Pyrrhonian sceptics, and (probably) Academics".

neither in their philological interpretation nor in their linguistic method; there is just some diversity in concrete cases concerning only the limitations of analogy and its proper application.⁷⁰ In any case, according to Blank, the controversy as attested by Varro never took place.⁷¹ In his view, Varro or his source presented both Aristarchus and Crates as followers of analogy in a typical “sceptical argument from disagreement”, which consisted in the following point: “two eminent grammarians arguing over the extent of analogy or how its rules are to be formulated and applied”, whereas the role of usage (συνήθεια/*consuetudo*) as a criterion of linguistic correctness is the main issue disputed by them.⁷² Consequently, the anti-analogist appearing as the source of Varro’s 8th book cannot be Crates at all,⁷³ but an Epicurean philosopher, who, as in Sextus’ report, waged an empiristic attack to the grammarians and their analogical methods. Blank’s position found the consideration and even the approval of current research.⁷⁴ The question, however, of whether Crates’ views concerning the limitations of the analogical procedure and the prominent role he ascribed to the criterion of usage could – or should – be seen in connection with the concept of anomaly, still remains open in my view.

Reconsidering the ‘analogy vs. anomaly controversy’

Instead of Blank’s relativistic approach, particularly of his assumption of Crates being an analogist, and in view of the contradictions expressed by current research especially on the function and the relation of the ἐμπειρία-τέχνη opposition with the ‘analogy-anomaly controversy’, I propose to read anew the testimonies referring to Aristarchus’, Crates’ and also Eratosthenes’ interpretation of the Homeric dual, especially *Schol. Hom. Il.* 24.282 and *Schol. Hom. Il.* 9.168a and 9.169a. This time, however, I suggest that we should read them in accordance

⁷⁰ See especially Varro, *Lingua* 8.63 and 8.68, where Aristarchus and Crates are presented in contrast to each other. On these passages, see Blank 1998, xxxvii and 2005, 225–236.

⁷¹ See e.g. Blank 1982, 4.

⁷² On this point and on the passage cited, see Blank 1998, xxxviii–xxxix.

⁷³ See Blank 2005, 238: “Crates was an advocate of grammatical science and thus miles away from the anti-analogist advocate of *LL* 8”.

⁷⁴ See Broggiato 2001 [2006], xxxviii–xxxix, Pagani 2014, 362 as well as Pagani 2015, 813 and 839; cf. Montana 2015, 150. Ax 2006, 327–328 criticised Blank’s views (2005); cf. Matthaios 2014, 541, who also expressed reservations against Blank’s position.

with Varro's account in *Lingua* 9.1.⁷⁵ The main point of conflict among the ancient scholars does not concern the criteria of the proper application of the analogy principle, but different and opposite conceptions of language, which apparently derive from or lead to the analogy-anomaly controversy. In my view, these Homeric scholia should be clearly connected with Crates' and also Eratosthenes' anomalistic position. The explanatory principle for the Homeric use of dual instead of plural as attested for both scholars in *Schol. Hom. Il.* 24.282 results from the discrepancy between *verbum* and *res*, and, on that basis, from the existence of anomalous forms and language inconsistencies like the ones which Chrysippus maintained, as Varro indicated in *Lingua* 9.1. Also in *Schol. Hom. Il.* 9.169a the divergence between Aristarchus and Crates does not refer to an analogical proportion. Nevertheless, unlike analogical proportions built by Alexandrian scholars for the establishment of a correct word form,⁷⁶ anomaly did not serve as a heuristic tool, but provided the very evidence deriving from language itself, which at the same time demonstrated the limits of the analogical procedure and made the creation of proportions impossible.

In *Schol. Hom. Il.* 24.282 Aristarchus does not attack only Crates, but, interestingly enough, also his own predecessor in the leadership of the Alexandrian Library, Eratosthenes of Cyrene. Eratosthenes was familiar with Stoic philosophy,⁷⁷ and it seems quite reasonable that he adopted the anomalistic theory from Chrysippus and applied it to the interpretation of literature and its linguistic peculiarities. If this is the case, then Crates appealed to Eratosthenes' views and expressed his own views in opposition to those of Aristarchus, to which the Alexandrian scholar replies, as *Schol. Hom. Il.* 24.282 demonstrates. Viewed from the perspective of the divergent explanations of the adverb ἔπειτα (*Il.* 9.169) proposed by Aristarchus and Crates, as reported in *Schol. Hom. Il.* 9.169a,⁷⁸ *Schol. Hom. Il.* 24.282 indicates that not only Aristarchus attacked Crates' views, as we know from other extant material, but that there was a controversy expressed

⁷⁵ On this Varronian testimony, see above, p. 36–37.

⁷⁶ See Siebenborn 1976, 83: “Die Analogie ist (...) Erschließungsmethode zur Eruierung des Unbekannten und wird als solche in der Diorthose und in der Lehre vom Hellenismos benutzt”. Cf. Sluiter 1990, 56–57 and 2011, 296: “(...), analogy has a heuristic function, and it is invoked to solve a practical problem”.

⁷⁷ According to Strabo (1.2.2, C. 15) Eratosthenes came in contact with Stoic philosophy through Zeno and Ariston of Chios; see Geus 2002, 20–25. He might have known also Cleanthes and Chrysippus during his stay in Athens; on this point, see Geus 2002, 72–73.

⁷⁸ See above, p. 32–33.

simultaneously by both scholars against each other.⁷⁹ Despite the scarceness of the extant fragments, Eratosthenes must have played a decisive role in theorising the Homeric use of the dual and in transmitting these views to the Pergamene school through his philological writings, especially through his *Grammatika*, thus providing Crates with the premises of his explanatory principle, that of the use of dual instead of plural.⁸⁰

Regarding the dual forms explained in *Schol. Hom. Il.* 10.364*b* and in the other relevant Homeric scholia,⁸¹ the principle of anomaly implies that a specific morphological feature, such as the typical ending for dual forms, cannot be the guarantee in matters of inflection. Furthermore, morphology cannot provide the secure criterion for the assumption of word similarities and of an analogical proportion, since the *tertium comparationis*, the *logos* upon which the proportion was built,⁸² cannot be defined with certainty. The reason why anomaly could be opposed to the grammatical principle of analogy is not a misunderstanding nor even the difference between the Stoic and the Alexandrian notion of κλίσις/*declinatio*,⁸³ but the significance that morphological criteria had for Aristarchus and

79 Broggiato 1998, 141–142 rightly postulated that Crates' interpretation, as reported in *Schol. Hom. Il.* 9.169*a* and in connection with his views on the Homeric use of dual, presupposed the Aristarchean explanation. On the 'interchange' between Alexandrian and Pergamene scholarship, see also Broggiato 2001 [2006], xix and 153.

80 If there were no direct link between Eratosthenes and Crates concerning their views on the reference object of a dual form and its use instead of plural, it would be difficult to explain why Zenodotus, who was also severely criticized by Aristarchus because of the same view, does not appear in the so-called 'Sünderkatalog' reported by Aristonicus in *Schol. Hom. Il.* 24.282. On Zenodotus' Homeric readings of dual verb forms in the sense of plural, see Matthaïos 1999, 378 with n. 392. The expression 'Sünderkatalog' goes back to Callanan 1987, 54. Furthermore, the view that Crates could have followed Eratosthenes (as he apparently has done with Zenodotus, according to Broggiato 1998, 140 and 142) can be supported by the fact that the Pergamene scholar seemed to be aware of Eratosthenes' views, at least of those concerning the irregular dual form διώκετον in *Il.* 10.364, as can be assumed on the basis of the exegetical scholia of the bT class on the other two dual forms of this kind; on these scholia and their possible provenance, see above, p. 29–30. In my view, in the rough scheme of the foundation of the analogy-anomaly controversy drawn by Dahlmann 1932, 70, Eratosthenes should be added between Chrysippus and Crates and also before Aristophanes of Byzantium.

81 See above, p. 28–30.

82 On the analogical proportions, see Siebenborn 1976, 56–62 and Ax 2000, 110–111.

83 This is the solution proposed by Siebenborn 1976, 100–104 on the basis of the insights gained by previous research (e.g. of Barwick, Dahlmann and Mette) concerning the development process of ancient grammar. Alexandrian grammar, however, was during the lifetime of Aristarchus neither prominently nor exclusively influenced by the Stoics and their τέχνη περὶ φωνῆς. On this

his followers in their attempt to solve problems of the Homeric language and to regulate it. As Eratosthenes' explanation of διώκετον reported in *Schol. Hom. Il.* 10.364*b* indicates, the Cyrenaic scholar claimed the inadequacy of analogical formations by assuming that forms in -τον are indeed used by Homer against the rule for the third person dual of historical tenses. Otherwise, it is impossible to explain why Eratosthenes approved the use of διώκετον, i.e. of a form which is continuously declared both by ancient and contemporary grammarians as anomalous.⁸⁴ In doing so, however, Eratosthenes maintained the Homeric usage, in the same way as contemporary scholars in this case still do. Aristarchus' rigorous claim of regularity, on the contrary, as implied in his explanation of the three dual forms in Homer ending in -τον, is criticized in recent scholarship. Cobet, for instance, noted in relation to the Aristarchean interpretation (1876, 384): "Neque enim ἐτεύχετον, λαφύσσετον, διώκετον praesentis temporis esse possunt, et praesens pro imperfecto inepta et absurda res est". Also Curtius (1877–80, I 78) censured "Aristarchs Ausflucht (...) eine enallage temporum anzunehmen".

Crates and, before him, presumably also Eratosthenes rejected the rule conformity as claimed by Aristarchus. On the other side, by postulating a consistent and regular use of dual in Homer, Aristarchus intended to show that both scholars were mistaken. In Crates' view, Aristarchus looked for an actually non-existing regularity of the Homeric language, which was mainly based on extra-linguistic conditions and artificial means like analogical formations. His view – and apparently the view of Eratosthenes – was supported by at least a literary *consuetudo*, attested in post-Homeric and even in Hellenistic poetry, which allowed the *dualis pro plurali* and also morphological peculiarities as well as the artificial use of the dual in general.⁸⁵ The very special case of the use of the dual in book 9 of the *Iliad* still remained in their view an apparent exception and also a contradiction to the language regularity postulated by Aristarchus. For language should

crucial point against Siebenborn's proposal, see Matthaios 1999, 623–625 and 2002, 188–191; cf. Pagani 2011, 60–62.

84 On the assumption of ancient grammarians that dual forms in -τον for the third person of historical tenses present a case of παραλογία, see above, p. 31 with n. 23. For contemporary views on these dual forms, see the bibliography cited in n. 14.

85 On the use of *dualis pro plurali* in post-Homeric and also in Hellenistic poetry, see Broggiato 2001 [2006], 151 and the references given in n. 66. On the post-Homeric use of the ending -τον for the third person dual in the historical tenses, see Schwyzler 1939, I 667. Also the ending -την for the second person dual of the historical tenses, which is in several cases preserved by Zenodotus (see Aristarchus fr. 86 Matthaios and the testimonies collected in the apparatus of this fragment; on the specific dual readings of Zenodotus, see Matthaios 1999, 389 with reference to further bibliography), is attested in post-Homeric poetry and prose; see Schwyzler 1939, I 667.

not be altered through analogical hypercorrections and the removal of discrepancies between word-form and meaning. This would only cause absurd consequences for the language and communication function and, moreover, for the establishment of the overall principle of *logos* as reflected in literature, foremost in Homeric poetry.⁸⁶ In any case, the ἐμπειρία-τέχνη opposition does not apply to the interpretation of the analogy-anomaly controversy, for ἐμπειρία and τέχνη constitute two different methodological approaches of grammar as a science, whereas analogy and anomaly provide two diverse theorems on the nature of language.⁸⁷

Conclusions

The analogy-anomaly controversy seems not to be a mere fiction of Varro, though Varro obviously adjusted the discussion to the views of his time and also adapted it to the needs of the context in which he presented it. As can be deduced from the very scanty and fragmentary evidence, the quarrel originated from the attempts of Hellenistic scholars to establish the correct text of the classical past. In the presence of several language levels and various dialectal forms, scholars were faced with the problem of linguistic norm and language correctness. The controversy was later transformed into an academic quarrel, when analogy was incorporated in the technical part of the ancient grammatical doctrine and thought to be *one* of the normative criteria, which is not strictly opposite, but *beneath* the

86 See Siebenborn 1976, 104 and 129–132. This idea is by no means in contradiction with Crates' claim that grammar belongs to the logical sciences, as Blank 2005, 216–217 and 221–222, thought. Siebenborn 1976, 130–131 expresses himself very aptly on this issue: "Ebensowenig (...) läßt sich in den Zeugnissen über die Sprachtheorie des Krates eine Beeinflussung durch empirisch-skeptische Gedanken annehmen. Vielmehr kann man συνήθεια und ἀνωμαλία, die Zentralbegriffe der krateteischen Lehre vom Hellenismos, unmittelbar auf die stoische Sprachphilosophie zurückführen: Wie die Stoiker ist auch Krates davon überzeugt, daß man die gegenwärtige συνήθεια nicht mithilfe des λόγος durch Ausmerzungen der σημαίνον-σημαινόμενον-Diskrepanzen zum Richtigen hin verändern dürfte. (...) Eine Veränderung und Verbesserung dieses Zustandes mithilfe der Analogie würde hier nur zu Unverständlichkeiten führen und wäre unnütz".

87 Sluiter 2011, 295–296, rightly points out that analogy was not only a heuristic tool, but also a "state" ("[the] state of language in which a form is found to be in a rational order") and a "process" ("[...] a language-immanent feature. This active force within language itself will [...] exercise a normalizing influence that will make language increasingly regular"). On the concept of analogy see also Duso 2017, 45–51.

principles of literary tradition (παράδοσις) and usage (συνήθεια).⁸⁸ The conditions of the foundation of the controversy were already provided by Eratosthenes, who adopted a Stoic and, diachronically speaking, an efficient theoretical tool for analysing language, thus paving the way for one of the most intriguing quarrels between Alexandria and Pergamon. In the context of the analogy-anomaly controversy, Eratosthenes' view on the 'anomalistic' use of dual in Homer found not only Aristarchus' rejection, but also Crates' approval.

Bibliography

- Ax, W. (2000), *Lexis und Logos. Studien zur antiken Grammatik und Rhetorik*, ed. by Farouk Grewing, Stuttgart.
- Ax, W. (2006), review of Frede/Inwood (2005), in *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 88, 321–330.
- Bagordo, A. (1998), *Die antiken Traktate über das Drama. Mit einer Sammlung der Fragmente*, Stuttgart/Leipzig.
- Bagordo, A. (2016), *Aristophanes fr. 590–674. Übersetzung und Kommentar (Fragmenta Co-mica [FrC], vol. 10.9: Aristophanes fr. 590–674)*, Freiburg.
- Barwick, K. (1922), *Remmius Palaemon und die römische ars grammatica*, Leipzig.
- Barwick, K. (1957), "Probleme der stoischen Sprachlehre und Rhetorik", in *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, vol. 49/3, Berlin.
- Blank, D.L. (1982), *Ancient Philosophy and Grammar*, Chico, California.
- Blank, D.L. (1994), "Analogy, anomaly and Apollonius Dyscolus", in S. Everson (ed.), *Language*, Cambridge, 149–165.
- Blank, D.L. (1998), *Sextus Empiricus, Against the Grammarians (Adversus mathematicos I), translated with an Introduction and Commentary*, Oxford.
- Blank, D.L. (2000), "The organization of grammar in ancient Greece", in S. Aurox/E.F.K. Koerner/H.-J. Niederehe/K. Versteegh (eds.), *History of Language Sciences. An International Handbook on the Evolution of the Study of Language from the Beginning to the Present*, vol. I, Berlin/New York, 400–417.
- Blank, D.L. (2005), "Varro's anti-analogist", in Frede/Inwood (2005), 210–238.
- Broggiato, M. (1998), "Cratete di Mallo negli scholl. A ad Il. 24.282 e ad Il. 9.169a", in *Seminari Romani* 1, 137–143.
- Broggiato, M. (2001 [2006]), *Cratete di Mallo. I frammenti. Edizione, introduzione e note*, La Spezia (= Roma 2006).
- Calboli, G. (2011), "A proposito di Cratete di Mallo", in *Latomus* 70, 317–329.
- Callanan, C.K. (1987), *Die Sprachbeschreibung bei Aristophanes von Byzanz*, Göttingen.
- Chantraine, P. (1986–88), *Grammaire Homérique*, vol. I: *Phonétique et morphologie*, vol. II: *Syntaxe*, Paris (6th edition).

⁸⁸ See Siebenborn 1976, 83–84 and 105–115; cf. Garcea 2012, 15–18 and 103–109.

- Cobet, C.G. (1876), *Miscellanea critica quibus continentur observationes criticae in scriptores Graecos praesertim Homerum et Demosthenem*, Lugduni-Batavorum.
- Curtius, G. (1877–80), *Das Verbum der griechischen Sprache seinem Baue nach dargestellt*, vol. I–II, Leipzig (2nd edition).
- Dahlmann, H. (1932), *Varro und die hellenistische Sprachtheorie*, Berlin.
- Dahlmann, H. (1940), *Varro, De lingua Latina, Buch VIII*, Berlin.
- Di Benedetto, V. (1958–59), “Dionisio Trace e la techne a lui attribuita”, in *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa (Classe di Lettere e Filosofia)*, s. II, 27, 169–210 and 28, 87–118.
- Duso, A. (2017), *M. Terenti Varronis De lingua Latina IX. Introduzione, testo, traduzione e commento*, Hildesheim/Zürich/New York.
- Erbse, H. (1969–88), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Scholia vetera)*, vol. I–VII, Berlin.
- Fehling, D. (1956–57), “Varro und die grammatische Lehre von der Analogie und der Flexion”, in *Glotta* 35, 214–270 and 36, 48–100.
- Fehling, D. (1979), review of Siebenborn (1976), in *Gnomon* 51, 488–490.
- Frede, D./Inwood, B. (eds.) (2005), *Language and Learning. Philosophy of Language in the Hellenistic Age. Proceedings of the Ninth Symposium Hellenisticum*, Cambridge.
- Garcea, A. (2012), *Caesar’s De Analogia. Edition, Translation, and Commentary*, Oxford.
- Geus, K. (2002), *Eratosthenes von Kyrene. Studien zur hellenistischen Kultur- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Munich.
- Hainsworth, B. (1993), *The Iliad: a Commentary*, General Editor: G.S. Kirk, vol. III: *Books 9–12*, Cambridge.
- Janko, R. (1992), *The Iliad: a Commentary*, General Editor: G.S. Kirk, vol. IV: *Books 13–16*, Cambridge.
- Knaack, G. (1907), “Eratosthenes (4) von Kyrene”, in *RE* VI/1, 358–388.
- Lallot, J. (1998), *La grammaire de Denys le Thrace. Traduite et annotée*, Paris (2nd edition).
- Lersch, L. (1838–41), *Die Sprachphilosophie der Alten, dargestellt an dem Streite über Analogie und Anomalie der Sprache*, vol. I–III, Bonn.
- Matthaios, S. (1999), *Untersuchungen zur Grammatik Aristarchs: Texte und Interpretation zur Wortartenlehre*, Göttingen.
- Matthaios, S. (2002), “Neue Perspektiven für die Historiographie der antiken Grammatik: Das Wortartensystem der Alexandriner”, in P. Swiggers/A. Wouters (eds.), *Grammatical Theory and Philosophy of Language in Antiquity*, Leuven/Paris/Sterling, Virginia, 161–220.
- Matthaios, S. (2011), “Eratosthenes of Cyrene: readings of his ‘grammar’-definition”, in Matthaios/Montanari/Rengakos (2011), 55–85.
- Matthaios S. (2012), “Zwischen ἐμπειρία und τέχνη. Textinterpretation und grammatische Argumentation bei den alexandrinischen Grammatikern”, in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 155, 254–290.
- Matthaios, S. (2014), “Philologie”, in Zimmermann, B./Rengakos, A. (eds.), *Die Literatur der klassischen und hellenistischen Zeit*, Munich, 502–553.
- Matthaios, S./Montanari, F./Rengakos, A. (eds.) (2011), *Ancient Scholarship and Grammar. Archetypes, Concepts and Contexts*, Berlin/New York.
- Meister, K. (1921), *Die homerische Kunstsprache*, Leipzig.
- Mette, H.J. (1952), *Parateresis. Untersuchungen zur Sprachtheorie des Krates von Pergamon*, Halle (Saale).
- Montana, F. (2015), “Hellenistic scholarship”, in Montanari/Matthaios/Rengakos (2015), I 60–183.
- Montanari, F./Matthaios, S./Rengakos, A. (eds.) (2015), *Brill’s Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*, vol. I–II, Leiden/Boston.

- Nesselrath, H.-G. (1990), *Die attische Mittlere Komödie. Ihre Stellung in der antiken Literaturkritik und Literaturgeschichte*, Berlin/New York.
- Pagani, L. (2010), “La *Techne grammatikē* attribuita a Dionisio Trace e la nascita della grammatica nell’antichità greca”, in *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 138, 390–409.
- Pagani, L. (2011), “Pioneers of grammar. Hellenistic scholarship and the study of language”, in F. Montanari/L. Pagani (eds.), *From Scholars to Scholia. Chapters in the History of Ancient Greek Scholarship*, Berlin/New York, 17–64.
- Pagani, L. (2014), “Ancient theories of linguistic correctness (*hellenismós*)”, in G.K. Giannakis et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics (EAGLL)*, vol. 2: G–O, Leiden/Boston, 360–364.
- Pagani, L. (2015), “Language correctness (*hellenismos*) and its criteria”, in Montanari/Matthaios/Rengakos (2015), II 798–849.
- Pfeiffer, R. (1978), *Geschichte der Klassischen Philologie. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Hellenismus*, Munich (2nd edition).
- Pötscher, W. (1993), “Die homerische Presbeia in religiöser und poetischer Sicht: Die Duale und deren Sinn”, in *Grazer Beiträge* 19, 1–33.
- Ribbach, W.E. (1883), *De Aristarchi Samothracis arte grammatica*, Naumburg a. S.
- Schmidt, M. (1976), *Die Erklärungen zum Weltbild Homers und zur Kultur der Heroenzeit in den bT-Scholien zur Ilias*, Munich.
- Schwyzler, E. (1939), *Griechische Grammatik*, vol. I, Munich.
- Siebenborn, E. (1976), *Die Lehre von der Sprachrichtigkeit und ihren Kriterien. Studien zur antiken normativen Grammatik*, Amsterdam.
- Sluiter, I. (1990), *Ancient Grammar in Context. Contributions to the Study of Ancient Linguistic Thought*, Amsterdam.
- Sluiter, I. (2011), “A champion of analogy: Herodian’s *On lexical singularity*”, in Matthaios/Montanari/Rengakos (2011), 293–310.
- Steinthal, H. (1890–91), *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Logik*, vol. I–II, Berlin (2nd edition).
- Strecker, C. (1884), *De Lycophrone Euphronio Eratosthene comicorum interpretibus*, diss. Greifswald.
- Tosi, R. (1994), “La lessicografia e la paremiografia in età alessandrina ed il loro sviluppo successivo”, in F. Montanari (ed.), *La philologie grecque à l’époque Hellénistique et Romaine*, Geneva, 143–197.
- Wackernagel, J. (1916), *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer*, Göttingen.
- West, M.L. (ed.) (1998–2000), *Homerus. Ilias*, vol. I–II, Munich/Leipzig.
- Wouters, A./Swiggers, P. (2015), “Definitions of grammar”, in Montanari/Matthaios/Rengakos (2015), I 515–544.

Filippomaria Pontani

Chi

Abstract: As a critical sign, the letter χ (*chi*) occurs frequently both in hypomnemata on papyrus and in ancient scholia and grammatical sources, but – being apparently unknown to Aristarchus – very rarely in Homeric exegesis. Its occurrence in the newly edited schol. *Od.* 6.297c prompts some thoughts about its presence and role in Aristophanes of Byzantium’s edition of the *Odyssey*, as well as on the possibility (ruled out by most scholars) that this edition might have been accompanied by a true hypomnema.

1. When the German Hellenist Julius Richter decided to equip his virtuoso Greek drama *Für die Bonnensierinnen* (1868) with a set of self-produced scholia in Alexandrian style, he jotted down several notes involving the ancient critical sign known as χ (*chi*).¹ Richter’s choice was anything but fortuitous: not only is this the most widespread sign featuring in the *corpora* of *scholia vetera* to the ancient scenic poets, but no more than four years earlier it had made the object of an in-depth analysis by the young Hermann Schrader, in an important section of his dissertation *De notatione critica a veteribus grammaticis in poëtis scaenicis adhibita*.²

The χ is just one of the elements showing how little we know about the exact meaning of Alexandrian critical signs, about their inventors and their chronological succession: these were thorny issues even for ancient scholars, as the metricalian Hephaestion (2nd c. CE?) candidly admits;³ nowadays, the evidence of papyri is often of some help, but rarely resolute.⁴ While the χ is ubiquitous in the extant exegesis to the scenic poets (where it mostly appears to possess the generic function of a *nota bene*), it is virtually absent from the scholia to the epic poets and to Homer in particular, it does not pop up in the lists of signs handed down to us from antiquity, and it occurs very irregularly in the papyri carrying ancient poetical texts. In this note, after a brief overview of the evidence we shall focus on a “new” scholium that may further problematise the history of this sign, as well as its debated connection with Aristophanes of Byzantium.

1 Richter 1868, 15–29, see e.g. v. 1: ‘Ρήνιοι: Δίδυμος τὸ χ , ὅτι οὐχ εὖρηται παρ’ οὐδενί; v. 8: συνδίκων: τὸ χ , ἐπεὶ Ἀττική ἢ λέξις, κωμική δ’ οὐ. On Richter see Holtermann 2004.

2 Schrader 1864, 16–41.

3 Heph. Περὶ σημείων, p. 73 Consbr.: Τὰ σημεία τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἄλλως παρ’ ἄλλοις κεῖται.

4 McNamee 1992. Montanari 1997, 274–81.

2. Papyrological evidence shows that the χ was very commonly used in the scrolls of dramatic poets: most likely devoid of a specific meaning, it worked as a generic reference sign directing the reader to a note contained in the corresponding *hypomnema* (in this function, it parallels other signs such as the stroke and the dotted obelos).⁵ If its current explanation is right, the marginal annotation οὐκ ἦν τὸ χ ἐν τοῖς Θέωνος occurring in the 2nd-century CE POxy 2427 of Epicharmus (fr. 53, l. 6) might refer to the absence of this sign on that line in Theon's edition,⁶ and thus imply that it was current in exegetical works on comedy. The χ enjoys a similar popularity in papyri of lyric poetry, and Robert Fowler's painstaking analysis concludes that it was treated there as a meaningless sign, as a mere catcher for the *hypomnema*.⁷

As for epic poetry, an isolated χ might appear in the 2nd-century CE POxy 3224 of Hesiod's *Erga*,⁸ while of over thirty Homeric papyri more or less regularly equipped with critical signs (above all *obeloi* and *diploi*) the only potentially interesting case is represented by POxy 1086, a long fragment of a 1st-century BCE scroll that was re-edited and re-assessed by the late John Lundon.⁹ In this papyrus, however, we do not find the real χ , but rather another common sign, the $\chi\rho$, which stands for $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$, $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{o}\nu$ or the like: the distinction between χ and $\chi\rho$, albeit unknown to the *Anecdota Parisina* and obliterated by the landmark *RE* article by A. Gudeman,¹⁰ is established beyond doubt by Schrader, Turner, and McNamee,¹¹ and it appears *luce clarius* if we consider the coexistence of the two signs e.g. in POxy 2452 of Sophocles' *Theseus* (2nd c. CE).¹² While it is possible that χ and $\chi\rho$ share a common origin, there is no doubt that the latter sign was added in the margins of a book without being charged with any specific critical value beyond the simple function of pointing out something beautiful or useful to the reader.¹³ Now, POxy 1086 has been regarded as perhaps the only extant commen-

5 Turner 2002, 132–37.

6 McNamee 1981, 246 (no. 360), l. 431. The missing noun should probably be understood as ὑπομνήμασι.

7 Fowler 1979, 28.

8 Fowler 1979, 25. But the sign might in fact be a *diple*.

9 Lundon 2002. See also Turner 1987, no. 58.

10 Gudeman 1922, 1924–25. The text of *Anecd. Parisinum*, p. 281.17–18 Nauck “*chi et ro. haec sola vix ad voluntatem uniuscuiusque ad aliquid adnotandum ponitur*” is clearly related with Isid. *Orig.* 1.21.22 “*C<h>risimon. Haec sola ex voluntate uniuscuiusque ad aliquid notandum ponitur*”: it is hard to detect here a clear reference to the χ sign.

11 Schrader 1864, 17; Turner 1987, 17; McNamee 1992, 20.

12 Turner 1987, no. 27.

13 See the examples given by Stein 2007, 142–43.

tary entirely deriving from Aristarchus' notes,¹⁴ and precisely the alleged presence of the non-Aristarchean sign χ has been regarded as a proof against this attribution:¹⁵ in the light of the above, this reservation is wholly unfounded.

In the extant *Anecdota*,¹⁶ the χ sign does not appear as such (see the *Parisinum* quoted above note 10), nor is it included by modern scholars in the list of the critical signs introduced by the Alexandrian scholars, which are the following:¹⁷ Zenodotus' *obelos* for expunction,¹⁸ Aristophanes' *asteriskos* for duplicated lines (only attestation: *schol.* DHM^a *Od.* 3.71a), *sigma* and *antisigma* for consecutive interchangeable lines (only attestation: *schol.* HP¹ *Od.* 5.247a; see also *schol.* *Ar. Ran.* 153), and *keraunion* (only attestation: *schol.* H *Od.* 18.282),¹⁹ and finally Aristarchus' *diple* as a generic *nota bene* directing to a note in the commentary,²⁰ his *diple periestigmene* for readings that differed from the textual choices of his predecessors, and maybe his *stigma* for suspect lines.²¹ We have no clue as to the provenance and pedigree of the χ mentioned by Diogenes Laërtius among the most important critical signs in the textual criticism of Plato.²²

3. As a matter of fact, the witness of scholiastic *corpora* is double-edged. While the χ ("un segno tuttofare",²³ i.e. a generic sign with no intrinsic meaning beyond the reference function) appears very often in the scholia to Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides, and above all Aristophanes,²⁴ there is virtually no trace of it in the scholia to Homer: the occurrence of the verb $\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$ in Eustathios'

14 Lunden 2001 calls it a compilation of excerpts from Aristarchus' commentaries. Montanari 2015, 657, while acknowledging its Aristarchean provenance, would rather not see it as a *hypomnema* in its own right.

15 Schironi 2012, 96.

16 Collected by Nauck 1867, 271–77.

17 E.g. Dubischar 2015, 551–554.

18 "For the first time an editor had provided the serious reader and scholar with an opportunity of appraising his critical judgment" (Pfeiffer 1968, 115).

19 The *Anecd. Romanum* says that this sign refers to "many types of philological questions beyond those already mentioned" (p. 55.29–30 Montanari = p. 272.13–14 Nauck: $\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \zeta\eta\tau\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\iota\phi\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma$). On Aristophanes' critical signs, see Montana 2015, 119; Schironi 2012, 89; Slater 1986, 210; Nauck 1848, 15–18.

20 See Pfeiffer 1968, 218. The *diple* occurring in Pllias 12 (dated between 280 and 240 BCE: see S. West 1967, 138) was probably added by a later hand (Montanari 2015, 644–46).

21 See Ludwig 1884–85, I.20–22. A slightly different view on the value of the *diple periestigmene* is offered by van Thiel 2014, I.29.

22 Diog. Laert. 3.65–66: $\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\alpha\varsigma\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\alpha\ \sigma\chi\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\lambda\omega\varsigma\ \tau\eta\nu\ \Pi\lambda\alpha\tau\omega\nu\iota\kappa\eta\nu\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$, ... $\chi\acute{\iota}\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\gamma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu\ \pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\alpha\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$... See Pernigotti 2004, 328.

23 Turner 2002, 136. See also Stein 2007, 140–41.

24 White 1914, 344 (*ad indicem*).

commentary to *Od.* 22.144 cannot reasonably claim an ancient origin.²⁵ This state of affairs, however, has changed after the publication of an important scholium to book 6 of the *Odyssey*, badly edited by Dindorf and completed and rectified by Arthur Ludwich in a publication that has alas remained unnoticed even to the most experienced scholars, with one exception:²⁶

schol. H *Od.* 6.297c δώματ' ἀφίχθαι] Ἀριστοφάνης [p. 198 Slater] “δώματα ἵχθαι”. καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐτέρως γράφοντας τὸ “χ” παρέθηκεν. H

The form and the content of this scholium are by no means eccentric: its wording is sound, for παρέθηκεν is often used for critical signs,²⁷ and πρὸς = *contra* is also perfectly in keeping with this kind of technical language.²⁸ What is more, we can see here the *Odyssey* scholia contributing another piece of evidence on Aristophanes' peculiar use of critical signs, to be compared with what we have seen above with the *keraiunion*, the *sigma* / *antisigma* and the *asteriskos*.²⁹ These occurrences have been explained as the fruit of a direct presence of Aristophanic material in the *Odyssey* scholia, transmitted without the mediation of Didymus, who probably had no access to Aristophanes' critical text;³⁰ the information on these critical signs would thus derive directly from Aristophanes' pupil Callistratus, whose commentaries may have been the general repositories for all the views of his teacher on the Homeric text.³¹

²⁵ Eust. *in Od.* 1921.55 (on *Od.* 22.144): σημείωσαι δὲ καὶ ὅτι τὸ περὶ τῶν δώδεκα σακέων καὶ τὸ ἐφεξῆς Ἀρίσταρχος ἀθετήσας κείκαεν, ἀδύνατον εἶναι εἰπὼν τοσαῦτα βασιτάσαι ἄνθρωπον. See on this Ludwich 1884–85, I.625 and 629, who believes that this definition (just as the reference to the κεραύνιον in *schol.* *Od.* 18.282) goes back to the “Erfindung eines ungenau excerpirenden Scholiasten”.

²⁶ See Dindorf 1855, 318 (where the second half of the scholium is omitted: on Dindorf's edition and its debt to Richard Porson's excerpts from ms. H = Harl. 5674, see Pontani 2005, 529–31) and Ludwich 1887, a Königsberg *Programm* that has escaped the notice of everyone except Helmut van Thiel, from whom the indication in Stein 2007, 140–41 – arguably the best existing companion to ancient critical signs, alas unknown to e.g. Schironi 2012 – probably depends. The text here given is from Pontani 2015, 214.

²⁷ See e.g. the aforementioned *schol.* *Od.* 3.71a καὶ ὀβελίσκους τοῖς ἀστερίσκοις παρατίθησιν and 18.282 διὸ καὶ κεραύνιον παρέθηκεν Ἀριστοφάνης.

²⁸ McNamee 1992, 20 note 64 lists the occurrences of τὸ χ πρὸς = ‘about’ (see also White 1914, 344), but one might just recall expressions such as πρὸς Ζηνόδοτον (μετα)γράφοντα in *schol.* *A Il.* 7.390, 9.616b and elsewhere.

²⁹ van Thiel 2014, IV.40.

³⁰ West 2001, 60.

³¹ See Montana 2008 and most recently Montana 2015, 128, who implies this might have some bearing on our idea of the *Vier-Männer-Kommentar* for the *Odyssey*.

But what implications does this scholium entail on our knowledge of Alexandrian scholarship?

4. It is normally believed by scholars that Aristophanes' critical signs were all self-explanatory (i.e., they had a meaning *per se*), and that Aristarchus' *diple* was the first generic sign simply pointing to a fuller explanation to be read in the *hypomnema* – Aristarchus is in fact commonly considered as the first ancient philologist to have written systematic and lemmatized *hypomnemata*.³² It is also believed that Aristophanes did not write *hypomnemata*, for none is mentioned in the *Suda* entries devoted to the Byzantine scholar (α 3933 and 3936 Adler = T 1 Slater), nor can we gather explicit evidence from the scholia beyond the ambiguous mention of Aristarchus' κατ' Ἀριστοφάνην ὑπομνήματα (*schol. A Il. 2.133a*), which however might well have been explanatory notes based on Aristophanes' text (before Aristarchus produced his own) or on his oral teaching.³³ In this perspective, the idea of linking the χ (as a generic sign, by definition requiring further written explanation) with Aristophanes' critical practice,³⁴ might seem at best contradictory.³⁵

The only scholar to entertain a different approach to the whole issue is William Slater, the editor of Aristophanes' fragments, who observed that the Homeric scholia contain so many implicit hints to Aristophanes' exegetical explanations that it would be unthinkable to ascribe them all to either oral transmission among his pupils or abstracts from his lexicographical συγγράμματα.³⁶ Slater thus assumes that Aristophanes did compose *hypomnemata* to Homer in order to explain and defend his textual choices and interpretations, in other words that he made a *diorthosis*, which consisted of lemmata, assignation of sigla, with brief explanations and variants – a sort of 'Edition in Kommentarform', or Διορθωτικά.

Admittedly, the role of oral transmission in Alexandrian philological practice is very hard to assess, and it may well be underestimated by us today; and of course Aristophanes did write συγγράμματα, which may well have contained some detailed explanations of Homeric *loci*. Still, the evidence invoked by Slater

³² See Pfeiffer 1968, 115 on Zenodotus, and 212 on Aristophanes. This view is shared by everyone down to Stein 2007, 134–35, Schironi 2012, 91–92 and Montana 2015, 122. Dubischar 2015, 556 insists on the conceptual leap forward represented by the acquisition of a generic sign such as the *diple*.

³³ West 2001, 59.

³⁴ See above all Gudeman 1922, 1925, and below.

³⁵ Fowler 1979, 28, who also discusses the strange coexistence of χι and *diple* (see also McNamee 1992, 22–23).

³⁶ Slater 1986, 205–210.

is worth considering: no less than 34 remarks attributed to Aristophanes have an exegetical (as opposed to merely text-critical) content, roughly 70% of which in the scholia to the *Odyssey*; that no more survived (and that no mention of this commentary abides in the *Suda* entry) may be explained by way of the pre-eminent role of Aristarchus' commentaries in the selection made by the *Vier Männer*.

A further point concerns the shadowy figure of Euphronios, a 3rd-century BCE grammarian who is widely held to have been one of the teachers of Aristophanes of Byzantium, and is credited by ancient sources with *hypomnemata* to Aristophanes' comedies:³⁷ to put it simply, if Euphronios had already written commentaries on ancient poets, how should we believe that his pupil did not? Admittedly, the prosopography of this grammarian is unsure, for it rests on two philologically problematic texts:³⁸ Suid. α 3933, where Εὐφρονίου is Nauck's (indeed likely) conjecture on Εὐφρονίδα,³⁹ and Choerob. in *Heph.* 241.15–17 Consbr., where Euphronios is indicated as a teacher of Aristarchus, but becomes a teacher of Aristophanes as well if we accept Bergk's tentative correction of the transmitted nominative (Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ Βυζάντιος) into a genitive.⁴⁰ It is just possible that this Euphronios was not the well-known tragic poet of the Pleiad (a contemporary of Ptolemy II Philadelphus), but just a namesake, and that he rather worked on the texts of ancient comedy *after* Aristophanes of Byzantium had produced a reliable edition, perhaps also becoming one of the teachers of Aristarchus of Samothrace.

Even more importantly, leaving aside Euphronios, how are we to explain the repeated references in the scholia to the fact that Aristophanes σημειοῦται (schol. γ 71a, β 312d, ε 185d, θ 163: once for text-critical purposes, once for an exegetical remark, and twice to introduce and discuss a variant reading)? Either we take this terminology as an arbitrary extrapolation on the part of the concocting scholiast (but then we would have to conclude that the specific references to the signs are made up as well, which seems most unlikely), or we believe that Aristophanes did use a generic *semeion* with the simple function of referring the reader to a longer treatment of the relevant philological issue. An answer to this dilemma was given by Schrader, who believed that Aristophanes' χ is in fact the equivalent

³⁷ See e.g. *schol. Ar. av.* 1403; *Athen.* 11.495c; *Ar. test.* 113 K.–A.; White 1914, xvii; Slater 1985, 207.

³⁸ Montana 2015, 126–27. But e.g. Lowe 2013, 354 still clings to the traditional identification of this Euphronios with the Pleiad poet, and finds a cultural and historical rationale to it.

³⁹ *Ar. Byz. test.* 1 Slater: Ἀριστοφάνης Βυζάντιος, γραμματικός... μαθητὴς Καλλιμάχου καὶ Ζηνοδότου... πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἰάμβου καὶ Εὐφρονίου τοῦ Κορινθίου ἢ Σικωνίου.

⁴⁰ *Ar. Byz. test.* 14 Slater: ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τούτου τοῦ Εὐφρονίου γέγονεν ἀκροατὴς Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ γραμματικός, οὐ μόνον Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ Βυζαντίου.

of what the Homeric scholia call *diple*, and that the verb σημειοῦσθαι (otherwise occurring in the *Iliad* only for Aristarchus' *diplai*), when it appears in relation to Aristophanes actually covers a χ :⁴¹ Schrader's position was then espoused by Gudeman, whose *RE* article consecrates Aristophanes as the inventor of the χ .⁴²

The same idea is basically shared by Helmut van Thiel, who is the only modern scholar to know the full version of the scholium to *Odyssey* 6.297c: "Aristophanes benutzte neben dem von Zenodot gebrauchten Obelos hauptsächlich die Zeichen Asteriskos und χ . Das χ wies auf kommentierende Bemerkungen hin; Aristarch hat es zu Homer durch die *Diple* ersetzt".⁴³ It is unclear if van Thiel's reference to these "kommentierende Bemerkungen" should imply a hint to his own theory of marginal parallels or *Kurznoten* appended by Alexandrian scholars to their editions;⁴⁴ as a matter of fact, it is hard to see how a simple marginal *Kurznote* could accommodate detailed hints to the hermeneutical stances of this philologist, and even to his polemical tones against his colleagues (as in the case of our *Odyssey* scholium).

5. To sum up: without pressing too hard the evidence of the scholium to *Odyssey* 6.297c, I think that in the face of it we are bound to follow one of two paths. Either we continue to assume that Aristophanes did not write any *hypomnemata*, and then necessarily conclude that the χ had for him a specific value, namely it marked the textual choices in which Aristophanes more openly disagreed with his predecessors,⁴⁵ much in the fashion of Aristarchus' *diple periestigmene* (whose peculiar nature would thus not be the Samothracian's invention, but rather a heritage from his teacher). Or we believe that Aristophanes did use the χ in a generic sense, thus anticipating Aristarchus' use of the simple *diple*, and that he then necessarily conceived a *hypomnema* or some sort of written text in commentary form, whose status was autonomous from the *ekdosis* proper (perhaps a transitional form towards the writing of *hypomnemata*? scattered notes later collected and systematised by his pupil Callistratus?).⁴⁶ *Rebus sic perperis*, I believe

41 See Schrader 1864, 41–54: the issue was so thorny that Cobet proposed to change systematically Aristophanes' name into Aristarchus, whereas Sengebusch believed that Aristophanes was the real inventor of the pure *diple*.

42 Gudeman 1922, 1924–25 (despite his incorrect reference to POxy 1086, see above § 2).

43 van Thiel 2014, I.19 (see also I.29).

44 van Thiel 1992, and Dubischar 2015, 554 (with Montana 2015, 104).

45 It should be remarked that this value also appears in the Aristophanes scholia: cf. *schol. Ar. av.* 76a (Pontani 2015, 214). One of the many functions of the χ in scholia to scenic poets and Pindar is to point to discrepancies with mythographical accounts in Homer (Schrader 1864, 18–25).

46 See Montanari 2011, 2–3, who however believes that for the readings and interpretations of pre-Aristarchean scholars (including Aristophanes) the only sources were "essays on a

the latter opportunity to be more plausible than the former, or at least worthy of serious consideration.

Bibliography

- Dubischar, M. (2015), "Typology of Philological Writings", in Montanari/Matthaios/Rengakos, 545–98.
- Fowler, R.L. (1979), "Reconstructing the Cologne Alcaeus", in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 33, 17–28.
- Gudeman, A. (1922), "Kritische Zeichen", in *RE* XI/2, Stuttgart, 1916–27.
- Holtermann, M. (2004), *Der deutsche Aristophanes*, Göttingen.
- Lowe, N. (2013), "Comedy and the Pleiad: Alexandrian Tragedians and the Birth of Comic Scholarship", in E. Bakola/L. Prauscello/M. Telò (eds.), *Greek comedy and the discourse of genres*, Cambridge/New York, 343–356.
- Ludwich, A. (1884–85), *Aristarchs Homerische Textkritik*, Leipzig.
- Lundon, J. (2001), "POxy 1086 e Aristarco", in *Atti del XXII Congresso Intern. di Papirologia*, II, Firenze, 827–43.
- Lundon, J. (2002), *Un commentario aristarcheo al II libro dell'Iliade*, Firenze.
- McNamee, K. (1981), *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca*, Ann Arbor.
- McNamee, K. (1992), *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri*, Bruxelles.
- Montana, F. (2008), "Il grammatico Callistrato nella *diadoche* alessandrina", in *Museum Helveticum* 65, 77–98.
- Montana, F. (2015), "Hellenistic Scholarship", in Montanari/Matthaios/Rengakos, 60–183.
- Montanari, F. (1997), "The Fragments of Hellenistic Scholarship", in G.W. Most (ed.), *Collecting Fragments - Fragmente Sammeln*, Göttingen, 273–88.
- Montanari, F. (2011), "Correcting a Copy, Editing a Text. Alexandrian *Ekdosis* and Papyri", in F. Montanari/L. Pagani (eds.), *From Scholars to Scholia*, Berlin/New York, 1–15.
- Montanari, F. (2015), "*Ekdosis*. A Product of the Ancient Scholarship", in Montanari/Matthaios/Rengakos, 641–71.
- Montanari, F./Matthaios, S./Rengakos, A. (eds.) (2015), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*, Leiden/New York.
- Nauck, A. (ed.) (1848), *Aristophanis Byzantii Fragmenta*, Halle (repr. Hildesheim 1963).
- Pernigotti, C. (2004), "L'Anecdote Cavense e la tradizione greco-latina dei segni critici platonici", in *Archaeologica Pisana = Terra Italia* 7, 327–332.
- Pfeiffer, R. (1968), *History of Classical Scholarship*, Oxford.
- Pontani, F. (2005), *Sguardi su Ulisse*, Roma.
- Pontani, F. (ed.) (2015), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, III, Roma.
- Richter, J. (1868), *Gruß an die Universität Bonn zur Feier des 3. August 1868*, Jena.

particular subject, lexicographic collections or even notes from scholar/school *milieu*, transmitted orally or by memory". But is it really credible that generic critical signs on the margins of the *ekdosis* should only refer to oral explanations?

- Schironi, F. (2012), "The Ambiguity of Signs", in M.R. Niehoff (ed.), *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*, Leiden/New York, 85–112.
- Schrader, H. (1864), *De notatione critica a veteribus grammaticis in poëtis scaenicis adhibita*, Bonnae.
- Slater, W. (ed.) (1986), *Aristophanis Byzantii Fragmenta*, Berlin/New York.
- Stein, M. (2007), "Kritische Zeichen", in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 22, Stuttgart, 133–63.
- Turner, E. (1987²), *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, London.
- Turner, E.G. (2002), *Papiri greci*, Roma (orig. ed. 1968).
- van Thiel, H. (1992), "Aristarch, Zenodot und andere", in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 90, 1–32.
- van Thiel, H. (2014), *Aristarch, Aristophanes Byzantios, Demetrios Ixion, Zenodot*, I–IV, Berlin/Boston.
- West, M.L. (2001), *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad*, Munich/Leipzig.
- West, S. (1967), *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer*, Köln/Opladen.
- White, J.W. (1914), *The Scholia on the Aves of Aristophanes*, Boston/London.

Daniela Colomo

Glossary to *Odyssey* VIII in a new papyrus fragment from the Leipzig Papyrus- und Ostrakasammlung

In memory of John William Ross London (1960–2017)

Abstract: *Editio princeps* of P.Lips. inv. 1397, a fragment of a first-century AD papyrus roll of unknown provenance containing a glossary to Hom. *Odyssey* VIII. Layout and script point to a professional book production. The portion of the text covered in the fragment appears for the first time among papyri of glossaries (apart from a small overlap with P.Colon. inv. 2381v).

I offer here the *editio princeps* of a small papyrus fragment belonging to the Papyrus- und Ostrakasammlung of the University of Leipzig, P.Lips. inv. 1397 (plate 1),¹ which I have identified as a fragment of a glossary to Hom. *Odyssey* VIII.²

The fragment is of unknown provenance.³ The size is 7 x 5.7 cm (W x H); the colour of the writing material is middle brown. The text, consisting of remains of 10 lines, is written along the fibres; the back is blank. The left margin is partially preserved to a maximum of 0.7 cm (in the first three lines of the text).

The script is a carefully executed upright round bookhand. Extremities of uprights and diagonals often show finials in the form of leftwards or rightwards tiny serifs. I am inclined to assign this script to the first century AD. A comparable

¹ This identification was made during my activity as a ‘wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin’ at the Leipzig Collection. I wish to thank Prof. Reinhold Scholl for the permission to publish the edition and the image of this piece, and also for checks on the original and valuable critical comments on a draft on this text. I also thank Dr Roberta Carlesimo, Prof. Lucio Del Corso, Dr Silvia Cutuli, Prof. Eleanor Dickey, Dr Giulio Iovine, Dr Mark de Kreij, Dr Chiara Monaco, Prof. Franco Montanari, Prof. Filippomaria Pontani, Dr Enrico Emanuele Prodi, Livia Tagliapietra and Prof. Giuseppe Ucciardello for bibliographical help and scholarly advice. In particular, Prof. Pontani has kindly provided unpublished manuscript evidence that he has collected for his ongoing Herculean enterprise of producing a new edition of the scholia to the *Odyssey*.

² LDAB 10348; a digital record is available in the database of the *Halle-Jena-Leipzig Papyrus und Ostraka Projekt* (URL: <https://papyri.uni-leipzig.de>).

³ No documents related to the acquisition of this fragment are available at the Leipzig Collection: they must have been destroyed during the Second World War.

script is to be found in a document, P.Oxy. XXV 2435, *Acta Alexandrinorum*?⁴ assigned to the first half of the first century AD: letter shapes are similar, although the hand is much more irregular and shows cursive features. Compare also BGU IV 1114 (payment receipt),⁵ of the year 5 BC, and P.Fayum 110 (private letter),⁶ of the year 94 AD. A more calligraphic version of this script is to be found in BKT V 1.3, *Iliad* VIII 433–447, assigned to the first/second century AD.⁷

No diacritics are marked. At the very beginning of the first line a X-shaped sign occurs: it is roughly comparable to a Greek *chi* and written in bluish ink. It must be a ‘modern’ addition from the 19th or early 20th century, very probably meant as an indication for the conservator who must have been ignorant of ancient Greek, in order to glass the piece in the right direction, i.e. not upside down. In the same frame in which our small fragment is kept there are two other pieces showing the same ‘modern’ sign (P.Lips. inv. 1395 and inv. 1396).⁸ Curiously this ‘modern’ *chi* illustrates the continuity of the use of the *chi* sign in the most elementary and practical function, and thus it is an ideal link with the contribution of Filippomaria Pontani in this volume.

Iota adscript is not marked. Iotacism occurs in line 1 (see comm. *ad loc.*).

As is well known, Homeric glossaries⁹ show two basic types of layout:¹⁰ (1) columnar layout, consisting of a column of lemmata followed by a parallel column of glosses;¹¹ (2) continuous layout, where the lemmata are followed by the

⁴ Turner/Parsons 1987, 96, no. 57.

⁵ Schubart 1911, 14, no. 14.

⁶ Roberts 1956, 11, no. 11b.

⁷ Schubart 1911, no. 19c; Cavallo 2008, 76 no. 54.

⁸ Note that in the current frame in which the piece is kept together with P.Lips. inv. 1395 and inv. 1396, the small labels with inventory numbers and ‘Fach’ number have been attached upside down.

⁹ For a definition of glossaries/*scholia minora* within the *Homerica* see: Henrichs 1971a, 99–107; Raffaelli 1984, 138–146; Pontani 2005, 117–120; Lendon 2011, 159; Montanari 2012, 2–5. Lendon 2012a, 195–196 offers an update of Raffaelli 1984 on the glossaries. Lendon 2012b lists 99 papyri containing glossaries/*scholia minora*, of which 12 are marginal or interlinear notes in a copy of the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. Texts to be added to this list include PL III/997v (*ed. pr.* Del Corso/Pintaudi 2014), and CUL Plumley 3 (*ed. pr.* Tagliapietra 2017). See also the database online *Scholia Minora in Homerum*, set up by Paola Ascheri and Davide Muratore under the direction of Franco Montanari (<http://www.aristarchus.unige.net/Scholia/it-IT/Home>).

¹⁰ On this aspect see Raffaelli 1984, 169–74; Fournet 1999, 99; P.Köln IX 362, introd. p. 58; Lendon 2012a, 199.

¹¹ On this type of layout in general see Dickey 2015, esp. 819. Among the papyri that contain glossaries and show this layout, see for ex. the following: P.Mil. Vogl. inv. 1181 int. (*Od.* I 46–53), a fragment of a papyrus roll of the first century (later re-used for a private letter; *ed. pr.* Gallazzi 1982; see also Pontani 2005, 120); P.Oxy. LXXII 4819 (*Il.* I 332–341, 354–360), a sheet from a

glosses, but the glosses do not form a column; in this case a single line can contain more than one pair lemma + gloss, separated by simple blank space or high stop or dicolon or a combination of these devices.¹² The Leipzig piece clearly shows the second type of layout: each line contains a pair lemma + gloss; in each pair the lemma is separated from the corresponding gloss by a blank space of about 0.4–0.5 cm;¹³ the glosses are not aligned in a clear-cut separate column with justified left-hand margin. Comparable cases are the following: P.Colon. inv. 2281v + P.Palau Rib. inv. 147v;¹⁴ P.Oxy. XLIV 3160 + P.Stras. gr. 1401;¹⁵ P.Mich. inv.

papyrus codex (if not an opisthograph single sheet) of the third/fourth century; P.Berol. inv. 5014 (Il. I 1–6, 8–12), a leaf from a fifth-century papyrus codex, probably from the school environment (ed. pr. Wilcken 1887, 819–820; see also Muratore 2009, 22–30). Moreover, P.Oxy. LXXII 4818 (Il. I 326–336, 340–353), a fragment of a third-century roll, shows the columnar layout, but with an anomaly affecting three glosses (see ed. pr. introd., p. 88). P.Oxy. XLV 3238 (Il. I ?405–?538, II 385–393), which consists of three fragments containing six columns of a roll written on the back of an account in a small Severe Style hand of the early third century, shows a ‘mixed’ layout: the left-hand alignment of the column containing the glosses is maintained by groups of lines and recurrently violated from time to time.

12 For the use of these layout devices see for example the following: P.Köln IX 362 (*Od.* I 45–116), a roll or sheet from the third/fourth century written on the back of a document, where the individual pairs lemma + gloss are separated by dicolon, while each lemma and the corresponding gloss are written in *scriptio continua*; P.Achm. 2 (Il. II 1–21; glossary preceded by hypothesis), a codex from the third/fourth century, where single dot or dicolon is used to separate both lemma from gloss, and each pair lemma + gloss.

13 Slightly wider in line 6 (0.7 cm) and line 8 (0.9 cm).

14 This text is written on the verso of a roll fabricated with different recycled documentary pieces, in an informal but practiced hand of the second/third century; it covers Il. I 191–610 (with lacunae) and includes final title; its provenance is probably Oxyrhynchus. Editions in Henrichs 1971b, 229–252 (fragments in the Cologne’s collection), Daris 1974 and P.Palau Rib. Lit. 8 (fragments housed at the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu Cataloniae*, Barcelona); Lunden 2012a provides a comprehensive study of both groups of fragments of this item.

15 This papyrus belongs to a roll which originally may have covered the entire *Odyssey*, including a short hypothesis followed by a glossary for each book. As it stands, it preserves glosses of Book II (badly damaged), a hypothesis and glossary of Book II and a hypothesis of Book III. It is written on the back of a register in a rapidly executed informal hand of the first half of the third century; it is very probably a school text. The Strasbourg fragment has been edited by Schwartz 1969; the identification of the two papyri as belonging to the same roll was made by Luppe 1977; see also Pontani 2005, 123. Note that in several cases in a single line more than a single pair lemma + gloss occur, and individual pairs are separated by a blank space as wide as the one separating lemma from gloss (col. ii 32, col. iii 28, 29).

1588;¹⁶ P.Schubart 2 (P.Berol. inv. 7501);¹⁷ CUL Plumley 3;¹⁸ P.Oxy. XLV 3237;¹⁹ P.Ryl. III 586;²⁰ P.Amh. II 18 + P.Stras. inv. Gr. 162.²¹

The slight indentation of line 1 may suggest a title/heading (but see comm. *ad loc.*). We have no elements to think that the putative heading coincides with the beginning of the column or even with the beginning of the first column of the roll.²² In other words, we cannot rule out that the surviving portion of the column was preceded by a section containing a glossary covering the seventh Book of the *Odyssey*. Alternatively, the glossary may have been preceded by a short hypothesis of Book VIII; cf. P.Achm. 2,²³ P.Oxy. XLIV 3159,²⁴ P.Oxy. LVI 3833²⁵ and P.Oxy. XLIV 3160 + P.Strasb. gr. 1401.

From a bibliological and palaeographical standpoint P.Lips. inv. 1397, written on the recto of a good quality papyrus in an elegant bookhand, can be classified as a professionally produced book, in contrast with many other papyri of glossaries that were copied for private use and thus often look somewhat

16 Fragment of a second/third-century roll written in a careful documentary-looking script, covering *Il.* I 1–9 (*ed. pr.* Renner 1979, 313–321).

17 Fragment of a roll (if not of a single sheet) written on the back of a documentary text in a round capital of the third century carefully executed; possibly a school text. It covers *Il.* I 266–272.

18 Fragment of a roll written in an informal round hand of the first/second century (the back has been reused for a list of payments, still unpublished); it covers *Il.* II 212–225, 272–295. Note that this item shows a layout feature typical of Homeric glossaries: if a gloss occupies more than a single line, the following line(s) is/are written in *eisthesis* (*ed. pr.* Tagliapietra 2017).

19 Fragment of a roll covering *Il.* I 302–23, written in a Severe Style of the early third century, possibly used for teaching. In some cases more than one pair lemma + gloss per line occur; the pairs are separated by a blank space as well; see col. i 21, 27, 36, 44, 46.

20 Fragment of a third-century codex written in a decent Severe Style, covering *Il.* XIII 198–227, 317–324, 415–435, ?525–562 (see Montanari 1995, 137–146).

21 An extensively preserved roll (20 consecutive almost complete columns) written on the back of a documentary text in a mid-second-century informal capital rapidly executed. It covers *Od.* XV 1–521; *ed. pr.* of the P.Strasb. section in Plasberg (1903) 206–208, no. II 2; see also Pontani 2005, 121–122.

22 Note that in P.Amst. I 6, a fragment of a leaf of a papyrus codex written in a seventh-century sloping pointed bookhand, covering *Il.* VIII 1–11, 29–41, the very beginning of the column of the lemmata of Book VIII coincides with the very beginning of the page, which contains the numeral $\bar{\theta}$, placed in the margin just above line-beginning and not in the middle.

23 See above, n. 12.

24 Fragment of a second/third century roll written on the back of accounts in a rough and rapid hand with cursive elements; it contains hypothesis and glossary to *Il.* VII; apparently a school text.

25 Fragment of a fourth-century codex written in an informal upright round hand, covering *Od.* XVII 455–599–XVIII 1–27, with hypothesis of Book XVIII preceded by title; see Pontani 2005, 125–126.

informally and carelessly written.²⁶ Taking into consideration the careful execution of the script we can compare our papyrus with the following: P.Ant. III 150, fragment of a papyrus roll covering *Il.* XVI 100(?)–150, which I would assign to the late first century BC/early first century AD;²⁷ P.Berol. inv. 11518, a first-century roll covering *Il.* III 1–8, 433–461, IV 2–26, 47–76, with a generous lower margin;²⁸ P.Schubart 2. To this group we can also add some well-produced codices: P.Oxy. LXVII 4635 (*Il.* II 303–307, 321–328, 463–470, 479–493) and P.Med. inv. 72.13 (*Il.* XI ?321–353; a very tiny fragment),²⁹ two papyrus codices written in a neat Severe Style of the second/third century; Bodl. MS. Gr. class. F 41 (P), a papyrus codex written in a sloping pointed majuscule of the fifth century, showing a generous lower margin.³⁰

P.Lips. inv. 1397 overlaps with another papyrus, P.Colon. inv. 2381v,³¹ which covers *Od.* VII 283–347, VIII 29–163. The overlap concerns a single lemma of v. 29: the gloss in P.Colon. inv. 2381v is not entirely preserved, but probably it was very similar to the one preserved in P.Lips. inv. 1397 (see comm. *ad loc.*). There are no other papyri preserving glossaries to the eighth Book of the *Odyssey*.

26 For the classification of papyri containing Homeric glossaries on the basis of their bibliographical and palaeographical features, see Spooner 2002, 7–8, who refers to the items edited in his book as examples. For glossaries (relatively) carefully produced, but showing a certain degree of informality, see the following: P.Mil. Vogl. inv. 1181 int. (see n. 11), whose informal but accurately executed script shows some finials (it contains corrections by a different hand); P.Ryl. I 25 (*Il.* XVIII 373–386), written in a well-executed oval capital of the second century on the back of a document belonging to the reign of Trajan; P.Berol. inv. 11634v (*Il.* VIII 361–563, IX 1–64; *ed. pr.* Poethke 1967, 105–110), written on the back of a roll of official correspondence in an informal round capital of the second century; P.Colon. inv. 2281v + P.Palau Rib. inv. 147v (see above n. 14), an amateurish product written on recycled material in an informal but practiced hand with a neat layout, with many mistakes (Lundon 2012a, 208); P.Köln IX 362 (*Od.* I 45–116), a roll or sheet written on the verso of accounts in a sufficiently competent but not much regular majuscule of the third/fourth century, possibly by a teacher for his professional use (see Pontani 2005, 125); CUL Plumley 3 (see n. 18). In addition, P.Oxy. LXVII 4630 (*Il.* II 24–40), a roll of the first century, may be considered as a student's attempt to imitate a teacher model written in a round serified bookhand (cf. Spooner 2002, 44). On Homeric glossaries produced and used in the school environment, see Cribiore 1996, 50–51, 253–258; Ead. 1997, 58–59.

27 See below Appendix.

28 *Ed. pr.* Müller 1968.

29 *Ed. pr.* Strassi 1978, 115–116 with Tav. II (facing page 113).

30 *Ed. pr.* Gonis/Lundon 2001.

31 Fragment of a roll written on the verso of a document in an informal and rapid script with curvilinear elements assignable to the first/second century. *Ed. pr.* Henrichs 1971c, 3–12; see also Pontani 2005, 120–121.

Finally it is worth stressing that P.Lips. inv. 1397 belongs to the earliest witnesses of Homeric glossaries together with P.Ant. III 150, P.Mil. Vogl. inv. 1181 int.,³² P.Yale II 126,³³ and P.Berol. inv. 11518.

Diplomatic Transcript

.
 φ. ε. ηκω. (.).....[
 μετωχ. το επεπορε.[
 μητιωος. κατασκευ.[
 ..ιρα καιδη *vacat* [
 5] [. .] λαγχ. εις επιπλα.[
] ρη. ων προστη.[
] ριω. προστηδ[
] ον καιν[
] χωριςθ.[
 10] [

*Reconstructed Text*³⁴

.
 Φαειηκωον[?
μετόχχτο ἐπεπόρευ[το 7
μητιώωα κατασκευά[σαι βουλευομένη 9
καί ρα καὶ δὴ *vacat* [10
 5 **ἐ]π[ι]πλαγχθείς** ἐπιπλαν[ηθείς 14
πρό]ς ἡοίων πρὸς τῇ ἀγ[ατολῇ 29
ἐςπ]ερίων πρὸς τῇ δ[ύκει 29

³² See above, n. 11.

³³ Fragment of a papyrus roll written on the back of a document (accounts) in an upright round bookhand of the first century. It covers *Il.* I 189–223.

³⁴ The lemmata are printed in bold.

πρωτόπλ]σον καιν[ήν	35
κρινάεθων] χωριεθή[τωσαν	36
10],[	?

.

1 φ., trace at line-level followed by extremity of descender: alpha or lambda likely
 ε, the central stroke is badly damaged: only the protruding right-hand extremity
 is visible; the upper extremity of the arc touches it; cf. the third and the fourth
 epsilons of line 2 η, trace at line-level, possibly foot of upright ω.(.), remains
 of lower part of two subsequent left-hand arcs: either sigma + omicron or ome-
 ga[, traces belonging to four or five letters: first, trace at line-level at edge
 (possibly a finial) in roughly vertical alignment with very tiny trace at mid-height
 at edge; second, diagonal trace in lower part of writing space, possibly lower
 extremity of descender or part of left-hand arc; third, very tiny and blurred trace
 at edge, approaching to horizontal, on damaged papyrus; fourth, diagonal trace
 in lower part of writing space, as part of descender or arc? fifth, extremely tiny
 trace lying at edge roughly at mid-height 2 χ., remains of left-hand and bottom
 arc .[, vertical trace at mid-height with extra ink on upper and lower extremity
 3 c., curving descender as of alpha εν[, middle part of ascender; above trace
 high in the line: triangular letter possible 4 ..ι, first, tiny faded trace high in the
 line at edge; second, remains of descender 5], thin horizontal trace at edge
 high in the line]λ, upper part of upright joining damaged crossbar, of which
 the right-hand extremity is visible: right-hand part of pi likely; scanty remains at
 line-level suggest lower finial at edge χ., tiny faded trace belonging to lower
 part of left-hand arc α[, upright and upper third of descender departing from
 the tip of the upright 6 η., first, tiny curving trace high on the line, compatible
 with right-hand arc; second, upper part of upright α[, upright slightly slating
 to right joining descender: lambda or left-hand and diagonal of nu 7] ρ,
 remains of top and bottom arc of round letter ω., remains of square letter: trace
 high in the line suggesting left-hand upright; right-hand upright in evidence;
 small trace in-between. 8]ov, right-hand arc 9 θ[, remains of upper part of
 upright which joins another not preserved stroke, probably horizontal: eta with
 high central stroke likely 10],[, traces partially covered by a small piece of
 papyrus: horizontal trace (like crossbar) and on the right three small dots (which
 shape an ideal right-hand arc).

Commentary

I am inclined to interpret the remains of the two left-hand arcs occurring after the first omega in the sequence φ.ε.ηκω.(.) as an omega: note the remains of a sort of finial visible at the upper extremity of the second arc, i.e. the second lobe of the putative omega, and cf. the leftwards hook of the omega occurring in line 3. Thus we can reconstruct the sequence Φαειηκωων, to be read as Φαιήκων (the first occurrence of this form in Book VIII is at the beginning of v. 5). The papyrus shows the common spelling epsilon-iota instead of iota (cf. Gignac 1976, 190–191). Diplography of omega and omission on the nu appear to be mere slips. The *eisthesis* of a couple of letters suggests two possibilities:

(1) A title/heading for the section covering Book VIII. In Homeric glossaries the transition from a book to the following one is usually marked by a short title/heading: P.Colon. inv. 2381v (line 17) has the heading της θ̄ (*scil.* ῥαψωδίας) written in the middle of the line to mark the transition from Book VII to Book VIII of the *Odyssey* (at the end of Book VII a paragraphos occurs); in P.Oxy. LVI 3833, the second page of the codex starts with της Ϟ̄ (*scil.* ῥαψωδίας), placed roughly in the middle of the line to indicate the beginning of Book XVIII of the *Odyssey*; in P.Berol. inv. 11634v³⁵ (col. ii 8–9) a spiral-like coronis marks the transition from Book IX to Book X of the *Iliad* and the heading της ῑ (*scil.* ῥαψωδίας) is written in the middle of the line, while the last lemma of Book IX is underlined with a horizontal stroke; P.Mich. inv. 1588 shows the initial heading α βιβλ[ίου] at the top of the column;³⁶ at the top of the first (surviving) page of P.Amst. I 6 the numeral θ̄ occurs (aligned with the line-beginnings) to mark the beginning of the glossary to Book VIII of the *Iliad*.³⁷ (There is an exception to this ‘rule’, P.Colon. inv. 236,³⁸ where the transition from a book to another is not marked at all: the last gloss of *Od.* XVI in line 15 is directly followed by the first gloss of Book XVII in line 16.³⁹)

³⁵ See above, n. 26.

³⁶ See also P.Aphrod. Lit. 2, a papyrus codex of the fourth/fifth century (originally covering the entire *Iliad*; the surviving leaves contain scholia to *Il.* I, II, IV, V, XVIII, XIX), where the transition from Book IV to Book V (F^o 8 → 4-5) is marked with final title (τέλος τ[ης] Ε) followed by initial title (ἀρχή τ[ης] Ε); cf. Fournet 1999, 100 with n. 66.

³⁷ See above, n. 22.

³⁸ Fragment of a papyrus roll from Oxyrhynchus written in a serified bookhand of the second/third century; the back has been re-used to write a document. It covers *Od.* XVI 427–474, XVII 33–66 *Ed. pr.* Henrichs 1973, 17–23, with Taf. Ia; see also Pontani 2005, 124.

³⁹ This is mentioned in Raffaelli 1984, 176 (but with a wrong reference to her own list, 007 instead of 008; the same wrong reference is repeated in Fournet 1999, 100, n. 66).

In our case we may think of a title focusing on the core episode of Book VIII of the *Odyssey*. Thus we can reconstruct the sequence in line 1 as Φαίηκων ἐκκ[λησία, assuming that the Homeric form with eta was kept (thus excluding a case of interchange between alpha and eta, which is sporadic; cf. Gignac 1976, 286). The traces are compatible: the traces described as the second and the third ones in the palaeographical description would correspond to the arc and the central stroke of the epsilon respectively, while the trace described as the fourth one would correspond to the first kappa of ἐκκ[λησία, which would have a rather steep lower oblique in comparison to the other kappas of this script; of the second kappa there is an extremely tiny trace belonging to its upright (corresponding to the fifth trace of the palaeographical description). The use of an Homeric form instead of the expected Attic one in this putative heading may appear less striking if we consider some cases where the Homeric forms occur within scholiastic and scholarly paraphrases/explanations, fully integrated in the (expected ‘standard Attic’) prose texts and not as lemmata or quotations.⁴⁰ For Φαίηκες see: Schol. *Od.* VI 8c3;⁴¹ Schol. *T Od.* VI 195;⁴² Schol. *Od.* VI 273a;⁴³ Schol. *Od.* VII 79;⁴⁴ Schol. *Od.* VIII 206;⁴⁵ Schol. *Od.* VIII 567;⁴⁶ Schol. *Od.* XIII 302.⁴⁷ Such a title would be appropriate to indicate the eighth Book of the *Odyssey* from the point of view of the content, if we assume that all that happens in Book VIII at Alcinoüs’ court — the assembly itself, the feast with the games and Demodocus’ performances — could be generally labelled as the gathering (ἐκκλησία) of the Phaeacians.⁴⁸ *Stricto sensu*, however, the assembly refers to the first section of Book VIII (vv. 1-61). Unfortunately I have found no exact parallel for this putative heading among the

⁴⁰ In assessing the evidence we have to consider the role of an important factor of the textual transmission: in the course of the centuries the weakening of linguistic competence certainly produced a lack of awareness of the difference between epic forms and standard Attic ones, and thus an increase of the chance of confusion and interchange between forms. On this topic see also Colomo 2009, 5–6.

⁴¹ ἐν Χερσίῃ] ἐν τῇ τῶν Φαίηκων πόλει HNy.

⁴² Φαίηκες μὲν τήνδε πόλιν καὶ γαίαν· ἀποροῦσι πῶς, εἰ ἐν Κερκύρᾳ οἰκοῦσι Φαίηκες, λέγει κτλ. (Porph.).

⁴³ τῶν] τούτων τῶν Φαίηκων M^a | ἀφ’ ὧν γ.

⁴⁴ Χερσίην] Χερσία ἢ χώρα τῶν Φαίηκων H.

⁴⁵ οὔτι μεγάρω] οὐδὲν φθονῶ πάντων μου πειραθῆναι Φαίηκων T.

⁴⁶ φῆ ποτε] ὅτι ὁ Ποσειδῶν εἶπέ ποτε ὅτι φθερεῖ τὴν εὐεργέα τῶν Φαίηκων νῆα ὀργιζόμενος διὰ τὸ πλεῖν τούτων τὰς νῆας ἀπήμονας, φθόνῳ πάντως βαλλομένης H.

⁴⁷ ἔθηκα] παρεσκεύασα εἶναι σε φίλον πάντων Φαίηκων H.

⁴⁸ This interpretation may be allowed by the formulation of the various hypotheses to Book VIII in the scholia.

‘traditional’ titles used in ancient sources⁴⁹ to indicate ῥαψωδίαί of the two Homeric poems on the basis of their content, probably reflecting ancient rhapsodic practice, like Ἀλκίνου ἀπόλογος for the group of Books VIII–XII of the *Odyssey* (Arist. *Po.* 16, 1455^a 3, *Rhet.* 17, 1417^a 13, Plat. *Resp.* 614^b). In any case the heading Φαιήκων ἐκκλησία would be plausible, although we may expect a more ‘comprehensive’ title, e.g. Φαιήκων ἄθλα/ἄέθλα (cf. Eust. in *Od.* 1588.30 Stallbaum ἐν τοῖς Φαιακικοῖς ἄέθλοισι νικήσαντες, with the epic form; Ael. Aristid. *Or.* 28.40 K. ἐν τοῖς ἄθλοισι τῶν Φαιάκων, with Attic forms; note, however, that Keil suspected the phrase) which unfortunately is not compatible with the extant traces. For titles/headings with Homeric forms see Eust. in *Il.* 682.35, in *Od.* 1405.15 Cullhed, ἐν τῷ Καταλόγῳ τῶν νηῶν, and Schol. vet. in Pind. *Ol.* VI, 48c.6–7 Dr. οὕτω που καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν τῷ Καταλόγῳ τῶν Ἀχιλλέως νηῶν φησι (*Il.* XVI 179).

The natural implication would be that the section preserved in our fragment was preceded by a glossary covering Book VII. However, it has not to be completely ruled out that we have here the very beginning of the first column of the roll.

(2) A pair lemma + gloss, where the gloss occupies more than one line and thus the second line is written in *eisthesis*; cf. e.g. P.Amh. II 18 + P.Stras. inv. Gr. 162, CUL Plumley 3, P.Colon. inv. 2281v + P.Palau Rib. inv. 147v, P.Oxy. LXVII 4631,⁵⁰ 4633,⁵¹ 4636,⁵² P.Colon. inv. 236. The pair lemma + gloss can be reconstructed as follow:

[ἀγορήνδε εἰς τὸν τόπον τῆς τῶν]
Φαιήκων ἐκκ[λησίας]

We would obtain a line of ca. 9 cm long; on line-length, see comm. on line 3. The adverb ἀγορήνδε is elided in the Homeric text, but I assume that in the papyrus it was written in *scriptio plena* according to the usual treatment of Homeric elided words glossed in glossaries.⁵³

⁴⁹ See for ex. Hrd. II 116; Thuc. I 9.4, I 10.4; Arist. *Po.* 16, 1454b 30; Ael. *VH* 13–14; this aspect is treated by Capone 1939, 71–77; West S. 1967, 20; Jensen 1999, esp. 5–20; West M. and S. 1999.

⁵⁰ This text consists of three fragments of a papyrus sheet written on the verso of a document in an informal round hand of the second century; it covers *Il.* II 50–109 and seems to contain longer mythographic scholia; very probably it originates in the school environment.

⁵¹ This text is written on the back of a second-century *sitologos* document, in an informal script with cursive elements influenced by the chancery hand and assignable to the third century; it covers *Il.* II 277–318 (with 294–306 in lacuna).

⁵² This text consists of a group of fragments belonging to a papyrus roll, written in an upright informal hand of the second/third century; it covers *Il.* II ?593–645; very probably it is a school text.

⁵³ See Lunden 2007, 410 with n. 19, who offers many examples; Fournet 1999, 102.

The reconstruction of the putative pair lemma + gloss is based on the following sources: Hesych. α 726 *ἀγορήνδε· εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (*Il.* I 54) b || Schol. D *Il.* I 54 ἀγορὴν δὲ καλέσκατο· ἐκκλησίαν, συνέδριον ZYQX || Ep.Hom. α 65 ἀγορήνδε (*Il.* II 264)· εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, τουτέστιν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν = Et.Gud. 16.21 Stef. || Et.M. α 165 L.-L. ἀγορήνδε (*Il.* I 54)· τουτέστιν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν || Schol. *Od.* XVII 52 ἀγορήνδε ἐλεύσομαι] νῦν τὸν τόπον ἐκάλεσεν ἀγοράν HQ || Schol. *Batrach.* 104 b ἀγορὴν or ἀγορήνδ'] εἰς (τὴν V) ἀγοράν, εἰς δημηγορίαν Π. Cf. also Schol. *Od.* VIII 5c1 ἥ cφιν παρὰ νηυσὶ τέτυκτο· ὥς ἂν περὶ ναυτικά ἐσπουδακότες, εἰκότως καὶ τὸν τόπον τῆς ἐκκλησίας πλησίον τῶν νεωρίων κατεστήσαντο T.⁵⁴ Note that P.Amst. I 6,⁵⁵ line 6 ad *Il.* 8.2 transmits the lemma ἀγορή[v].

As in (1) we have here the epic form Φαιήκων instead of the Attic Φαίάκων.

2 μετόχετο ἐπεπόρευ[το (v. 7). I have supplied the pluperfect form on the basis of the fact that the simple verb οἶχομαι is often used in the perfect sense: cf. *Od.* IV 642b, ms. M^a, where ὄχετο is glossed with ἐπεπόρευτο. Note that the form ἐπεπόρευτο also glosses *ἐβεβήκει (*Il.* VI 495) in Hesych. ε 69. However, the following sources contain the imperfect as a gloss of μετόχετο: Schol. D *Il.* V 148 μετόχετο: μετήρχετο, ἐπορεύετο ZYQ || Hesych. μ 1118 μετόχετο· ἐπορεύετο = *Syn.* μ 186 (cf. Phot. μ 367, *Suid.* μ 805), *Lex.rhet.* μ p. 300.20 || Schol. *Od.* VIII 7 τὸ μετόχετο κεῖται διηνεκῶς ὅταν εἷς τινα πορεύεται τις B. The form ἐπορεύετο is also used to gloss the following verbs: ἐπόχετο in Schol. *Od.* I 143e2 (= Phot. ε 1877); ἐπεπολεῖτο (*Il.* IV 231) in Ap. Soph. 71.12 = Hesych. ε 4427 (but ἐπεπολεῖτο in *Syn.* ε 610 C.; cf. Phot. ε 1425 = *Suid.* ε 2064). The plural form ἐπεπορεύοντο (imperfect of ἐπιπορεύομαι) glosses the forms ἐφέπεσκον (*Od.* XII 330) in Hesych. ε 7389, and μετεπσεύοντο (*Il.* VI 296) in Hesych. μ 1077 (ἐπ(ε)πορεύοντο). Thus we cannot rule out completely that our fragment contained the imperfect ἐπεπορεύ[ετο (from ἐπιπορεύομαι).

3 μητιόωσα κατασκευάζ[σαι βουλευομένη (v. 9): βουλευομένη Ikz πράξει I. The printed supplement has been suggested by Filippomaria Pontani. It would produce a line a bit longer than the others, but cf. other cases of glossaries containing lines distinctively longer than others: P.Oxy. LXVII 4630 ii, 4633,

54 See also the following: Hesych. α 714 ἀγοράς· ἐκκλησίας (*Od.* II 69) ν ἡ ῥητορείας (*Il.* II 788) | α 699 Ἀγορά· τόπου ὄνομα, ἢ λιμένος καὶ τὰ ἀγοραζόμενα. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν λιμένα ἀγορὰν καλοῦσι. <Κρήτες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. παρ' Ὀμήρῳ καὶ πάντα ἀθροισόν> q ≅ Phot. α 221, *Lex.rhet.* α p. 210.8–10 || *Syn.* α 86 ἀγορήν· ἐκκλησίαν = Σ' α 179, which adds συνέδριον || Eust. in *Il.* 44.35 καὶ σύνδεσμος δὲ ἀντὶ προθέσεως λαμβάνεται, οἷον ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς εἰς ἐν τῷ [Πυθῶδε ἦγουν εἰς Πυθῶ] καὶ ἀγορήνδε καὶ φύγαδε καὶ οἴκαδε ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ εἰς φυγὴν καὶ εἰς οἶκον.

55 See above, n. 22.

4634, P.Berol. inv. 11634v.⁵⁶ In P.Lips. inv. 1397 the reconstruction of line 3 gives a line of ca. 10.8–11 cm long.

Alternatively we can think of two equivalent glosses, written in juxtaposition: κατασκευά[σαα, βουλευσαμένη (this suggestion would produce a sequence a couple of letters longer than the preceding supplement); cf. Schol. D *Il.* XV 27 μητιόωα: βουλευομένη, **ἐργαζομένη** ZYQ || Schol. *Od.* I 234g2 μητιώντες] **βουλευσάμενοι** M^a | βουλεύοντες Y. Other relevant sources to be compared are: Schol. *Od.* VI 14 νόστον...μητιόωα] βουλεύουσα M^eY | βουλευομένη BCI || Hesych. μ 1287 *μητιόωα: φροντίζουσα. βουλευομένη || Schol. D *Il.* VII 45 μητιόωσι: βουλευομένοις YQX || Schol. *Od.* I 234g1 μητιώντες: βουλεύόμενοι BHINV || Schol. D *Il.* XII 17 μητιώντο: ἐβουλεύοντο ZYQA^{ti} || Schol. D *Il.* XX 153 μητιώντες: βουλεύόμενοι ZQX. For other cases of juxtaposition of equivalent glosses of a single lemma, see P.Amh. II 18 + P.Stras. inv. Gr. 162 (col. xiii 171, col. xv 197), and P.Colon. inv. 2281v + P.Palau Rib. inv. 147v (col. iii 6).⁵⁷

4 **καὶ ῥα** καὶ δὴ (v. 10): so Schol. D *Il.* I 360 ZYQ, 500 ZYQX, 567 YQX || Hesych. κ 261 *καὶ ῥα: καὶ δὴ gb αὐτάρ.

After this short pair lemma + gloss the line is left blank: probably the remaining space was not enough to accommodate the following pair, which has been written in a new line. A comparable case is P.Oxy. XLV 3237, fr. 1, col. ii 8. Alternatively, we may speculate that at this point the *antigraphon* was damaged and the rest of the line was left empty with the intention to complete it later with the help of another copy. In fact this blank space is enough to accommodate a short pair lemma + gloss of the same verse: φωτί: ἀνδρί (= Schol. D *Il.* III 219 ZYQX; cf. Schol. *Od.* IV 247b ἄλλω...φωτὶ] ἑτέρω ἀνδρὶ/ἀνέρι) or φάτο: εἶπεν (= Schol. *Od.* IV 370d ms. M²). For the case of two shorter pairs lemma + gloss accommodated in a single line (while the other lines contain a single pair), cf. P.Oxy. XLIV 3160 + P.Stras. gr. 1401.

5 **ἐπ[ι]πλαγχθεῖς** ἐπιπλαν[ηθεῖς (v. 14): πόντον ἐπιπλαγχθεῖς] πλανηθεῖς διὰ BD τοῦ πόντου D. Compare the following sources: Schol. D *Il.* XIV 120 πλαγχθεῖς: ἀποπλανηθεῖς καὶ ἐκπεσὼν τῆς πατρίδος διὰ τὴν φυγὴν ZYQG || Schol. D *Il.* I 59 πάλιν πλαγχθέντας: εἰς τοῦτίω πλανηθέντας (=A^{ti}) ἀπελθεῖν ZYQXAI || Schol. *Od.* I 2a

⁵⁶ Compare also the ‘irregular’ layout of the following items: P.Oxy. XLV 3238 (see n. 11); P.Oxy. XLIV 3160 + P.Stras. gr. 1401 (see n. 15); CUL Plumley 3 (see n. 18).

⁵⁷ In other cases equivalent glosses for the same lemma are separated by καί, as in CUL Plumley 3 (col. i 8, 9, 11) or ἥ, as in P.Mich. inv. 1588 (col. i 16) and P.Oxy. XLV 3238 (col. iv 121). For further examples see Tagliapietra 2017, 10–11, who rightly points out that the juxtaposition of the equivalent glosses and the use of ἥ to separate them are the practices attested ‘[...] in the D scholia and generally in the comparative lexicographical testimonies’.

πλάγχθη] ἐπλανήθη CHM^aQTVY = Ap.gl. p. 99.4 || Schol. D *Od.* IX 259 ἀποπλάγχθεντες: πλανηθέντες ZMⁱ || Schol. D *Od.* XIII 278a πλαγχθέντες: πλανηθέντες ZMⁱ || Hesych. ε 5452 *ἐπλάγχθην· ἐπλανήθην || Hesych. π 2419 *πλαγχθέντες· πληγέντες, πλανηθέντες || P.Amh. II 18 + P.Stras. inv. Gr. 162, col. xiii 173, ad *Od.* XV 312 πλαγζομαι· πλανηθισομαι.

6–7 Cf. Schol. *Od.* VIII 29a1 ἡ ἐπὶ πρὸς ἡοίων· ἡ τῶν πρὸς δυσμᾶς ἡ τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολάς. HX(τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἡ τῶν πρὸς δύσιν)Υ(ἀνατολικῶν) οὕτως δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐμέριζον εἰς δύσιν καὶ ἀνατολὴν τὰ κοσμικά. “οὐ γάρ τ’ ἴδμεν ὅπη ζόφος οὐδ’ ὅπη ἡώς” (*Od.* X 190)· “εἴτ’ ἐπὶ δεξι’ ἴωσι πρὸς ἡὼ τ’ ἡέλιόν τε, εἴτ’ ἐπ’ ἀριστερὰ τοί γε ποτὶ ζόφον ἡερόεντα” (*Il.* XII 239) HX.

6 **πρὸς** c **ἡοίων** πρὸς τῇ ἀγ[ατολῇ (v. 29): ἡ ἐπὶ πρὸς ἡοίων· οὐ προσέθηκεν ἄρκτον καὶ μεσημβρίαν, ὅτι ἀπλούστερον οἱ ἀρχαῖοι διήρουν τὸν κόσμον, εἰς τε ἀνατολὴν καὶ δύσιν T | πρὸς ἡοίων] ἡ “πρὸς” ἀντὶ τῆς “ἀπὸ”, ἵν’ ἡ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς δυσμᾶς ἡ τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολάς B | ἡοίων· τῶν ἀνατολικῶν CE²HM²VXYnsy. In P.Colon. inv. 2381v, l. 18 it is possible to reconstruct πρ[ος] ηοίων· των προς [ανατολας].

7 **ἐσπερίων** πρὸς τῇ δ[ύσει (v. 29): τῶν δυτικῶν HM²(δυτικῶν)VXsy. Cf. Hesych. ε 6301 ἐσπέρια· δυτικά p μέρη. In P.Amh. II 18 + P.Stras. inv. Gr. 162, col. xx 263 ad *Od.* XV 505 the lemma ε[σ]π[ε]ριος occurs.

8 **πρωτόπλ[ο]ρον** καιν[ή]ν (v. 35): so mss. DHM²PVYy | τινὲς, τὴν πρώτως πλέουσιν CDHXYks, ὅ ἐστι H ναυαρχίδα HTY (πρώτην H) | νεωστὶ μέλλουσιν πλεῦσαι M^a | νέαν, ἡ πρώτην τῷ πλῶ E² | τὴν ἄρτι πρώτως εἰς τὴν ναῦν ἐλκυθεῖσαν (sic!) I | νενεωλκημένη I | τὴν πρῶτον πλεύσασαν, ἐπὶ θηλυκοῦ [...] B. Cf. Eust. in *Od.* 1588.30 Stallbaum πρωτόπλοος δὲ ναῦς, οὐ μόνον ἡ ἐκ καινῆς ναυπηγηθεῖσα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ πρώτη κατὰ τὸ πλέειν. ἡ μετὰ πρώτου τινὸς πλέουσα, ὅ ἐστι ναυαρχίς.

9 **κρινάσθων**] χωριζέ[σ]θων (v. 36). Only the ms. E² has the verb χωρίζω in the form χωριζέσθων (with the remark ἔστι δὲ δυϊκόν) while mss. BG²HM²PVYy transmit ἐπιεσχθήτων. Compare also the following sources: P. Oxy. VIII 1086 ii 71–72 ad *Il.* II 795 (= Pap. 2, p.170 Erbse) ἔδει γ(ὰρ) λέγειν ‘ὦ πάτερ’. κ(αὶ) τὸ “μῦθοι φίλοι ἄκριτοί εἰσιν”, ὅ (ἐστιν) ἄχωριτοι· κρίναι γ(ὰρ) τὸ χωρίζαι || Schol. *Od.* VIII 195 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ κρίνας ἐτάρων] χωρίζας καὶ ἐπιεξάμενος τοὺς ἀρίστους T || Hesych. κ 4120 κρίναι· τάξαι. χωρίζαι· δοκιμάσαι. δικάσαι. ἐπιλέξασθαι | κ 4124 *κρίνας· ἐπιλέξας. χωρίζας (*Il.* VII 188) | κ 4127 κρίνειν· ἀριθμεῖν. χωρίζειν· ἀνακρίνειν, συγκρίνειν. ἐνιοὶ κρινόμεθα ἀντὶ τοῦ μαχόμεθα. ἡ διαλεγόμεθα | κ 4129 κρίνθη· διεκρίθη. ἐχωρίσθη | κ 4130 κρινθέντας· χωριζθέντας || *Syn.* ε 237 ἐκρίνειν· ἐχώριεν, ἐπελέξατο = *Lex.rhet.* ε p. 214.8 || Phot. ε 491 ἔκρινεν (*Il.* I 309)· ἐχώριεν ἡ ἐπελέξατο || [Zonar.] 258.16 κρίνε· ἀντὶ τοῦ χώριζε || Eust. in *Il.* 108.10–15 (*Il.* I 309) Ὅτι κρίνειν οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τοῦ δικάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἀπλῶς χωρίζειν καὶ ἐπιλέγεσθαι. ἐρέτας γοῶν ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ἔκρινε ἥτοι ἐπέλεγετο, ἔκκριτο ἂν διὰ τοῦτο λεγθεῖεν.

Appendix

P.Ant. III 150, Glossary to *Iliad* XVI 100(?)–150

P.Ant. III 150 (plate 2) is a small fragment (3 x 8.2 cm) of a papyrus roll, written on good quality papyrus; the lower margin, is 3.8 cm wide, the intercolumnium 0.7 cm; the back is blank. The layout, with its generous lower margin and the carefully executed hand, reveals a professionally produced book.

The script is a stylized, medium sized upright capital to be dated between the end of the first century BC and the beginning of the first century AD. Note in particular the following features: the ‘epigraphic’ alpha, the epsilon with rather high horizontal stroke joining the upper extremity of the arc, the eta with rather high central stroke, the four-stroke mu. Finials occur in the form of tiny leftwards or rightwards strokes at extremities of uprights and horizontal strokes. In col. i 5 the scribe tries to keep an even right edge to the column by slightly reducing letter size and space between letters towards the end of the line.

The script can be compared with three items assigned to the end of the first century BC and the beginning of the first century AD: P.Oxy. XXIV 2387, Alcman, *Partheneia*;⁵⁸ P.Oxy. II 212 + XXXVII 2808, *Comedy*;⁵⁹ P.Alex. inv. 193, Aeschylus’ *Heraclidae*.⁶⁰ In addition, P.Fouad inv. 266, *Deuteronomy*,⁶¹ assigned to the mid-first century BC, shows similarities in letter shapes (apart from epsilon) and ornamental elements. Finally, P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2825, Menander’s *Phasma*, assigned to the early first century AD, shows similarities in letter shapes, but much reduced ornamentation.

If the papyrus is not later than the early first century AD, it must have been written before the foundation of Antinoopolis in AD 130: in other words, it cannot have been produced there, but must have been brought from elsewhere by one of the new settlers, maybe for educational purposes. On the basis of the available evidence for books still circulating and used centuries after their production,⁶² we

⁵⁸ Turner/Parsons 1987, no. 15; it generally looks slightly taller than broad and slightly more angular than P.Ant. III 150.

⁵⁹ Cavallo/Maehler 2008, no. 69.

⁶⁰ *Ed. pr.* BSAA 14 (1912) 192; date by P.J. Parsons apud *TrGF* III 73b.

⁶¹ Turner/Parsons 1987, no. 56.

⁶² Examples of such books are: P.Oxy. XV 1790 + XVII 2081(f), Ibycus’ *Opus incertum*, assigned to the late second/early first century BC, which contains a *scholium* written by a first-century AD hand and was repaired with papyrus strips apparently written in much later scripts (see Prodi 2019); P.Oxy. XI 1361 + P.Oxy. XVII 2081(e), Bacchylides’ *Encomia* (?) with scholia, assigned to

cannot exclude that it has been bought or otherwise acquired even by descendants of the new settlers.

Curiously the *editor princeps*, J.W.B. Barns, assigned P.Ant. III 150 to the late second/early third century AD, pointing out that '[...] the α is an archaic capital A' (p. 83). It seems to me that Barns was influenced by the knowledge of the provenance of the piece: the fact that it had been found in Antinoopolis led him to assume that the papyrus was produced there after AD 130. Thus his concise remark implies the assumption that the scribe of P.Ant. III 150 attempted (more or less consciously) at archaizing his script.

Note that in this papyrus, when a gloss occupies more than one line, the following line(s) is/are written in *eisthesis* (col. ii 9 and 13; probably col. ii 2–3 and 5–6, where the papyrus is damaged).

Bibliography

- Capone, G. (1939), *L'Omero alessandrino. I ventiquattro libri della Iliade e della Odissea*, Padova.
- Cavallo, G. (2008), *La scrittura nei papiri greci e latini. Una introduzione*, Pisa/Roma.
- Cavallo, G./Maehler, H. (2008), *Hellenistic Bookhands*, Berlin/New York.
- Colomo, D. (2009), 'Scholien zu Kallimachos' Iambus XII in einem neuen Papyrusfragment (P. Lips. Inv. 290v, Fr b),' *APF* 55, 1–20.
- Cribiore, R. (1996), *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Atlanta.
- Cribiore, R. (1997), 'Literary School Exercises,' *ZPE* 116, 53–60.
- Daris, S. (1974), 'Scholia minora al libro I dell'Iliade (P. Palau Rib. inv. 147),' *StudPap* 13, 7–20.
- Del Corso L./Pintaudi, R. 'Isocrate (*Contra Loch.* 2–15) e un glossario omerico in un papiro laurenziano (PL III/997),' *AnPap* 26, 13–26.
- Dickey, E. (2015), 'Columnar Translation: An Ancient Interpretive Tool that the Romans Gave the Greeks,' *CQ* 65, 807–821.
- Fournet, J.-L. (1999), *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du IV^e siècle. La bibliothèque et l'œuvre de Dioscore d'Aphrodité*, tomes I–II, Le Caire.

the late first century BC or the early first century AD, which contains a second/third century title written in the margin (see Prodi 2016, 1145–1146); P.Oxy. XXXVII 2803, Stesichorus, assigned to the first century BC with marginal annotations by at least three different hands written in the late first or early second century; P.Oxy. XXXV 2471, Eupolis' *Marikas*, assigned to the second/third century whose title was added later in the late third or early fourth century; P.Aphrod. Lit. 2, a codex containing *scholia minora* to the *Iliad*, written in the fourth/fifth century and later part of the sixth-century library of Dioscorus of Aphroditos (see Fournet 1999, 95). On this topic see also Houston 2014, esp. 21, 30–31, 120–126, 142 n. 54, 145–150, 155–156, 162–167, 174–176, 229, 256–257.

- Gallazzi, C. (1982), 'Glossario a Homerus, *Odyssea* I 46–53,' *ZPE* 45, 41–46.
- Gignac, F.T. (1976), *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. I, *Phonology*, Milan.
- Gonis, N./Lundon, J. (2001), 'Scholia Minora to Iliad I 595–604, II 4–10,' *ZPE* 136, 111–115.
- Henrichs, A. (1971a), 'Scholia Minora zu Homer I,' *ZPE* 7, 97–149.
- Henrichs, A. (1971b), 'Scholia Minora zu Homer II,' *ZPE* 7, 229–260.
- Henrichs, A. (1971c), 'Scholia Minora zu Homer III,' *ZPE* 8, 1–12.
- Henrichs, A. (1973), 'Scholia Minora zu Homer IV,' *ZPE* 12, 17–49.
- Houston, G.W. (2014), *Inside Roman Libraries: Books Collections and Their Management in Antiquity*, Chapel Hill.
- Jensen, M.S. (1999), 'SO Debate: Dividing Homer: When and How Were the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* Divided into Songs? Report', *SO* 74, 5–35.
- Lundon, J. (2007), 'P.Vindob. G 26221: Scholia Minora or Paraphrase?,' in B. Palme (ed.) *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses. Wien, 22.–28. Juli 2001*, Wien, 407–414.
- Lundon, J. (2011), 'Homeric Commentaries on Papyrus: A Survey,' in S. Matthaios/F. Montanari/A. Rengakos (eds.), *Ancient Scholarship and Grammar: Archetypes, Concepts and Contexts*, New York, 159–179.
- Lundon, J. (2012a), 'P.Köln inv. 2281v + P.Palau Rib. inv. 147v: un glossario al primo libro dell'*Iliade*,' in G. Bastianini/A. Casanova (eds.), *I papiri omerici. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi*. Firenze, 9–10 giugno 2011, Studi e Testi di Papirologia. N.S. 14, Firenze, 195–211.
- Lundon, J. (2012b), *The Scholia Minora in Homerum: An Alphabetical List*, *Trismegistos Online Publication*, Version 1.0, November 2012 (www.trismegistos.org/dl.php?id=14)
- Luppe, Wolfgang (1977), 'P.Oxy. 3160 + P.Strassb. 1401 – Bruchstücke derselben Odyssee-Erläuterungen,' *ZPE* 27, 101–106.
- Montanari, F. (1995), *Studi di filologia omerica antica* II, Pisa.
- Montanari, F. (2012), 'La papirologia omerica,' in G. Bastianini/A. Casanova (eds.), *I papiri omerici. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, Firenze, 9–10 giugno 2011, Firenze, 1–16.
- Müller, W. (1968), 'Griechische literarische Texte aus Papyrus und Pergament,' *Forschungen und Berichte*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 10, 113–118, Nr. 1, Taf. 21, 1.
- Muratore, D. (2009), 'A proposito di alcuni papiri berlinesi con *Scholia Minora* all'*Iliade*,' *APF* 55, 21–31.
- Plasberg, O. (1903), 'Strassburger Anekdoten,' *APF* 2, 185–228.
- Poethke, G. (1967), 'Homer-Präparation für den Schulgebrauch auf einem griechischen Papyrus aus Ägypten,' *Forschungen und Berichte*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 8, 105–110.
- Pontani, F. (2005), *Sguardi su Ulisse. La tradizione esegetica greca all'*Odyssea**, Roma.
- Prodi, E.E. (2016), 'Titles and Markers of Poem-End in the Papyri of Greek Choral Lyric,' in T. Derda/A. Łajtar/J. Urbanik (eds.), *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology. Warsaw, 29 July–3 August 2013*, Warsaw, 1137–1184.
- Prodi, E.E. (2019), 'Polycrates's Guests: Mirror Text and Ancient Conservation on P.Oxy. 1790,' *Segno e Testo* 17, forthcoming.
- Raffaelli, L.M. (1984), 'Repertorio dei papiri contenenti *Scholia Minora in Homerum*,' in *Filologia e critica letteraria della grecità, Ricerche di filologia classica* II, Pisa, 139–77.
- Renner, T. (1979), 'Three New Homerica on Papyrus,' *HSCPh* 83, 311–337.
- Roberts, C.H. (1956), *Greek Literary Hands: 350 B.C. – A.D. 400*, Oxford.
- Schubart, W. (1911), *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, Bonn.

- Schwartz, J. (1969), 'Papyrus et tradition manuscrite,' *ZPE* 4, 175–182.
- Spooner, J. (2002), *Nine Homeric Papyri from Oxyrhynchus*, *Studi e Testi di Papirologia* N.S. 1, Firenze.
- Strassi, S. (1978), 'Due frammenti di commentari omerici,' *Aegyptus* 58, 110–116.
- Tagliapietra, L. (2017), 'Scholia Minora to *Iliad* 2.212–225 and 272–295,' *BASP* 54, 9–30.
- Turner, E.G./Parsons, P.J. (1987), *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, London (2nd ed.).
- West, M./West, S. (1999), 'SO Debate: Dividing Homer: When and How Were the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* Divided into Songs? Comments', *SO* 74, 68–73.
- West, S. (1967), *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer*, Köln.
- Wilcken, U. (1887), 'Die Achmîm-Papyri in der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris,' *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 2, 807–820.

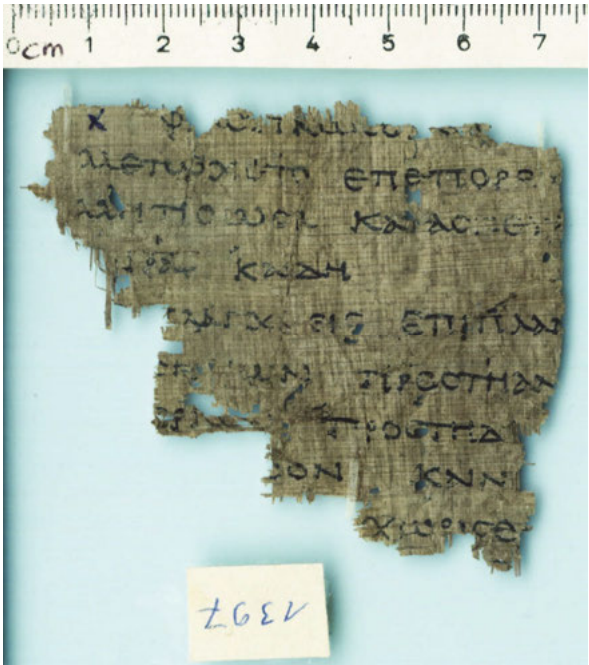


Plate 1: P.Lips. inv. 1397 (Courtesy of the Bibliotheca Albertina, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig).

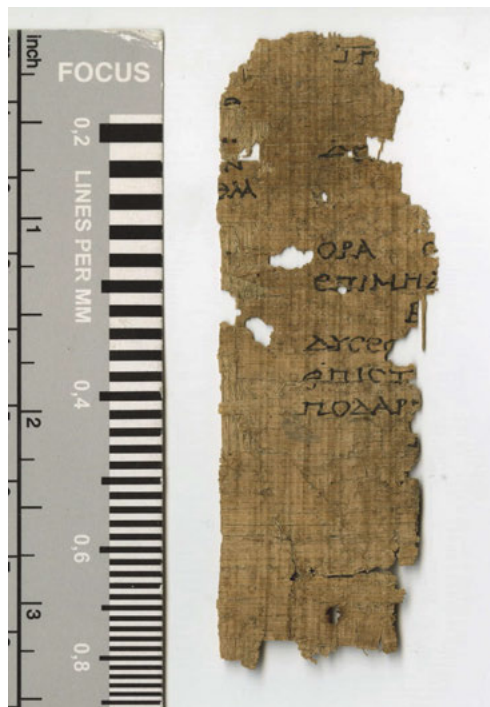


Plate. 2: P.Ant. III 150 (Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society [London] and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri Project [Oxford]).

Lara Pagani

The *Iliad* “*Textscholien*” in the Venetus A

Abstract: Two series of scholia are to be found in ms. Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, gr. 454 (822), the frame-scholia and the short scholia (A^{im}, A^{int} and A^{il} in Erbse’s edition), which are distinct from one another only through their respective placement on the page and their different types of writing, but do not demonstrate any significant specialisation in terms of exegetical content and classes of scholia. Their juxtaposition in Venetus A can be interpreted as the final result of a forking and subsequent recombination in a single book of one and the same exegetical tradition, which at a certain point (probably after Late Antiquity) split into two different paths that responded to different needs. The aim of collecting what remained of ancient philology and erudition, presumably along with the sense that there was a difference in the type of reading aid supplied by each of the two scholiastic sets, with their different format, made it possible to reproduce the dual sequence of scholia in the same manuscript, despite the similarity of the content.

1 Definition, terminology, and formal aspects

Over the last 150 years, critics have variously interpreted, named, and defined the Iliadic scholia of the ms. Venetus A¹ which are written:

- in the space between the Homeric text and the block of scholia arranged in the form of a frame around it (A^{im} in Erbse’s edition);²
- in the space between the Homeric text and the binding (A^{int} in Erbse’s edition);

I would like to thank Fausto Montana, Franco Montanari, and Serena Perrone, as well as the co-editors of this volume for helpful discussions on various topics of my paper; the participants in the Bologna conference for suggestions and comments; Rachel Barritt Costa for the English language revision. This written version of the paper was drawn up during a stay at the “Fondation Hardt pour l’Étude de l’Antiquité classique” (Vandoeuvres, Geneva) in February 2017.

1 Ms. Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, gr. 454 (822), mid 10th century. The entire manuscript has been digitized, along with others, as part of the Homer Multitext Project (high-resolution images, published under a Creative Commons License, can be found on the website: homermultitext.org). The history of the project, which is hosted by the Center for Hellenic Studies (Harvard University), is outlined by Blackwell/Du   2009, 14–18 (cf. Ebbott 2009, 52–55). Before this recent achievement, it was possible to consult the printed facsimile published in 1901 by Domenico Comparetti.

2 On the ‘frame’ *mise en page* and the connected problems of handling the exegetical material, see Maniaci 2000 and Maniaci 2006.

- between the lines of the Homeric text (Aⁱⁱ in Erbse's edition).

Generally, these scholia are quite short in their formulation and have no lemma, insofar as the connection with the pericope they refer to is based on their respective placement on the page.

Previous scholarship has often treated the interlinear notes as a separate group. This is how they were handled by Dindorf, who isolated them as *glossemata interlinearia*, and others after him in a more or less explicit manner, up to Erbse, who characterised them as *excerpta* deriving from the D scholia or, to a smaller extent, from what he called *scholia maiora* (that is, the frame-scholia).³ However, Ludwich had already noted in the late 1800s the difficulty in applying this distinction (which he theoretically embraced), as the short scholia written alongside the end of the Homeric lines often are in an ambiguous position which we are unable to definitively describe as *above* or *next to* the line itself.⁴ Ludwich eschewed this problem in a somewhat pragmatic manner, adopting a collective abbreviation (Aⁱⁱ) which he used to refer to all of the scholia in question, based on the observation that they are entirely similar to one another in both form and content.⁵ An understanding of all these annotations, including those placed in the interlinear space, as a single block was recently reintroduced by van Thiel, consistent with his choice to give distinctive value to the characteristic brevity which they all share.⁶

Kurznoten is in fact the label which van Thiel applies to these scholia,⁷ bypassing the traditional name of *Textscholien* which was coined by Römer at the end of the 1800s and remained the standard expression throughout the 1900s.⁸ The name *Textscholien* referred mainly to the placement immediately to the side of the Homeric text, but it also alluded to the fact that the content of a part of

³ Dindorf 1875, ix; Römer 1875, 242–243; Ludwich 1883, 90, who rightly highlighted (91 n. 115) that the name “*glossemata*” was not adequate, inasmuch as the interlinear notes, far from being exclusively glosses, also contain (though to a much lesser degree) *excerpta* of VMK; Erbse 1969, XIV. The distinct character of the interlinear notes was substantially assumed also by La Roche 1875, 122–151 and van der Valk 1963, 70 ff.

⁴ Ludwich 1883, 90; examples in Ludwich 1877, 162 (where the passages of the scholia are indicated by page and line according to Dindorf's edition).

⁵ Ludwich 1883, 90: “[...] weil beide, sowohl äusserlich wie ihrem ganzen inneren Wesen nach einander sehr nahe stehen”.

⁶ Van Thiel 2014a, I 27, 28; IV 125.

⁷ Van Thiel 2014a, I 28–29 (Einleitung, N.1. Kurznoten [Aⁱ]); I 37 (Einleitung, R. Zeichen und Abkürzungen); IV 125–128 (Register, s.v. Kurznoten).

⁸ Römer 1875, 242–243.

these scholia relates to the textual arrangement of the *Iliad*.⁹ Previous proposals were *Zwischenscholien*, by La Roche, which emphasised the interposition between text and frame-scholia, and *scholia intermarginalia* by Dindorf, with a similar meaning. Both were abandoned in the name of an alleged inadequacy of the concept of interposition in reference to a part of these scholia (those in the inner margin for example, or – though this seems a bit deceptive – those which do not have the external frame next to them, since at that point on the page there are no frame-scholia).¹⁰ On the other hand, the above-mentioned intrinsic ambiguity in *Textscholien* (scholia close to the text / scholia with textual content) leads me to prefer van Thiel’s *Kurznoten*, which is more transparent in its descriptive simplicity and able, in particular, to identify brevity as a common denominator which, as I will explain later on, I believe to be anything but superficial or external. However, I would avoid calling them “notes” in place of “scholia” because, as we will see, this reflects a point in which my interpretation departs substantially from that of van Thiel.

The problem relating to the choice also to include the interlinear short scholia in this group embraces a more general issue, i.e. whether it is meaningful to handle the entirety of the short scholia as a single block, separate from the others. In terms of exegetical content and classes of scholia, they do not demonstrate any significant specialisation with respect to the frame-scholia. Consequently, it has been hypothesised in the past that the distribution of the exegetical material which is found in the Venetus A was the result of entirely arbitrary choices made by the compiler (of the Venetus A itself or of its model: see the discussion *infra*, 88), who, using two different sources, was thought to have randomly reproduced the content at times in the form of short scholia and on some occasions as frame-

9 Römer 1875, 243 n. 2: “[ich] begreife darunter [*i.e.* under the name ‘Textscholien’] alle diejenigen Scholien, welche an den Text d. h. an den Anfang oder das Ende der einzelnen Verse geschrieben sind und die auch theilweise mit dem Texte der Handschrift in der innigsten Beziehung stehen”.

10 La Roche 1862 and 1866; Hoffmann 1864 (in the footsteps of La Roche); Dindorf 1875. The criticisms mentioned in the text are by Römer 1875, 242–243 n. 2: “Gebraucht man [...] den Ausdruck ‘Zwischenscholien’ für diejenigen Scholien, welche in dem zollbreiten Raum zwischen dem Text der Gedichte und den Randscholien stehen, welcher Name bleibt dann für diejenigen kleinen Scholien, welche an der Seite des Textes stehen die keine Randscholien enthält? [...] wie nennt man aber diejenigen, welche bei den kritischen Zeichen stehen? [...] Sodann kann man von ‘Zwischenscholien’ doch gewiss da nicht reden, wo nur wenige oder gar keine Randscholien sind [...]. Ich halte [...] den Ausdruck ‘Zwischenscholien’ für alle diese kleineren Scholien nicht für ausreichend und schlage dafür den Namen ‘Textscholien’ vor”. The expression “intermarginal scholia” is still found in Allen 1899, 166 ff., yet Allen 1931, 164 has the alternative wording “shorter or intermarginal scholia”.

scholia, thus causing an irreversible intermixing between the two original bodies of work.¹¹ As a matter of fact, van Thiel assumes something similar when he speaks of *Kurznoten* transformed into *Kommentarscholien* (which is the name he gives to the frame-scholia) or, vice-versa, of *Kommentarscholien* written as *Kurznoten*.¹² If this was the case, the presence of a note among the short scholia rather than in the frame set would be accidental.

The conclusive factor, in my opinion, comes from palaeographic studies. Venetus A displays three types of writing,¹³ all by the same hand, as is generally accepted (positions to the contrary are isolated and outdated by now):¹⁴

11 Cf. e.g. Ludwich 1883, 100–101: in his view, the scholiastic apparatus of the Venetus A is due to a “gedankenloser Schreiber [...], welcher die zu verschiedenen Zeiten, vermuthlich sogar von verschiedenen Händen eingetragenen Bestandtheile seiner Vorlage bald in Eins zusammenzog, bald gesondert für sich bestehen liess”; “[...] dass die ursprünglichen beiden Scholienmassen jetzt nicht mehr streng aus einander zu halten sind”; “in ihrer gegenwärtigen Fassung [...] repräsentieren die Textscholien (A^u) kein selbständiges und unabhängiges Conglomerat”; van der Valk 1963, 72–73: “we have to deal with one and the same scholiast who places his interpretations [i.e. the interpretations at his disposal] in A and A¹ alternatively”; “VMK², who followed different sources, does not always accept the views of his sources. Therefore, I think that he sometimes placed the explanation which he himself preferred in A and the explanation of his source (e.g. VMK) in A¹ or vice versa”.

12 Van Thiel 2014a, IV 158: “Kurznoten umgesetzt als Kommentarscholien durch Zusatz von Lemmata (und Prädikaten)”; “Kommentarscholien sind im Venetus auch als Kurznoten geschrieben”. One application of this idea can be found, for example, in van Thiel 2014a, I 28 n. 10, in the description of the crowded f. 248v as bearing “Kommentarscholien in Höhe der Bezugsverse, *behandelt wie Kurznoten*, d.h. ohne Lemma und in halbnunzialer Schrift” (my emphasis).

13 For this description, I refer in particular to Allen 1899, 166–168 and Hecquet 2009, 77–81.

14 Cf. e.g. Ludwich 1883, 92; Allen 1899, 166–168; Hemmerdinger 1956 (who attributed the hand-writing in question to Ephrem); Erbse 1960, 123–128; van der Valk 1963, 70–76; Erbse 1969, XIV; Hecquet 2009, 74, 77–81, 86–87. The explicitly dissonant voice was that of Severyns 1951, according to whom the Venetus A is to be attributed, for the parts relating to the Homeric text and to the frame-scholia, to one of Arethas’ assistants, while Arethas himself is likely to have added the short scholia subsequently in his own hand (but already in Severyns 1953, 252, the possibility was admitted that the ms. thus created was not the Venetus A, but its model). That the scribe of the Venetus A belonged to the same context as Arethas, perhaps even to the same *scriptorium*, was suggested by Hecquet 2009, 86 (who, however, excluded the possibility of simply identifying him with Arethas, recognising a few differences between the two hands), on the basis of some graphic characteristics in common between the Venetus A and certain mss by Arethas, such as scholia contained within cross-shaped forms, the decorative use of the sun symbol or of small leaves, the very choice itself to write the scholia (at least a series of them) in “small capital” (cf. immediately *infra* and n. 18), etc. On the same issue see also the (skeptical) view of Luzzatto 2010, who traces the writing with calligrams and other characteristics usually assigned to Arethas back to Late Antiquity (on the basis of the evidence represented by the “Clarkianus” ms. of Plato). A graphic system focusing on aesthetic and ornamental aspects characterises the short scholia:

- 1) the Homeric text is written in minuscule, slightly slanted to the right and featuring ligatures and couplings of letters;
- 2) the frame-scholia are in the same minuscule as the Iliadic text, but smaller and done in a more rapid and cursive-like manner.¹⁵ The lemmata which serve to connect each scholion to the related pericope of text are in a handwriting similar to that of the short scholia;
- 3) the writing of the short scholia is a “small capital” with a very limited amount of minuscule strokes,¹⁶ which is a fossil of Late Antique origins, here having an eminently distinctive function.¹⁷ It has good parallels in the scholia of other manuscripts written in the same period as Venetus A.¹⁸ In this ms. the same distinctive writing is used for the famous subscriptions mentioning the sources compiled in the *Viermännerkommentar* placed at the end of each book¹⁹ and for the brief summaries written in carmine red at the head of each book.²⁰

see e.g. f. 12r, in which the *Sch. D Il.* 1.1b (Erbse) is contained within the drawing of a lyre; f. 82r, in which *Sch. Nic. Il.* 6.87–89 is written in a shape which reproduces the form of a cross; the presence of symbols (such as that of the sun) placed around the text and of decorative elements used as scholia end-symbols (cf. Hecquet 2009, 80). The same handwriting as that of Venetus A has been recently recognized in both the ms. Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, Ambr. B 114 sup., containing Gregory of Nazianzus (Mazzucchi 2012), and the ms. Città del Vaticano, BAV, Urb. gr. 124, bearing Dion of Prusa (Menchelli 2015); similarities have been detected with the mss Paris, BNF, gr. 1853 and 1741, both of Aristotle, as well as with the handwriting of Ephrem (Hecquet 2009, 85–87, with discussion and bibliography).

15 For graphic devices used to distinguish text and comment (including a reduction of the size of the letters and a double level of execution, calligraphic and quick), see Cavallo 2000.

16 This mixture of majuscule and minuscule forms was still labelled as “semi-uncial” recently: Hecquet 2009, 79 and n. 39 (cf. already Allen 1899, 167).

17 Hecquet 2009, 80.

18 Allen 1899, 167. On the custom of accompanying a text in minuscule with comment notes in majuscule (or a mix of majuscule and minuscule forms), see Cavallo 2000, 59–60; Hecquet 2009, 85.

19 Except for small variants and/or irrelevant omissions, the subscriptions read: παράκειται τὰ Ἀριστοτῶνικου σημεία καὶ τὰ Διδύμου Περὶ τῆς Ἀρισταρχείου διορθώσεως, τινὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰλιακῆς προσφθίας Ἡρωδιανοῦ καὶ Νικάνωρος Περὶ στιγμῆς. They are recorded at the end of every book, with the exception of book 17 (the end of which was written on one of the folios which have fallen out and have been substituted by other, more recent ones on which the exegetical apparatus has not been copied [f. 238]) and the last book.

20 Hecquet 2009, 80. A different type of majuscule, with a more geometrically rigid execution and rigorous respect for bi-linearism, is used for the titles, written in carmine red and shaded in gold: Hecquet 2009, 80–81.

As for the subscriptions, recently Mazzucchi has proposed the idea that they derive from the same model which was used as a source for the short scholia in Venetus A. However, his proposal was made in the context of a study that is devoted first and foremost to the way Venetus A was set up, rather than to a reflection on the origins of the two traditional lineages of scholia.²¹ In his view, the compiler of Venetus A is likely to have drawn the Homeric text from an exemplar, as well as the critical signs, the short scholia and the subscriptions, while the text of the frame-scholia most probably came from a different exemplar, still structured in the form of a commentary. The conjecture that the subscriptions belonged to the same exemplar bearing the short scholia was deduced by Mazzucchi from the interpretation of the verb *παράκειται*, present in the subscriptions themselves, as a way to indicate the location of the exegetical material “next to (sc. the poetic text)”.²² On one hand, that seems particularly suitable for the close proximity of the short scholia to the text, on the other it excludes *de facto* the model of frame-scholia, which, as mentioned, was supposedly still in the form of independent commentary. The graphic element does not seem to represent a confirmation in this direction: although the short scholia and the subscriptions share the same type of writing, they are not the sole elements on the page of the Venetus A displaying this characteristic, and the alternation between the writings seems to be intended to distinguish, even visually, the various constituent elements of the page. It is thus improbable that this aspect is a clue to a shared origin.²³ The two series of scholia show two of the different graphic devices used in manuscripts with text in minuscule, in order to mark the distinction between the text itself and the comment:²⁴ in the frame-scholia, reduced size and increased cursiveness as compared to the literary text; in the short scholia, the use of a “small

²¹ Mazzucchi 2012, esp. 437–438.

²² However it is possible, as I have argued elsewhere, that the subscriptions indicate the work of selection and merging of the exegetical materials, rather than specifying their location with respect to the commented text: Pagani 2014, based on the studies by Montana 2010 and Montana 2014 on the technical meaning of the verb *παράκειται*.

²³ The graphic element (not only the type of writing, but also the frieze surrounding most of the subscriptions), together with other aspects, such as the very habit itself of recording this kind of information in a colophon, and the iteration of the subscriptions at the end of each book, have led to the assumption that these texts date back to Late Antiquity (between the end of the IVth and the beginning of the VIIth century): Cavallo 1992, 100–102 (= 2002, 182–184); Cavallo/Del Corso 2012, 58–60. I refer the reader to Pagani 2014 for a discussion that leads to consider this element as not conclusive for dating the origins of scholiography, since the subscriptions might actually not refer at all to the positioning of the exegetical annotations in the margins of the manuscript (see previous note).

²⁴ See *supra*, n. 15.

capital”. That leads us to believe that the person who first combined the two scholia sequences into a single manuscript has thus preserved the trace of their dual origin and that he thought of them as two units to be kept distinct from one another.²⁵

Whether that was the work of the scribe of the Venetus A or that of its anti-graph depends on which answer one accepts for the *vexata quaestio* of whether the Venetus A is a true copy of a model which already had the same layout or if it is the first creation of the *mise en page* which we see today.²⁶ However this is not crucial for our discussion. Even if the Venetus A inherited the layout of the text and the exegetical material from its exemplar, there would be no reason to believe that despite maintaining the formal distinction between the two sets of scholia thanks to the different writings, the scribe took the liberty of arbitrarily “pouring” content from one to the other.

Codicological investigations shed light on another decisive element. Despite the complex ruling scheme of the Venetus A, establishing an empty column between the Homeric text and the frame-scholia,²⁷ the Homeric text frequently crosses the edges of the right-side ruling intended to contain it.²⁸ When this happens on the *recto*, the Iliadic text comes quite close to the frame-scholia. In these cases, the short scholia do indeed give the impression of being “trapped” between the text and the frame-scholia.²⁹ However, there are also examples where it is a frame-scholion that seems to be arranged around a short scholion, in the

25 Hecquet too (2009, 84–85) believes that it is a deliberate choice (intended to distinguish the two types of scholia), and not a case of “hereditary characters” handed down from two different sources.

26 Some critics have argued that the precision in the distribution of exegetical material in relation to the text and the guarded balance of the outcome in the Venetus A indicate that it is a copy of an anti-graph with this layout already in place (Maniaci 2006). From a contrary point of view, according to Mazzucchi 2012, such a harmonious and precise product could only be possible thanks to an elaborate project that knew, in advance, the size of the writing, as well as the type and the frequency of the abbreviations, of the specific scribe to whom the work was to be entrusted. A text planned in this way was thus destined for a predetermined hand and, if subsequently reproduced by a different hand, it would quite probably have been affected by displacements and space management problems. I refer the reader to Pagani 2014 for further considerations and the bibliography.

27 Irigoin 1990, 139; Hecquet 2009, 61–64. There are some slight variations between the rulings of some sheets, but they do not significantly change the layout of the page: Hecquet 2009, 52.

28 Hecquet 2009, 78.

29 Among the many possible examples, the following can be cited: f. 140r, the *Sch. Did. Il.* 11.144b¹ and 146b¹.

space not occupied by the latter.³⁰ This ambivalence leads us to conclude that there was no single practice of awarding priority to the transcription of one or the other set of scholia,³¹ thereby confirming that both sets go back to the same scribal act;³² additionally, such a situation suggests that the insertion of the short scholia was part of an elaborate editorial plan and thus should not be interpreted as an extemporaneous addition conditioned by the spaces remaining empty.³³

2 Content and relationship with the frame-scholia

Presenting an exemplification of the short scholia implies an inevitably arbitrary selection, as it is a very large mass of material: calculations by van Thiel, which exclude the copious interlinear notes, attain a number over 2,500.³⁴

This series of scholia, as was mentioned already, cannot be distinguished from the frame-scholia in terms of specificity of their content, which is composed

30 On the same f. 140r mentioned above to illustrate the opposite situation, *Sch. ex. (?)* 11.141b is indicative. The case of *Sch. Hrd. Il.* 3.217b on f. 46r is also unequivocal.

31 Ludwich 1883, 92 gave precedence to the frame-scholia, arguing that the same hand, but only later, added the short scholia (thus implicitly already in Dindorf 1875, vii: “[...] scholiorum quae iam scripta in margine essent”). A similar position is found in Allen 1899, 170; Allen 1931, 164; Hecquet 2009, 75. Erbse was entirely aware of the presence of examples indicating an uneven procedure as to the priority of the two sets of scholia (Erbse 1960, 124); however, interpreting the short scholia as the primary exegetical element with respect to which the frame-scholia should be considered an amplification (Erbse 1953, 29–38: see *infra*), he then applied this priority line to the scribal act as well (Erbse 1969, XIV). The existence of contradictory examples is also indicated by van Thiel 2014a, I 27 n. 9 (cf. van Thiel 1989, 24).

32 The exploration by Hecquet 2009, 75–77 of the ink colour at the different points of each page leads her to believe that the scribe completed each page with all the textual and exegetical elements before going on to the next. She argues that this is a more natural mode of proceeding than returning to the same sheet multiple times, if the person writing had in front of him various sources from which he drew the different parts (the text and the two separate series of comments): for more on this, see *infra*.

33 Conversely, it seems impossible to demonstrate that the empty column between the Homeric text and the frame-scholia was planned to be used for the short scholia, as the same device is also present in the ruling of Venetus B, which does not have short scholia, while it is lacking in the ruling of the Townleianus, which shows, like Venetus A, a coexistence of frame-scholia and scholia written in the space between the literary text and the frame (Tⁱ in Erbse’s edition). A systematic comparison with ms. T, a text which, like A, also has interlinear scholia (Tⁱⁱ in Erbse’s edition) cannot be carried out here: a first summary analysis of samples does not show recurring content overlap between the short scholia in the two mss.

34 Van Thiel 2014a, IV 125.

of analogous elements in both cases. These consist mainly in observations of a philological, textual or linguistic nature identifiable as VMK material³⁵ and annotations which belong to the class of D scholia or, less often, exegetical scholia. In the short scholia, the glossographic element of the D scholia is concentrated in the interlinear position, though not occupying it exclusively. As far as the location to the right or left of the Homeric text is concerned, there does not seem to be any rationale, except for the tendency to distribute the comments on two sides in relation to the position of the relevant expression in the line.³⁶

Given the above, while an observation is sometimes transmitted only by a short scholion or only by a frame-scholion, one may also quite commonly find that the same annotation is present in both sets.³⁷ In these cases the short scholion may provide the same information as the frame-scholion – often in a much briefer form or with certain parts being omitted or, on the contrary, at times retaining data (such as the name of the *auctoritas*) that are lacking in the frame-scholion – or it may provide different or even contradictory information with respect to the corresponding discussion in the frame-scholion.

1) For example, the pair of D scholia on *Il.* 2.360 unanimously note the figure of apostrophe (τὸ σχῆμα ἀποστροφή) in a speech by Nestor. The difference is that the short scholion only indicates the presence of the literary device, while the frame-scholion also explains the working of this figure of speech in the commented passage. The short scholion thus provides the precise, essential definition of the exegetical case, while the frame-scholion adds elements useful for *contextualisation* of the exegetical case.³⁸

Sch. D Il. 2.360:

- ἀλλὰ ἄναξ· ἀλλὰ ὧ βασιλεῦ· ἀποστρέφει δὲ τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα. καὶ καλεῖται τὸ σχῆμα ἀποστροφή. A (+ ZYQXIG: see van Thiel)
- τὸ σχῆμα ἀποστροφή. A^{int}

³⁵ On the different interpretation in van Thiel 2014a, see the discussion, *infra*.

³⁶ Van Thiel 2014a, I 28. On the reduplicated short scholia, to the right and left of the Homeric text, see *infra*, 100.

³⁷ These are the “Doppelscholien” or “Parallelscholien”, on which scholars have inevitably focused their attention: La Roche 1866, 122–151; Römer 1875; Ludwich 1883, esp. 98–102; Erbse 1953, esp. 34–37; van der Valk 1963, 70–76; van Thiel 2014a, IV 128.

³⁸ This latter element may perhaps be seen as a trace of a pragmatic function, in reference to a lesson/discussion on the passage, in a classroom or an erudite circle.

2) In other cases the conciseness of the short scholia has the effect of conveying less information than the frame-scholia. In the short scholion version, a note from Didymus on the textual arrangement of *Il.* 4.17 (εἰ δ' αὐτως or εἰ δ' αὖ πως)³⁹ only mentions that Aristarchus was favourable to one of the two readings, while the more detailed formulation of the frame-scholion does not merely add the different position held by Aristophanes of Byzantium, but also specifies that Aristarchus' reading was found in the "Aristarchus' editions" (αἱ Ἀριστάρχου). This allows us to specify that the reading was not drawn from the commentaries or other works, but was found in the *ekdoseis*, and that the two editions, in this case, were in agreement.⁴⁰

Sch. Did. Il. 4.17a:⁴¹

- εἰ δ' αὐτως: διὰ τοῦ π αἱ Ἀριστάρχου “εἰ δ' αὖ πως”. ἐν δὲ τῇ κατὰ Ἀριστοφάνη “εἰ δ' αὐτως” διὰ τὸ τ. Α
- Ἀρίσταρχος “εἰ δ' αὖ πως” Α^{im}

2bis) The tendency of the short scholia to conciseness can lead not only to a reduced quantity of information, as shown above, but also to ambiguity in the meaning. Thus in comparison with a scholion of the frame set *ad Il.* 9.349–350 traceable to Didymus, which notes that in his treatise *On the Iliad and the Odyssey* Aristarchus “refers to”, or “quotes” (προφέρεται)⁴² a certain reading, the corresponding short scholion not only omits the mention of the work from which the textual arrangement in question is deduced, but also shows a formulation which, if not compared to the frame-scholion, would lead one to believe that the reading in question was the one chosen (i.e. “preferred”) by Aristarchus for his own Iliadic text.⁴³

Sch. Did. Il. 9.349–350:

- καὶ ἤλασε τάφρον ἐπ'αὐτῷ / ... ἐν δὲ σκόλοπας κατέπηξεν: ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσεύας ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος προφέρεται “καὶ ἤλασεν ἔκτοθι τάφρον” κτλ. Α
- 9, 349: Ἀρίσταρχος “καὶ ἤλασεν ἔκτοθι τάφρον” Α^{im}

³⁹ The Venetus A and the *vulgata* have εἰ δ' αὐτως here.

⁴⁰ This type of abbreviation, according to which the various expressions αἱ Ἀριστάρχου, ἡ Ἀριστάρχου, ἡ ἑτέρα τῶν Ἀριστάρχου etc. are reduced simply to Ἀρίσταρχος, is recurrent in the short scholia (cf. Ludwig 1883, 112–113), even though it is not a hard-and-fast rule (cf. e.g. *Sch. Did. Il.* 4.282a: ἡ ἑτέρα δὲ τῶν Ἀριστάρχου “βεβριθυῖαι” εἶχεν Α^{im} = Α).

⁴¹ I propose two separated texts, unlike Erbse 1969, 447, in order to highlight the differences between the two.

⁴² On the meaning of this verb in scholarly literature, see Dickey 2007, 257.

⁴³ The passage is discussed by Ludwig 1883, 112–113.

3) However, the opposite can also be true. The short scholion and the frame-scholion may both record the same observation, but the short scholion may say something extra, often attesting the *auctoritas* to which the reported statement can be traced, as in the example of Didymus’ note on the reading ξύνιεν, instead of ξύνιον, in *Il.* 1.273: only the short scholion attributes it to the *ekdosis* of Aristarchus.

Sch. Did. Il. 1.273:

- a¹: <ξύνιεν:> οὕτως ἢ Ἀριστάρχειος διὰ τοῦ ε “ξύνιεν”, ὡς “κόσμηθεν”. A^{int}
- a²: ξύνιεν: διὰ τοῦ ε “ξύνιεν”, ὡς τὸ “αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κόσμηθεν”. A (+ b[BCE³]).

4) In other instances, the two sets of scholia cover different aspects of the same pericope of text as a result of a different selection of compiled material. This is true of *Il.* 8.513, where the frame-scholia feature an observation by Didymus on the reading of Aristophanes of Byzantium at the end of the line and the wording arrangement which Aristarchus established for the *incipit* according to the grammarian Parmeniscus (sch. a¹), as well as a note from Aristonicus which explains the Aristarchean *semeion* in relation to the metaphorical use of the word “missile” (sch. b); the short scholion, on the other hand, features an exegetical note on the meaning of the final expression of the line (sch. d).

Sch. Il. 8.513:

- a¹ (*Did.*): <ἀλλ’ ὥς τις τούτων γε βέλος καὶ οἴκοθι πέσση:> αἱ Ἀριστοφάνους “πέσσοι”. Παρμενίσκος δὲ ἐν τῷ α’ Πρὸς Κράτητα (fr. 2 Br.) ὡς Ἀριστάρχειον γραφὴν προφέρεται “ἀλλ’ ὥς τις κείνων γε”. A
- b (*Ariston.*): {ἀλλ’ ὥς τις τοῦτόν γε} βέλος: ὅτι βέλος εἶρηκε τὸ τραῦμα ὁμωνύμως τῷ τιτρώσκοντι. A
- d (*ex.*): <οἴκοθι πέσσοι:> καὶ μέχρις οἴκου κατάσχοι τὴν πληγὴν. A^{int}

5) The divergence between the two sets may also result in pairs of scholia which refer to the same information, but in a contradictory manner. In *Il.* 9.128, the frame-scholia include a note by Aristonicus (sch. b) which explains Aristarchus’ critical sign (in the Venetus A there is a simple *diple*) in relation to the fact that the word ἀμύμονα should be written without the final -ς, thereby also providing the explanation (the adjective does not refer to women [γυναῖκας], but to works [ἔργα]). In contrast, the short scholion, traceable to Didymus (sch. c²), attributes the version with the final -ς to Aristarchus, but the comparison with the analogous annotation found in ms. T (sch. c¹) traces the reading with the final -ς to Zenodotus and places it in explicit contrast to Aristarchus, to whom the competing reading must thus be assigned. Here it is therefore likely that the Didymean tradition which merged into the short scholia is corrupt and that the correct

version is that found in T, which agrees with Aristonicus' account in the frame-scholia of A.

Sch. Il. 9.128:

- b (*Ariston.*): {δώσω δ' ἐπτά γυναῖκας} ἀμύμονα: ὅτι χωρὶς τοῦ σ γραπτέον· οὐ γάρ ἐστι κατὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν ἔργων. κτλ. A
 - c² (*Did.*): Ἀρίσταρχος μετὰ τοῦ σ “ἀμύμονας”. A^{im} A^{int44}
- (cf. c¹ [*Did.*]: <ἀμύμονα:> οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος, Ζηνόδοτος δὲ “ἀμύμονας”. T).

From the typology I have outlined, a recurrent characteristic can be observed in the content of the set of short scholia in comparison with the frame-scholia: namely, a clear tendency to summarising formulations, which does not necessarily always mean less information. Other generalisations can less easily be inferred from the comparison of the two sets. Before discussing what interpretive model best explains their genesis and their mutual relationship, it should be pointed out that in the form they have today, the two sets give the impression (at least in some cases) that they are not entirely unaware of each other. In particular, some short scholia seem to have been formulated taking the corresponding frame-scholia into consideration. Among the many examples already identified by scholars in the past, there are significant cases where the short scholion begins with καί, δέ or οὐδέ, which seems to complete or continue the assertions of the corresponding frame-scholion.

1) One such example is *Il. 8.371–372*. The scholion in the frame set, traceable to Aristonicus, states that the two lines “are athetised” (ἀθετοῦνται) and explains the reason why, while the short scholion, perhaps traceable to Didymus, states they “were not *even* (οὐδέ) in Zenodotus”:⁴⁵

Sch. Il. 8.371–372:

- a (*Ariston.*): ἥ οἱ γούνατ' ἔκυσε <----- πτολίπορθον>: ἀθετοῦνται δύο στίχοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔδει κατὰ μέρος διηγήσασθαι, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν καλῶς εἰδυῖαν κτλ. A
- b² (*Did. [?]*) οὐδέ παρὰ Ζηνοδότῳ ἦσαν. A^{im}

A comparison with the formulation of the same scholion in ms. T seems revealing:

b¹ (*Did. [?]*): ἥ οἱ γούνατ' ἔκυσε <----- πτολίπορθον>: παρὰ Ζηνοδότῳ οὐκ ἦσαν οἱ δύο. T

⁴⁴ On reduplicated short scholia, to the right and left of the Homeric text, see *infra*, 100.

⁴⁵ This example is presented by Ludwich 1883, 101, where others are listed, not all of which are equally persuasive.

2) Similarly, in *Il.* 17.599 the part of the frame-scholion traceable to Aristoniscus explains that the Aristarchean sign was intended to clarify the value of the word ἐπιλίγδην⁴⁶ and the short scholion adds a further reason (καὶ ὅτι...), linked to the appearance of this word, just once, in the *Odyssey* as well.⁴⁷

Sch. Ariston. Il. 17.599:

- a: ἐπιλίγδην γράψεν δέ οἱ ὅστέον ἄχρις: ὅτι τὸ ἐπιλίγδην μεσότητός ἐστιν· ἐπιψαύδην, ὅσον δι’ ἐπιπολῆς ψαῦσαι, μὴ εἰς βάθος. A
- b: <ἐπιλίγδην:> καὶ ὅτι ἄπαξ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ (χ 278), “λίγδην, ἄκρον δὲ <ρίνον> δηλήσατο χαλκός”. A^{int}

3) One example which could lead in a different direction is the short scholion on *Il.* 5.264, which is made up of a laconic “for the same reason” (διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν). This was interpreted by Dindorf as a clear reference to the scholion on the previous line in the frame set, which explains an Aristarchean sign in relation to the use of the infinitive instead of the imperative.⁴⁸ It should be noted, however, that this same consideration occurs, in the immediately preceding line, with regard to another short scholion. The hasty formulation “for the same reason” could thus refer to the preceding short scholion, and not (necessarily) to the frame-scholion.

Sch. Ariston. Il.

- 5.262a¹: <αὐτοῦ ἐρυκακέειν:> ὅτι ἀπαρέμφατον ἀντὶ προστακτικοῦ τοῦ ἐρύκακε. A^{im}
- 5.263a: Αἰνείαιο δ’ ἐπαίξαι: ὅτι τῷ ἀπαρεμφάτῳ ἀντὶ προστακτικοῦ ἐχρήσατο. [...] A
- 5.264: <ἐκ δ’ ἐλάσαι:> διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. A^{im}

⁴⁶ The subsequent part which makes up the frame-scholion is traced to the exegetical class and explains how it is possible that the injury which Polydamas inflicted on Peneleus is “along the surface” (ἐπιλίγδην) and, at the same time, “pierced him down to the bone” (γράψεν [...] οἱ ὅστέον ἄχρις): εἰ οὖν ἐπιλίγδην, πῶς γράψεν δὲ οἱ ὅστέον ἄχρις; κατὰ βάθους γὰρ φαίνεται ἡ πληγὴ ἐπενηνεγμένη. ἀλλ’, ἐρεῖ Ὅμηρος, οὐκ ἐγὼ αἴτιος, ἀλλ’ ὁ τόπος, εἰς ὃν κατενέχθη ἡ πληγὴ· ἔστι γὰρ ἡ ὠμοπλάτη ἀσαρκοτάτη).

⁴⁷ This case is proposed and discussed by van der Valk 1963, 71.

⁴⁸ Dindorf 1875, vii. There Dindorf also mentions the example of *Sch. Ariston. Il.* 10.117, a short scholion that, as in the case discussed in the text, consists of a meagre “διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν”, which he connects to the annotation ὅτι τὸ πονέεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνεργεῖν of *Sch. Ariston. Il.* 10.116 in the frame set. To these examples we can also add the short scholion *Sch. Ariston. Il.* 2.669 which says “ἀθετεῖται. ἡ δὲ αἰτία προεῖρηται”, interpreted as a reference to the frame-scholion *Sch. Ariston. Il.* 2.668 (see Ludwig 1883, 101 n. 123).

These markers may, at first, prompt two suggestions: either that the two sets of scholia are the result of the splitting up of an older unity (which however is in contrast to the palaeographic argument we presented at the beginning, as well as to the multiple cases of redundancy or contradiction between the two sets), or that the scribe who composed both short scholia and frame-scholia in this form also carried out some formal re-arrangement in the process.⁴⁹ Such a hypothesis is not completely impossible, especially in the case of conjunctions and particles (the interventions would thus be entirely desultory, leaving numerous unbalanced cases). Yet it is worth considering a different interpretive key, based on the last example: these markers could be traces of a pre-existing cohesion within the group of short scholia, which was subsequently often obliterated not only by the splitting up of the expression, but also by the selection and reduction of the material.⁵⁰ I will return to this topic later. More generally it should be borne in mind that even within the frame-scholia, cases are not uncommon in which their formulation betrays the nature of these texts as originating from selection, shortening and compilation of different sources (e.g. οὐδέ or δέ at the beginning, without any referent).⁵¹

An important question concerns the relationship between the short scholia and the Iliadic text of Venetus A. Since these scholia have no lemma, it is not always possible to determine which Homeric text they presuppose, but there are specific situations that permit some reflection, such as the so-called οὕτως-scholia.⁵² These are scholia traceable to the work of Didymus, concerned with textual problems, in which the adverb is used to introduce the recording of a reading and the critic who defended it (generally Aristarchus): “thus Aristarchus”. Although such a formulation could plausibly be expected to confirm the reading of the text to which it is attached (*infra*, example 1), at times the opposite is observed (*infra*, example 2), as emerges from the close examination carried out by Erbse.

1) *Il.* 16.227

A: ὅτι μὴ Διὶ πατρὶ

Sch. Did. Il. 16, 227b: οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος, ὅτι {μὴ Διὶ}, ἄλλοι δὲ διὰ τοῦ ε, ὅτε. A^{im}

⁴⁹ Cf. e.g. Dindorf 1875, vii; Ludwich 1883, 100–101.

⁵⁰ Cf. van Thiel 2014a, IV 126 (“Manchmal findet sich δέ auch am Anfang, was vermutlich auf Trennung einer mehrteiligen Kurznote zurückgeht”), who nevertheless adopts an interpretation of the *Kurznoten* which is entirely different from that which I intend to propose: see *infra*.

⁵¹ Among many possible examples, one can quote *Sch. Did. Il.* 8.284a. A case such as *Sch. Did. Il.* 11.78–83b¹ (Ἀριστοφάνης ἡθέτει, παρὰ δὲ Ζηνοδότῳ οὐδὲ ἐγράφωντο; cfr. e.g. 12.175a¹) can help to explain what kind of formulations could possibly have been at the origin of these brachylogical expressions.

⁵² On this group of scholia, see, in particular, Erbse 1953, 32–33. Cf. also La Roche 1866, 123–134; Ludwich 1883, 141–145.

2) *Il.* 1.350

A: ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον

Sch. Did. Il. 1.350b: οὕτως ἀπείρονα, οὐκ οἶνοπα, ἢ Ἀριστάρχου. A^{int}

Even more disconcerting are the cases (which are by no means rare), in which Aristarchus’ reading is not even mentioned in the scholion, which only says “thus Aristarchus” and then records the reading present in Venetus A as a variant (ἄλλοι δέ).

3) *Il.* 14.202

A: οἳ με σφοῖσι

Sch. Did. Il. 14.202b¹: οὕτως Ἀριστάρχος, ἄλλοι δὲ οἳ με σφοῖσι. A^{int} (Erbse: οὕτως Ἀριστάρχος <οἳ μ’ ἐν σφοῖσι>, ἄλλοι δὲ οἳ με σφοῖσι. Aristarchus’ reading is inferred from the scholion recorded by ms. T).

The most plausible explanation for such a situation continues to be, in my opinion, that proposed by Ludwig, despite Erbse’s resistance (his reasons will be made clear shortly): that is, the formulation of the short scholia was conceived at first to serve as an exegetical apparatus for an Iliadic text *other* than that present in Venetus A.⁵³

3 Proposal for an interpretive model

We now turn to the question of how the two sets of scholia in Venetus A should be interpreted and what the generative processes and reasons behind them might be. The explanations proposed in the past have, in many cases, failed to consider the entire scenario, either because they were part of studies related to a specific component of the scholia, be it short scholia or frame-scholia (e.g. Römer’s work expressly addresses only the VMK-material, and Ludwig’s book, even more specifically, is devoted to reconstruction of Aristarchus’ textual criticism on the basis of Didymus’ scholia),⁵⁴ or because they were founded on deliberate distinctions between the different parts of the whole. Falling into this last category, for example, is Erbse’s idea that the *Textscholien* were a sort of critical apparatus in which the copyist who wrote the Homeric text in Venetus A recorded the agreements with and differences between the readings documented by VMK and those of the

⁵³ Ludwig 1883, 143 (similarly, van der Valk 1963, 76); cf. Erbse 1953, 32–33.

⁵⁴ Römer 1875; Ludwig 1883.

vulgata, while using the frame-scholia for an extensive illustration of what could only be summarily mentioned in the apparatus.⁵⁵ As a result, the purpose of the *Textscholien* was, according to Erbse, to equip the Homeric text with the most important variants.⁵⁶ All this, however, is coherent if the D scholia and the less numerous exegetical scholia are excluded, although they are nevertheless present in the set of short scholia, a feature which, on the other hand, Erbse did not fail to specify.⁵⁷

A similar process, but even more extreme, underlies van Thiel's view, which holds that the *Kurznoten* are the *direct* descendants of the marginal annotations placed by the most ancient Alexandrian philologists – mainly Aristarchus – on their working copies, moreover not with the intention of recording *variae lectiones*, but rather comparisons or alternatives for the purpose of commenting.⁵⁸ Van Thiel explains the mention of the names of Zenodotus and Aristophanes within the *Kurznoten* as due to additions made by Aristarchus, while suggesting that the presence of the name of Aristarchus himself should be viewed as an addition made by the latter's "publisher".⁵⁹ Most of the material which was traditionally considered to be by Didymus and Aristonicus in the short scholia should thus be traced back *recta via* to Aristarchus, as should a few notes normally

55 Erbse 1953, 29–38; Erbse 1960, 127.

56 This interpretation probably explains why Erbse rejected the hypothesis that in a previous phase the short scholia had accompanied a Homeric text other than that of the Venetus A (see immediately *supra*).

57 Erbse 1953, 34: "Scheidet man D-Scholien und die verschwindend geringen exegetischen Stücke aus, so bleibt ein knapper kritischer Apparat [...]". In n. 2 of p. 34, Erbse explains the presence of D and exegetical scholia among the *Textscholien* as additions made by the same compiler in order to provide an interpretive aid, or even as later additions.

58 Van Thiel 2014a, I 8: "Die Kurznoten des Venetus A [...] haben oft den Wortlaut Aristarchs erhalten"; cf. I 28 and IV 125–128, esp. 125: "Kurznoten, wie sie besonders in A erhalten sind, sind durch zahlreiche Namenangaben für Zenodot, Aristophanes und Aristarch gesichert und gehen auf deren Textbearbeitung zurück". As for the nature of the annotations of ancient philologists, see van Thiel 2014a, I 13: "Es handelt sich nicht um Überlieferungsvarianten und nicht in erster Linie um Textvorschläge der Gelehrten, sondern um Kommentare und Alternativen zum Text in ihren Handtexten"; I 14: "Auch bei ihm [sc. Aristarch] ist das meiste, was wie Bemerkungen zum Text aussieht, aber nicht durch Papyri oder Handschriften gestützt wird, Vergleich oder kommentierende Alternative"; cf. van Thiel 1992 and 1996, III–XVIII, with the reply by Schmidt 1997.

59 Van Thiel 2014a, IV 125: "Sie [sc. die Namenangaben] gehen natürlich nicht auf die Gelehrten selbst zurück, sondern sind von Jüngeren hinzugeführt, im Falle des Zenodot und Aristophanes, von Aristarch, im Falle Aristarchs von seinem Herausgeber". The grammarian who potentially realised the combination of the working text by Aristarchus with its *ekdosis* is hypothetically identified as Dionysius Thrax by van Thiel 2014a, I 37.

attributed to the works of Herodian and Nicanor. On the other hand, the majority of scholia by Herodian and Nicanor, as well as D and exegetical material found in the short scholia, should be explained as secondary additions.⁶⁰ According to van Thiel, the traditional line deriving from the commentaries, which in his view represents a subsequent, distinct phase,⁶¹ flowed into the frame-scholia, which he in fact calls *Kommentarscholien*. A conception of this kind has the considerable consequence of giving the Aristarchean-derived *Kurznoten* the role of an independent element in the tradition of Homeric exegesis⁶² (assuming that a criterion can be found to recognise such notes amid the jumble of material from other sources).

These reconstruction proposals, though intriguing and tantalising, are based on the prior selection of just one part of the material under examination. I believe that if we seek to understand the nature and the sense of the short scholia, it is worth considering the entirety of the compilation which they represent. The content of this entirety, as has been said, is no different than that of the frame-scholia: thus we do not find, on one side, only and exclusively the textual notes and, on the other, only and exclusively the glossographic, mythographic and exegetical explanations, or all the Aristarchus-related material isolated in one single location. Nor does any other grouping founded on the criteria of subject or scholiastic class seem possible: the only distinctive characteristic is the form.

Given this situation, I suggest the following interpretation as the most effective: the same tradition – which drew on the commentary obtained from the fusion of the four works by Aristonicus, Didymus, Herodian and Nicanor, as well as from the D scholia and the exegetical scholia – at a certain point split into two different paths, *which responded to different needs*. On one hand, *excerpta* were created, in a very concise form, suitable to be placed alongside the text as notes, thus producing an Iliadic text equipped with quick marginal and interlinear annotations; on the other, lengthier explanations were recorded which bore some similarity to commentaries as regards the handling of the content (it is hard to say, however, if the form was already that of a frame around the text or still that of a work written separately). At present I can see nothing that might suggest a

60 Van Thiel 2014a, IV 127 (cf. van Thiel 1989, where the frame was already drafted in its essential lines).

61 He in fact refutes the idea that Aristarchus published commentaries on Homer and claims that the material which the sources refer to as Aristarchean commentaries was actually a re-elaboration carried out by his pupils: van Thiel 2014a, I 8: “von Aristarch selbst scheint es keine publizierten Kommentare zu Homer gegeben zu haben [...] es dürften Vorlesungsnachschriften seiner Schüler oder deren Publikationen ‘nach Aristarch’ gewesen sein” (cf. also IV, 101).

62 Van Thiel 2014a, I 29.

hypothesis regarding the chronological aspects, although the extensive compilation recognizable even in the short scholia and the kind of operation itself probably point to a period when the phenomenon of scholiography was already productive (i.e. after the Late Antiquity, according to the opinion I prefer within the complex debate on the subject⁶³). The two traditions, or better still, the two intermediate outcomes of the same tradition, were once more combined in one single book – but were no longer intermingled –, when the plan for the exegetical apparatus in Venetus A was drafted (or that of one of its predecessors: it is difficult to define exactly when the conjunction was achieved). Each of the two paths produced a set of scholia, thus maintaining their own independence and distinction: both the positioning on the page and also the different type of writing ensured the short scholia were clearly separated from the other set.

We are thus hypothesising, similar to proposals put forward recently by Mazzucchi, that the exegetical apparatus in Venetus A came from (at least) two different sources.⁶⁴ As far as the lineage carrying the short scholia is concerned, it cannot be excluded that Venetus A may have drawn on more than one model: this could help to explain the strange phenomenon of short scholion duplication on the right and left of the Homeric line, as observed in a handful of cases, the short scholion being either identical or showing only slight variations.⁶⁵ If we were to imagine a single exemplar bearing the short scholia, it would be difficult to understand how whoever transferred its materials to Venetus A could have succumbed to an erroneous double-transcription, or why he did not eliminate the duplicate, if it was already in the model (where it should have been rather visible). If, conversely, the copyist was working from multiple sources of short scholia, this might justify the lack of *dédoublonnage* of a few isolated scholia which he found in more than one source. The presence, in other examples, of a pair of

⁶³ See Montana 2011 and Montana/Porro 2014.

⁶⁴ Mazzucchi 2012, esp. 437–438. Cf. *supra*, 88. On the contrary, that the entire apparatus of the Venetus A, including the frame-scholia, was copied from a single antigraph, containing all the material already in the same format, was hypothesised by Ludwig 1883, 100, on the basis of the conviction that a mechanical job of copying, done by a “gedankenloser Schreiber”, would better explain (better than the activity of an excerptor) the “zu viele und zu schlimme Fehler”, the presence of ornamental elements in the arrangement of the short scholia (on which, see *supra*, n. 14), the lack of homogenisation between frame-scholia and short scholia (for which, see *supra*, 91–97).

⁶⁵ *Sch. Il.* 7.175a, 7.413, 9.128c², 9.317, 11.32, 11.395b², 11.600a, 16.317c, 16.401a, 18.557b (in which A^{int} does not have ἐστίκοι, but ἐστίκει like A^{im}, *pace* Erbse, app. *ad loc.*): I draw upon the list selecting and integrating the data of van Thiel 1989, 26 n. 9 and van Thiel 2014a, IV 126 (in the paragraph “Dubletten: Doppelte Kurznoten am linken und rechten Textrand des Venetus, die identisch sind”), who, in this regard, speaks of “mehrere Arbeitsdurchgänge” (cf. the more developed argument in van Thiel 1989, 26 and n. 9).

A^{im} and A^{int} scholia that are substantially different⁶⁶ could also be explained by such a hypothesis, but not necessarily: it could be justified quite easily even in the framework of a single antigraph of short scholia as the outcome of a previous compilation.

If we reflect for a moment on the most likely aspect of the short scholia during the phase in which we presume they alone accompanied the Homeric text, we are inevitably led to reflect on the similarity with the ancient *marginalia* on papyri.⁶⁷ However, this analogy is only superficial: one crucial difference between the two products is the fact that as far as papyrus *marginalia* are concerned, to date we have been unable to find positive proof of any case of irrefutable and systematic compilation from multiple sources.⁶⁸ In contrast, the short scholia include notes from Aristonicus, Didymus, Nicanor and Herodian, as well as the different components of D and, albeit to a lesser extent, the exegetical class. What is more, they include observations with different origins even in relation to the same pericope of text, although this situation is found less frequently than in the frame-scholia, plausibly in relation to the tendency of the short scholia to conciseness.⁶⁹

In the example of *Il.* 3.23, the short scholion found between the Homeric text and the frame-scholia records a note by Nicanor on how to structure the entire phrase which opens a simile, while the short scholion in the inner margin consists of an explanation traceable to the D tradition relating to the first part of the simile:

Sch. Nic. Il. 3.23–27: <ὥς τε λέων ----- ὥς ἐχάρη Μενέλαος> συναπτέον ἕως τοῦ πεινῶν (25)· φαῦλοι γὰρ οἱ συνάπτοντες τὸ πεινῶν τοῖς ἐπομένοις, ὑποστικτέον δὲ εἰς τὸ αἰζηοῖ (26). A^{im}

Sch. D Il. 3.23: νεκροῦ γὰρ φασὶ σώματος μὴ ἄπτεσθαι λέοντα. A^{int}

⁶⁶ E.g. *Sch. Il.* 4.456a/b, 6.260a²/b, 8.428a/b¹, 9.89, 9.235a/b, 9.653a/b, 13.485a³/c, 15.232a¹/a², 21.247a/b, 21.317a¹, 21.541a¹/a²: I draw upon the list selecting and integrating the data from van Thiel 1989, 26 n. 9 and van Thiel 2014a, IV 126 (in the paragraph “Andere Doppelkurznoten lassen durch signifikante Unterschiede verschiedenen Ursprung erkennen”).

⁶⁷ As can be seen in Mazzucchi 2012, 437. Cf. also Allen 1931, 164, according to whom the derivation of the short scholia from *marginalia* on papyri and not from the same commentaries as those from which the frame-scholia are assumed to have come is an almost obligatory choice, since “even Byzantine inadvertence must have had a limit”.

⁶⁸ See the discussion, with references to the evidence and the bibliography, in Montana 2011, 128–150.

⁶⁹ In a few cases, the two annotations with different origins are split into two short scholia, to the right and left of the same line: see the first example *infra* and cf. *supra*, n. 66. The tendency for short scholia to maintain the independence of the individual annotations more than is the case in the frame-scholia is emphasised by Ludwig 1883, 107.

Cf. *Sch. D ad loc.* in ZYQ (van Thiel): *μεγάλω ἐπὶ σώματι κύρσας: μεγάλω ζῶω ἐπιτυχόν· | νεκροῦ γάρ φασὶν σώματος μὴ ἄπτεσθαι λέοντα.*

A case that seems even more striking is that of *Il.* 10.159, in which one short scholion apparently combines information from various streams: D scholia, etymological material similar to that found in the *Homeric Lexicon* by Apollonius Sophista,⁷⁰ as well as some that is comparable to the exegetical class. Admittedly the clues indicating a compilation from sources of different origin are not entirely binding, so much so that van Thiel is able to put forward the assumption of the entire content of the short scholia of A as belonging to the D class (evidently to its glossographic component).⁷¹ However, the fact remains that the connection with this scholiastic class is entirely certain only for the first part of the short scholion in A, thanks to its presence also in the manuscripts that are specific witnesses of the D scholia (ZYQX):

Sch. D | Ap. S. (?) | ex. Il. 10.159b²: *ἀπανθίζει | παρὰ τὸ ἄωτον, ὃ ἐστὶν ἄνθος, | ἢ κοιμᾷ, παρὰ τὸ “ἄεσαι” τὸ κοιμάσθαι.* A^{int}

Cf. *Sch. D ad loc.* (van Thiel): *ὑπνον ἄωτεῖς: ἀπανθίζει τὸν ὑπνον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καθεύδεις.* ZYQXIⁱ ~ G

Cf. *Ap. S.* 50.16: *ἄωτεῖται ἤτοι ἀπανθίζεσθαι τὸν ὑπνον (ἄωτον γὰρ πᾶν τὸ ἄνθος) ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἔασαι, ὃ ἐστὶ κοιμῆσαι. καὶ ἄωτεῖς κοιμᾷ.*

Cf. *Sch. ex. ad loc.* (159b¹ Erbse): <ἄωτεῖς> κοιμάσαι, ἀπὸ τοῦ “ἄεσαι”. T^{il}

It is particularly illuminating to consider a comparison with the *marginalia* of the Hawara papyrus,⁷² recently mentioned as a possible parallel for the short scholia.⁷³ Although, as has been correctly observed, four of the annotations in this papyrus are found in the short scholia (in some cases with differing formulations),⁷⁴ an overall evaluation nevertheless allows us to delineate the following scenario: of the 13 marginal notes documented in the Hawara papyrus, seven are comparable to the frame-scholia in Venetus A and not to the short scholia⁷⁵ (two

⁷⁰ A remarkable osmosis of materials among different genres of secondary literature and through the centuries is the usual tendency of such texts.

⁷¹ Van Thiel 2014b, 370.

⁷² P.Bodl. Libr. Ms. Gr. class. at 1 (P) (LDAB 1695; MP³ 00616), II^p: see McNamee 2007, 269–271.

⁷³ Mazzucchi 2012, 437 and n. 112.

⁷⁴ Mazzucchi 2012, 437 n. 112: “Quattro scoli del celebre rotolo si ritrovano come intermarginali nel Venetus!”. They are the *marginalia* related to *Il.* 2.682, 2.707, 2.751, 2.769; Erbse leads all the corresponding short scholia back to a Didymean origin.

⁷⁵ *Marginalia* to *Il.* 2.396–397, 2.436, 2.447, 2.665, 2.671, 2.694, 2.798, which are comparable, respectively, to the following frame-scholia in the Venetus A: *Sch. Ariston. Il.* 2.397a and *Did.* 2.397b (cf. *Sch. Did. Il.* 2.397c, only in bT); *Sch. Did. Il.* 2.436a (cf. 2.436b, only in T), 2.665a, 2.671a¹ (cf. 2.671a², only in b); *Sch. Ariston. Il.* 2.694a (cf. *Sch. Did. Il.* 2.694b, only in b); *Sch. Did. Il.* 2.798a.

entirely lack a parallel in Venetus A⁷⁶); on the other hand, for the portion of text in question (*Il.* 2.396–865), the Venetus A contains, in addition to the four short scholia that are similar to the *marginalia* of the papyrus, more than 40 short scholia, which have proven to be representative of *all the scholiastic classes* (P.Hawara only contains textual notes).⁷⁷ This type of parallel thus falls into the broader, normal affinity which usually occurs between the *marginalia* on papyri and the content of the scholiastic *corpora*, and should probably not be considered indicative of a privileged relationship between the *marginalia* on papyri and the short scholia.

Rather, in the interpretation I have proposed, the latter are an integral part of the larger Byzantine scholiastic project. The aim of gathering that which remained of ancient philology and erudition, presumably along with the sense of a difference in the type of reading aid supplied by each of the two scholiastic sets, with their different format, made it possible to reproduce the dual sequence of scholia in the same manuscript, despite the similarity of the content.⁷⁸ If the purpose of the composite exegetical apparatus in Venetus A can thus be identified in the recording and safeguarding of two scholiastic streams, considered bearers of an ancient tradition which was judged worthy of being preserved and passed down, it will no longer be necessary to invoke, with Ludwig, an alleged carelessness and lack of attention on the part of a scribe reproached for having purportedly copied, without the slightest concern, two sets of annotations which at times were either tautological or contradictory to each other.⁷⁹ The absence of an intervention to make everything uniform, thereby allowing short scholia to coexist alongside frame-scholia which contradict them or, conversely, which repeat the very same concept, or alongside a Homeric text which is not compatible with their formulation, seems entirely consistent with the compiling spirit that is recognis-

76 *Marginalia* ad *Il.* 2.781–782 and 2.865.

77 VMK short scholia: 2.427b (Did.), 2.438 (Ariston.), 2.439a (Hrd.), 2.440 (Ariston.), 2.493 (Ariston.), 2.608 (Hrd.), 2.626a¹ (Ariston.), 2.669 (Ariston.), 2.677b (Hrd.), 2.689 (Ariston.), 2.695a (Hrd.), 2.731 (Hrd.), 2.733 (Did.), 2.739b (Hrd.), 2.742 (Ariston.), 2.756b (Did.), 2.763 (Ariston.), 2.795 (Did.), 2.798b (Hrd.), 2.802 (Ariston.), 2.811 (Hrd.), 2.820 (Ariston.), 2.830 (Ariston.), 2.835a (Ariston.), 2.835b (Hrd.?), 2.852a (Ariston.). Exegetical short scholia: 2.435c², 2.450a¹, 2.643 (?), 2.721 (?), 2.735a², 2.755a (?), 2.781–784 (?). D short scholia: 2.435 (x 3), 2.440, 2.447, 2.471, 2.474, 2.478, 2.493, 2.765, 2.798.

78 That Venetus A is the fruit of an accurate project and not a random jumble of materials has been understood and well explained by Hecquet 2009 and Mazzucchi 2012, esp. 436–441 e 447–448, unlike what was held to be true in the past (see e.g. Ludwig 1883, 96–98, 100; Allen 1931, 164).

79 Ludwig 1883, 96–98.

able as an underlying feature of the scholiastic *corpora* themselves.⁸⁰ If this type of approach did indeed contribute to the creation of the *cliché* of “Byzantine inadvertence”,⁸¹ it is also the emblem of the propensity, equally Byzantine, to produce expansive compilations, which would be – and in fact were – the collectors and custodians of the ancient learned heritage.

Bibliography

- Allen, T.W. (1899), “On the Composition of Some Greek Manuscripts. III, The Venetian Homer”, in *Journal of Philology* 26, 161–181.
- Allen, T.W. (1931), *Homeri Ilias*. I, *Prolegomena*, Oxonii.
- Blackwell, C.W./Dué, C. (2009), “Homer and History in the *Venetus A*”, in C. Dué (ed.), *Recapturing a Homeric Legacy*, Washington/Cambridge (Mass.), 1–18.
- Cavallo, G. (1992), “La storia dei testi antichi a Bisanzio. Qualche riflessione”, in J. Hamesse (ed.), *Les problèmes posés par l'édition critique des textes anciens et médiévaux*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 95–111.
- Cavallo, G. (2000), “Una mano e due pratiche. Scrittura del testo e scrittura del commento nel libro greco”, in M.-O. Goulet-Cazé (ed.), *Le commentaire entre tradition et innovation*, Paris, 55–64.
- Cavallo, G. (2002), *Dalla parte del libro. Storie di trasmissione dei classici*, Urbino.
- Cavallo, G./Del Corso, L. (2012), “1960–2011: mezzo secolo dopo gli *Aperçus de paléographie homérique* di William Lameere”, in G. Bastianini/A. Casanova (eds.), *I papiri omerici. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Firenze, 9–10 giugno 2011*, Firenze, 29–63.
- Dindorf, W. (ed.) (1875), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem, ex codicibus aucta et emendata*. I, Oxonii.
- Ebbott, M. (2009), “Text and Technologies: the *Iliad* and the *Venetus A*”, in C. Dué (ed.), *Recapturing a Homeric Legacy*, Washington/Cambridge (Mass.), 31–55.
- Erbse, H. (1953), “Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Iliasscholien”, in *Mnemosyne* 6 (4a Ser.), 1–38.
- Erbse, H. (1960), *Beiträge zur Überlieferung der Iliasscholien*, München.

80 For comparison's sake, one may evoke the case of the characteristic sequences within the same scholion of different explanations (which may also be contradictory) for one single passage, drawn from different sources and simply juxtaposed with each other, without a re-working to adapt them to the new context or the introduction of a line of argument which can lead from one passage to the next (on this aspect, see Montana 2011, 127–128, with a comparison with the analogous practice of the *catenae*); or the tolerance for lemmata that are disharmonious with the text which the scholiastic support flanks, or for lemmata which, at least to our modern perception, do not seem to correctly or fully identify the passage which is being commented on (on the latter, see van Thiel 1989, who traces the choices in the “cut” of lemmata to the ancient phase).

81 On the topic here examined, see Allen 1931, 164 (cf. *supra*, n. 67).

- Erbse, H. (ed.) (1969), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Scholia Vetera)*. Vol. I, *Praefationem et Scholia ad libros A-Δ continens*, Berolini.
- Hecquet, M. (2009), “An Initial Codicological and Palaeographical Investigation of the Venetus A Manuscript of the *Iliad*”, in C. Dué (ed.), *Recapturing a Homeric Legacy: Images and Insights from the Venetus A Manuscript of the Iliad*, Washington/Cambridge (Mass.), 57–87.
- Hemmerdinger, B. (1956), “Sur deux manuscrits grecs (Venetus A de l’*Iliade* – Laurentianus XXXII 2 d’Euripide)”, in *Revue des Études grecques* 69, 433–435.
- Hoffmann, K.A.J. (1864), *Einundzwanzigstes und Zweiundzwanzigstes Buch (Φ und Χ) der Ilias*. I, *Prolegomena*, Clausthal.
- Irigoin, J. (1990), “Homère, *Iliade*”, in H.-J. Martin/J. Vezin (eds.), *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*, Paris, 138–141.
- La Roche, J. (1862), *Text, Zeichen und Scholien des berühmten Codex Venetus zur Ilias*, Wiesbaden.
- La Roche, J. (1866), *Die Homerische Textkritik im Alterthum*, Leipzig.
- Ludwich, A. (1877), “Die Scholien zur *Ilias* in Wilhelm Dindorfs Bearbeitung. Teil II”, in *Rheinisches Museum* 32, 160–210.
- Ludwich, A. (1883), *Aristarchs homerische Textkritik nach den Fragmenten des Didymos dargestellt und beurtheilt*, I, Leipzig.
- Luzzatto, M.J. (2010), “Codici tardoantichi di Platone ed i cosiddetti *Scholia Arethae*”, in *Medioevo greco* 10, 77–110.
- Maniaci, M. (2000), “Stratégies de juxtaposition du texte et du commentaire dans quelques manuscrits d’Homère”, in M.-O. Goulet-Cazé (ed.), *Le commentaire entre tradition et innovation*, Paris, 65–76.
- Maniaci, M. (2006), “Problemi di *mise en page* dei manoscritti con commento a cornice. L’esempio di alcuni testimoni dell’*Iliade*”, in *Segno e Testo* 4, 211–297.
- Mazzucchi, C.M. (2012), “Venetus A e Ambr. B 114 sup. Due codici del medesimo copista e la loro storia”, in *Aevum* 86, 417–456.
- McNamee, K. (2007), *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt*, New Haven.
- Menchelli, M. (2015), “Le informali di IX e X secolo e la fortuna di Dione di Prusa nella rinascenza macedone. Uno stesso anonimo copista per l’Urb. gr. 124 e il Marc. gr. 454, un annotatore di X secolo nel Vat. gr. 99”, in *Medioevo greco* 15, 157–173.
- Montana, F. (2010), “Due note di lessico scoliastico: παρακείμενον σχόλιον e παραγράφεσθαι”, in F. Montana (ed.), *Aner polytropos. Ricerche di filologia greca antica dedicate dagli allievi a Franco Montanari*, Rome, 185–195.
- Montana, F. (2011), “The Making of Greek Scholiastic Corpora”, in F. Montanari/L. Pagani (eds.), *From Scholars to Scholia. Chapters in the History of Ancient Greek Scholarship*, Berlin/New York, 105–161.
- Montana, F. (2014), “Anything but a Marginal Question. On the Meaning of παρακείμενον σχόλιον and παραγράφεσθαι”, in Montana/Porro 2014.
- Montana, F./Porro, A. (eds.) (2014), *The Birth of Scholiography. From Types to Texts*, Berlin/New York (= *Trends in Classics* 6).
- Pagani, L. (2014), “Through the Warping Glass. A Reconsideration on Venetus A Subscriptions and the Birth of Scholiography”, in Montana/Porro, 39–53.
- Römer, A. (1875), “Über die Werke der Aristarcheer im Cod. Venet. A”, in *Sitzungsberichte der königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse*, 241–324.

- Schmidt, M. (1997), “*Variae lectiones* oder Parallelstellen: Was notierten Zenodot und Aristarch zu Homer?”, in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 115, 1–12.
- Severyns, A. (1951), “Arethas et le Venetus d’Homère”, in *Bull. Académie royale de Belgique. Classe de Lettres*, 279–306.
- Severyns, A. (1953), *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclus*. 3. 1, *Étude paléographique et critique*, Paris.
- Van der Valk, M. (1963), *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad*, 1, Leiden.
- Van Thiel, H. (1989), “Die Lemmata der Iliasscholien. Zur Systematik und Geschichte”, in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 79, 9–26.
- Van Thiel, H. (1992), “Zenodot, Aristarch und andere”, in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 90, 1–32.
- Van Thiel, H. (ed.) (1996), *Homeri Ilias*, Hildesheim.
- Van Thiel, H. (2014a) = Aristarch, Aristophanes Byzantios, Demetrios Ixion, Zenodot. *Fragmente zur Ilias gesammelt, neu herausgegeben und kommentiert*, I–IV, Berlin/Boston.
- Van Thiel, H. (ed.) (2014b), *Scholia D in Iliadem*. Proecdosis aucta et correctior, Cologne (<http://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/5586/>).

Fausto Montana

The oldest textual witness of John Tzetzes' *Exegesis of the Iliad*

Abstract: In ms. Laur. Plut. 32.3, a witness to the *Iliad* with *scholia exegetica* usually dated on palaeographical grounds to the 11th–12th cent., in the margins of f. 1r–v, instead of the expected *exegetica* on *Il.* 1.5–12, some explanations have been copied which match parts of the *Exegesis of the Iliad* composed by John Tzetzes before the year 1143. This is not noted at all by H. Erbse in his edition of the *Iliad* scholia and raises doubts about the origins and authorship of these materials. Textual comparison of the scholia with the corresponding passages in the direct tradition of Tzetzes' work proves the antecedence of the *Exegesis* and argues for a date of the *Iliad* ms. after 1143.

To Giancarlo Prato

1 The new testimony

The writing of John Tzetzes' *Exegesis of the Iliad* dates back to approximately 1140, perhaps no earlier than 1143.¹ The work consists of an ample Introduction (pages 3–73 in the critical text edited by Manolis Papathomopoulos: hereafter P.)² and a running commentary, structured by lemmata, on the entire first book of the poem (pages 74–415 P.). The Introduction is accompanied by scholia also written by Tzetzes (pages 417–460 P.). The edition by Papathomopoulos is based on five manuscripts, only one of which reproduces the entire known text of the *Exegesis*, scholia included: the Cantabr. gr. R. 16. 33 (14th cent.; *siglum* C).³ Of the other four, the Lips. gr. 32 (15th cent. for the relevant portion; *siglum* L) provides the Introduction, scholia, and commentary up to *Il.* 1.102;⁴ the Vat. gr. 905 (15th cent.

1 Hart 1881, 12, identifies a time period between 1138 (the year in which Isaac, brother of John, died, an event recorded in the *Exegesis*) and June 1143 (when the passage of a comet was visible in Byzantium, emphatically mentioned in the *Allegoriae Iliadis* 4.66 but not in the *Exegesis*); identical conclusion in Giske 1881, 48–49. This chronology is accepted by Wendel 1948, 1966; Irigoin 1960, 442; Browning 1975, 26; and Papathomopoulos 2007, 19*.

2 Papathomopoulos 2007.

3 Lolos 1981 first edited the parts of the *Exegesis* preserved only by this manuscript.

4 The *editio princeps* by Hermann 1812 and the edition by Bachmann 1832 are based on the Lipsiensis. The ff. 52r–268v of this manuscript, which were copied by a different copyist at a

ex.; *siglum* V) only the Introduction and the scholia; the Vindob. phil. gr. 303 (16th cent.; *siglum* U) the Introduction and the commentary up to *Il.* 1.62 and it is an apograph of C; and lastly, the Paris. Suppl. gr. 655 (14th cent.; *siglum* P) contains four *excerpta* of the *Exegesis*.⁵

Reading the text of the *scholia vetera* to the first book of the *Iliad* in the Laur. Plut. 32.3 manuscript, which is usually dated 11th–12th cent. and is one of the primary textual witnesses of the **bT**-family of manuscripts of the scholia to the *Iliad*,⁶ in f. 1r–v, instead of the *scholia exegetica* to *Il.* 5–12 as expected, and as present in the other manuscripts of this family, one finds eleven annotations coinciding *ad verbum* with parts of Tzetzes' *Exegesis* to the corresponding lines of the Homeric poem.⁷ There are no clear explanations, nor editorial clues, for this change in exegetical source in the Florentine manuscript; on the contrary, the

different time (14th century), have the text of the *Iliad* accompanied by *scholia exegetica* (*siglum* Li in the edition by Hartmut Erbse) copied from the manuscripts T, B, and occasionally E³ (for these *sigla* see below in the text): Maass 1884; Erbse 1969, XXIV (“ea e scholiis librorum B (E³) et T conflata esse E. Maass certis argumentis confirmavit”) and XLVIII (“scholia Li ex interpretamentis B et T conglutinata sunt”) with n. 65.

⁵ Mioni 1985, 419, identified as Tzetzes' work the anonymous “Scholia in Iliadis libb. I–II” contained in the ms. Ven. Marc. gr. Z. 531 (coll. 924), ff. 5–39, copied around the middle of the 15th century by Demetrios Xanthopoulos (Harlfinger 1974, 25; Martinelli Tempesta 2015, 271 n. 1 and 332; wrongly assigned to Demetrios Trivolis by Krafft 1975, 168, followed by Mioni and others) and owned by Basilios Bessarion. As mentioned by Mioni himself, these Marcian scholia actually derive from those preserved in the ms. Rom. Ang. gr. 122 and published by Matranga 1850, 2.372 ff.; therefore, they clearly belong to the **h**-family of the scholia to the *Iliad*: cf. Pontani 2001; Sciarra 2005, 23 n. 21.

⁶ Erbse 1969, XVIII–XIX; ms. No. 289 in Fabio Vigili's inventory (1508) of the Greek mss. of the Medicean Library (Fryde 1996, 136; Jackson 1998, 203), possibly coming from the Library of San Marco, No. 1207 (?) in library's inventory (1500): Branca 1981, 187; cf. Petitmengin/Ciccolini 2005, 350. The manuscript, at least in the first pages, is a palimpsest (lower writing largely illegible, text unidentified).

⁷ This was noticed and summarily reported by Wachsmuth 1863, 187: “Der Hauptstock seiner [i.e. of the Laurentian ms.] Scholien stimmt mit dem Venetus B, das übrige mit denen des Lipsiensis. Die paar Bemerkungen, die er im Anfang des ersten Buches mehr hat, sind alle schon durch die Cramer'schen Anecdota [i.e. *Epim. Hom.* = Cramer 1835, 1–451] oder Tzetzes exeges. in *Iliad.* bekannt” (Wachsmuth is quoted in Maass 1884, 287–288, regarding the hypothesis that, as for the scholia, the Laurentian manuscript is *descriptus* from B and T). Aside from a reference in Schrader 1887, 288 (“das Plus, das einige wenige Scholien jener Handschrift aufzuweisen haben, dem Inhalte nach so unbedeutend ist, dass es ohne weiteres dem Copisten zugeschrieben werden könnte”), this information seems to have been neglected up until the present day: in particular, there is no sign of it in Erbse 1960 or 1969. Wachsmuth, Maass, and Schrader accepted the dating of the Laurentian manuscript to the 11th cent., and therefore to a time period prior to John Tzetzes.

copyist treated these scholia no differently than the others, seamlessly applying the same numerical system to connect the poetic text with the related explanations in the margins.

The following is a list of the eleven scholia:

- 1) f. 1r, *mg.inf.*, *ad Il.* 1.5 Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή = Io.Tz., *Exeg.* 101.3–9; 101.11–14; 101.17–19; 102.1 P.;
- 2) f. 1v, *mg.sup.*, *ad Il.* 1.7 Ἀτρεΐδης = Io.Tz., *Exeg.* 103.10–16; 104.1–6 P.;
- 3) f. 1v, *mg.sup.*, *ad Il.* 1.7 ἄναξ = Io.Tz., *Exeg.* 104.9–11 P.;
- 4) f. 1v, *mg.sup.*, *ad Il.* 1.7 δῖος = Io.Tz., *Exeg.* 105.1–3; 105.4–7 P.;
- 5) f. 1v, *mg.sup.–sn.*, *ad Il.* 1.8 ξυνέηκε = Io.Tz., *Exeg.* 106.4–8 P.;
- 6) f. 1v, *mg. sn.–inf.*, *ad Il.* 1.9 Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός = Io.Tz., *Exeg.* 106.9–12; 107.9–108.4 P.;
- 7) f. 1v, *mg. inf.*, *ad Il.* 1.10 νοῦσον = Io.Tz., *Exeg.* 109.17 P.;
- 8) f. 1v, *mg. inf.*, *ad Il.* 1.10 στρατόν = Io.Tz., *Exeg.* 109.19–110.2 P.;
- 9) f. 1v, *mg. inf.*, *ad Il.* 1.11 οὔνεκα = Io.Tz., *Exeg.* 110.20–111.9 P.;
- 10) f. 1v, *mg. inf.*, *ad Il.* 1.11 ἀρητῆρα = Io.Tz., *Exeg.* 111.9–11 P.;
- 11) f. 1v, *mg. inf.*, *ad Il.* 1.12 θοάς = Io.Tz., *Exeg.* 111.13–14 P.

I initially transcribed the scholia of the Laurentian manuscript by making use of the *Teca Digitale* of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana⁸ and subsequently by inspecting the original (April 2016). In the lower portion of the sheet, on both sides, the manuscript is hardly legible, if at all, due to fading and to material lacunae.

The scholia of the Laurentian manuscript (here referred to as Laur)⁹ overlap almost perfectly with the corresponding parts of the *Exegesis* as preserved by the Cambridge (C) and Leipzig (L) manuscripts according to the edition by Papathomopoulos.¹⁰ The differences basically consist in a small number of scarcely significant variant readings and in the brevity of the scholia as compared to the *Exegesis*. For this reason, and in order to better highlight the overlap and the differences, I have chosen to provide, in the following transcription, the text of Laur's scholia combined with the extra parts of the text found in the *Exegesis*. These extra parts are highlighted in italics. In the apparatus I have listed the

⁸ The images are currently (July 2017) available at <http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AVsVHdQxkUprGCn5XWKS&c=Homeri%20Ilias#/book>.

⁹ The choice of "Laur" is to avoid confusion, given that the *siglum* C, by which the manuscript is known in the studies on the tradition of the scholia to the *Iliad*, is the same as that used for the Cantabr. gr. R. 16. 33 in the tradition of Tzetzes' *Exegesis*.

¹⁰ The Vatican and Parisian manuscripts do not include the parts of the *Exegesis* examined herein.

variants and underlined the singular readings of Laur with respect to CL.¹¹ I found no conjunctive innovations of Laur with C and/or L.

- 1.1.5 περὶ τῆς Διὸς βουλῆς πολλοὶ πολλὰ πεφίλοσοφῆκασιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ μυθικῶς νοοῦντες τὸν Δία τὴν γῆν φασιν αἰτήσασθαι κουφίσαι αὐτὴν τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου ἄχθους καὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν· τὸν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀναρριπίσαι τὸν Θηβαϊκὸν πόλεμον, δευτέρον δὲ τὸν Ἰλιακόν, ὅφ' οὗ πολλοὶ ἀνῆρέθησαν· ἄλλοι δὲ φασὶ δρῦν τινα μαντικὴν, ἡλιθίως πάντῃ καὶ ἀπροσφόρος· οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον καὶ τὸν Ἀχλῆα γενέσθαι ἐπίτμον τινὲς δὲ ἐκ χρησμοῦ φάσκουσιν ἀκηκοέναι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας τότε πορθῆσαι τὴν Ἰλιον, ὅταν αὐτῶν οἱ ἄριστοι δηριώωνται. τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς δὲ, οἷς καὶ ἐγὼ σύμφημι, Διὸς ἐνταῦθα βουλή τὸ πεπτωμένον ἐστὶ, ὅφ' ὃ καὶ τὰ προλεχθέντα ταῦτα ἀνάγονται τῆς τε γῆς <καὶ> τῆς δρυός, τῆς Ἀχλῆως τιμῆς καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ χρησμοῦ τῆς ἀλώσεως. ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα βουλή τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἐγίνοντο. τὸ γὰρ
- 10 Διὸς ὄνομα πολλαχῶς, ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, λαμβάνεται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἥλιος ***

1 lemma Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή CL πεφίλοσοφῆκασιν Laur : λεληρήκασαν C^{sl}L : λεληρήκασιν C 3 τὸν δὲ πρῶτον CL : de Laur non liquet 3–4 δὲ τὸν CL : partim in lacuna Laur 4 ἀνῆρέθησαν de Laur non liquet φασι Laur : φασιν CL 5 δὲ² LLaur : δ' C 5–6 χρησμοῦ φάσκουσιν partim in lacuna Laur 6 αὐτῶν οἱ ἄριστοι CL : de Laur non liquet 7 δηριώωνται. τοῖς CL : partim in lacuna Laur τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς δὲ Laur : κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Στωϊκοὺς CL ἐνταῦθα CL : de Laur non liquet πεπτωμένον L 8 <καὶ> addidi 9 βουλή τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἐγίνοντο CL : partim in lacuna Laur ἐγίνοντο CLLaur (**γνοντο Laur) : ἐγένοντο C^{sl} (“fort. recte” Papathomopoulos) 10 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἥλιος Laur, de sequentibus non liquet : καὶ γὰρ Πλάτων, ἔτι δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ὁ σοφιστὴς Προκόπιος Γάζης, ἥλιον τοῦτόν φησι λέγων κτλ. CL

- 2.1.7 Ἀτρείδης ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Μενέλαος, καθ' Ἡσίοδον καὶ Αἰσχύλον, Πλεισθένους υἱοῦ Ἀτρέως παῖδες νομίζονται· κατὰ δὲ τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ πάντας ἁπλῶς, Ἀτρέως αὐτοῦ. Τμῶλον γὰρ καὶ Πλουτοῦς υἱὸς ὁ Τάνταλος· Ταντάλου δὲ καὶ Εὐρυανάσσης Πέλοψ, *Βροντέας, Νιόβη*· Πέλοπος δὲ καὶ Ἴπποδαμείας Ἀτρεὺς καὶ Θυέστης, *Δίας, Κυνόσουρος,*
- 5 *Κόρινθος, Ἰππαλκμος, Ἴππαςος, Κλεωνός, Ἀργεῖος, Ἀλκάθους, Ἑλῖος, Πιπθεύς, Τροϊζήν, Νικήππη, Λυσιδίκη, καὶ ἕκ τινος Ἀζιόχης, νόθος Χρύσιππος*· Ἀτρέως δὲ καὶ Ἀερόπης, κατὰ μὲν τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ πάντας ἁπλῶς, Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος *καὶ Ἀναξιβία, ἡ μήτηρ Πυλάδου* καθ' Ἡσίοδον δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλον *καὶ ἄλλους τινάς*, Ἀτρέως καὶ Ἀερόπης Πλεισθένης· Πλεισθένους δὲ καὶ Κλεόλλας τῆς Διάντος Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος *καὶ Ἀναξιβία· νέου δὲ τοῦ Πλεισθένους*
- 10 *τελευτήσαντος, ὑπὸ τοῦ πάππου αὐτῶν ἀνατραφέντες Ἀτρέως, Ἀτρεΐδα πολλοῖς ἐνομίζοντο.*

¹¹ According to the investigations carried out by Papathomopoulos (see 2007, *8–*14), C and L descend from a common archetype (Ω) independently through two distinct lost intermediates, marked respectively as α and β; furthermore, C shares some conjunctive innovations with the *excerpta* preserved in P, as L does with the parts of the *Exegesis* preserved in V.

1 Ἀτρείδης; lemma CL 2 παῖδες νομίζονται Laur : νομίζονται παῖδες CL 4 Ἀτρεὺς καὶ Θυέστης Laur : Ἀτρεὺς, Θυέστης CL 7 Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος Laur : Ἀγαμέμνων, Μενέλαος CL καθ' Ἡσίοδον δὲ Laur : κατὰ δὲ Ἡσίοδον CL 9 Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος Laur : Ἀγαμέμνων, Μενέλαος CL

3. 1.7 ἄναξ βασιλεύς, ἦτοι ὁ τὴν ἄνω τάξιν ἔχων καὶ πρώτην. τρία δὲ τὸ ἄναξ σημαίνει, θεόν, βασιλέα καὶ οἰκοδεσπότην· πρότερον δὲ ἐπὶ θεῶν μόνων τὸ ἄναξ ἐλέγετο· *Θησέως δὲ τὴν Ἑλένην ἀρπάξαντος καὶ ἀπαγαγόντος ἐς Ἀφιδναν, πολέμῳ οὖσαν τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐπεὶ τότε Κάστωρ καὶ Πολυδεύκης οἱ αὐτῆς ἀδελφοὶ πολέμου νόμῳ ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐπιστρατεύσαντες, οὐδ' ὅπως οὖν τινα ἡδίκησιν, εἰ μὴ μόνην Ἑλένην ἀφείλοντο καὶ Αἶθραν τὴν Θησέως μητέρα, τὴν ἄνακτος ἦτοι θεοῦ προσηγορίαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐκληρώσαντο· ἔκτοτε δὲ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς μεταπέπτωκεν.*

1 ἄναξ; lemma CL πρώτον Laur ut vid.

4. 1.7 ἢ ὁ ἀπὸ Διὸς βασιλέως, *ὡς πρόην ἔφην*, ἔλκων τὴν τοῦ γένους σειρὰν, ἢ ὁ διος, τουτέστιν ὁ εὐτυχῆς τε καὶ εὐμοιρος. *κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς Στωϊκοὺς, ὡς ἔφην, Ζεὺς καὶ ἡ εἰμαρμένη ἐστίν.* ἢ διος, ὁ ἐν Διὸς ἀστέρος τοῦ πλάνητος μοίραις τισὶ γεννηθεὶς. βασιλεῖς γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες καθίστανται, εἰ μὴ Ἄρης ἢ Κρόνος συμπάρεστι τῷ Δί.

1 lemma διος Ἀχιλεὺς CL ὁ¹ Laur : om. C 2 ὁ Laur : om. CL

5. 1.8 ξυνήκε· συνήκε, συνέβαλλεν· ἡ διάλεκτος Ἀττικῇ· οἱ γὰρ Ἀττικοὶ πῇ μὲν τὸ σ̄ εἰς ξ̄, ὡς ἐνθαδί, τρέπουσι, πῇ δὲ εἰς τ̄· εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἐν ἀρχῇ λέξεως, ἀπλοῦν, ὡς τὸ σεῦτλον, τεῦτλον· εἰ δὲ ἐν μέσῃ λέξει, εἰς διπλοῦν, οἶον, θάλασσα θάλαττα, γλῶσσα γλῶττα, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.

1 συνέβαλλεν Laur : συνέβαλεν CL ξ̄ CL 2 τρέπουσι Laur : τρέπουσιν CL ταῦ CL οὖν Laur : om. CL ἐν ἀρχῇ CLaur : ἔναρχον L 3 εἰ δὲ ἐν μέσῃ Laur : ἐν δὲ μέσῃ CL

6. 1.9 Λητοὺς καὶ Διὸς υἱός· τοῦτο προσωποποιία ἐστίν, ὃ καὶ ἀλληγορικὸς μῦθος καλεῖται· αὐτὸς γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα λέγων ὁ Ὅμηρος, Μοῦσάν τινα προσωποποιεῖ λέγειν αὐτά, ἦτοι τὴν γνῶσιν αὐτοῦ. *διαφέρει δὲ εἰδωλοποιία, ἠθοποιία καὶ προσωποποιία· καὶ εἰδωλοποιία ἐστὶν τὸ νεκρὸν ἐπιφέρειν φθεγγόμενον, ἅττα δὴ ποτε τῷ εἰδωλοποιοῦντι δοκεῖ· ἠθοποιία δὲ τὸ ἦθος ἀπομιμήσασθαι*
5 *ἀλόγου ἢ λογικοῦ· προσωποποιία δὲ τὸ πρόσωπα περιτιθέναι, καὶ προσωποποιεῖν προσάγειν καὶ ὥσπερ εἰ τινα ἔνσωμα καὶ φθεγγόμενα τὰ μὴ πεφυκότα πρόσωπα ἔχειν, ὡς ἄνεμον, θάλασσαν, ἥλιον· ἔτι τὴν Μοῦσαν αὐτήν, ὡς ἔχον ἐστὶν ἐνταυθοῖ· ὁποῖαν τινὰ τὴν Λητῶ νομίζουσιν Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Πλάτων, οὐκ ἴσημι· Πλάτων μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ λήθω τὸ λανθάνω ταύτην ἠτυμολόγηκε, πρᾶεῖαν εἶναι λέγων αὐτήν καὶ πάντας οἰκτεῖρουσαν· Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ πάλιν φησὶ παρὰ τὸ λῶ τὸ θέλω· ὃ γὰρ ἂν τις θελήσειε, παρὰ*
10 *ταύτης εὐρήσει· τοῦτο δ' ἀκριβῶς ἴσημι, ὅτι τριχῶς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐνός ἐκάστου τῶν θεῶν ὄνομα ἐκλαμβάνεται, στοιχειακῶς, πραγματικῶς τε καὶ ψυχικῶς, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον εἵπομεν.* Λητῶ τοίνυν πραγματικῶς νοεῖται γυνὴ τις· ψυχικῶς δὲ ἡ λάθησις, ἢ Ἑρμῆς, τουτέστιν ὁ προφορικὸς

- λόγος, οὐ διαμάχεται, ὥς τοῦ Διὸς γυναικί, τουτέστιν, ὥς μαλθασσοῦση τὸν νοῦν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ τοσοῦτον μνημονικός ἐστιν, ᾧ μηδέποτε ἐν προφορικοῖς λόγοις λήθη προσεπεγένετο·
- 15 στοιχειακῶς δὲ τὸ ἔρεβος ἐκείνο τὸ ἀρχεγόνιον Λητὼ νοητέον, ὥς λήθη καὶ ἄγνοιαν ἐμποιοῦν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς· οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω τῶν λίσαν σοφῶν ὅστις εἰπεῖν ἱκανὸς ὁποῖος ἄρα ἦν ὁ κόσμος καὶ τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ, ὅποτε ὑπὸ τοῦ χάους καὶ τοῦ ἐρέβους συνείχοντο. Λητοῦς δέ, ἥτοι ἐρέβους, καὶ Διός, ἥτοι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, παῖς ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ὅς ἐστιν ἥλιος, Ἀπόλλων λεγόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπολύειν ἡμᾶς τῶν κακῶν· θερμαίνων γὰρ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀναδιδοὺς
- 20 καὶ πεπαίνων τοὺς καρποὺς ἐκτρέφει ἡμᾶς· ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἀπολλύειν καὶ διαφθεῖρειν· θερμότερος γὰρ γεγωνὸς τοῦ προσήκοντος, λοιμοὺς καὶ νόσους μυρίας ἐπάγων, ἡμᾶς θανατοῖ· *υἱὸς δὲ ἐστὶν οὗτος Λητοῦς καὶ Διός, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν διάλυσιν τοῦ ἐρέβους καὶ τὴν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἄνω σύστασιν, καὶ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀστέρες ἐξαεφάνθησαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀστρα· διὸ καὶ Διὸς παῖς, ἥτοι οὐρανοῦ, λέγεται, διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ φαίνεσθαι, κἄν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἔχῃ τὴν γένεσιν, καθὼς ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ φάσκουσιν*
- 25 *κἂν τοῖς ἐπιστολαῖς αὐτοῦ Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης.*

1 ἀλληγορικὸς CLaur : ἀλληγορικῶς L 2 αὐτά CL : de Laur non liquet 13 μαλθασσοῦση Laur
 14 τοσοῦτον Laur : τοσοῦτο CL 16 ἐμποιοῦν Laur : περιποιοῦν CL 18 ἀν(θρώπ)ου per
compendium Laur : οὐρανοῦ CL (recte) ὁ LLaur : om. C 19 ἀπὸ τοῦ Laur : παρὰ τὸ CL γὰρ
 LLaur : δὲ C 20 τοὺς Laur : om. CL ἀπολλύειν CLaur : ἀπολύειν L

7.1.10 νόσον. Ἰώνων δὲ τὸ τρέπειν τὸ ο̅ εἰς οὐ̅.

1 lemma νοῦσον CL

8.1.10 διαφέρει στρατὸς καὶ στρατόπεδον· στρατὸς γὰρ τὸ πλήθός ἐστι τῆς ἐκστρατείας, στρατόπεδον δὲ ὁ τόπος τοῦ πλήθους καὶ αἱ σκηναὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλος σαφέστερον παριστᾷ λέγων· “ῤεῖ δὲ στρατὸς στρατόπεδον λιπών” (cf. *Sept.* 79–80).¹²

1 lemma ἀνὰ στρατόν CL διαφέρει–στρατόπεδον Laur : οἱ λεξιγράφοι στρατόν τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰρήκεσαν, ἀμαρτάνουσι δέ CL 2 ὁ τόπος τοῦ πλήθους Laur (fort. scripserat δὲ τὸ πλήθ, deinde correxit δέ, ὁ τό(ος)· τοῦ· πλήθους) : ὁ τόπος CL σκηναὶ CLaur : σκηνὴ L (“sed ἡ erasum” notavit Papathomopoulos)

9.1.11 οὐνεκα καὶ χάριν διαφέρει· τὸ μὲν γὰρ οὐνεκα καὶ ἔνεκα αἰτίαν δηλοῖ ἀντὶ τοῦ διὰ καὶ τοῦ ὅτι· λέγεται δὲ ἐπὶ τε φίλου καὶ ἐχθροῦ, οἷον, ἔνεκα σοῦ ἦλθον, ἀντὶ τοῦ διὰ σέ, ἢ βλάβῳν ἢ ὠφελήσω· τὸ δὲ χάριν, διὰ χάριτος νοεῖται καὶ ἐπὶ φίλου μόνου λαμβάνεται· οὐ γὰρ ἐχθρῷ τις εἴποι ὥς χάριν σοῦ ἦλθον, ἥγουν χάριτάς σοι ποιῶν· εἴ δὲ τοῦτο εἴποι,

¹² Aesch., *Sept.* 79–80 μεθεῖται στρατὸς στρατόπεδον λιπών, / ῤεῖ πολὺς ὅδε λεὼς κτλ.

- 5 ἁμαρτάνει, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀψύχου τούτῳ χρησάμενος· οὐ γὰρ λέγεις χάριν τοῦ ποιῆσαι τόδε, χάριν τοῦ κτίσαι τὸν ναόν, ἀλλὰ ἔνεκα.

1 lemma <οὔνεκα> suppl. Papathomopoulos 3 χάριτος LLaur : χάρις C 4 εἴποι C^{sl} LLaur : εἴπη C 5 ἁμαρτάνει LLaur : ἁμαρτάνη C ἀψύχου C^{sl} LLaur : ἀψύχῳ C 6 ἔνεκα CLLaur : ἔνεκεν C^{sl}

10. 1.11 ἀρητῆρα τὸν ἱερέα, παρὰ τὸ ἀρῶ τὸ εὔχομαι. τὸ δὲ ἀρῶ καὶ ἀρά ἢ εὐχή, παρὰ τὸ ἀρνός, ἀρνά, καὶ ἀρά. δι' ἀρνῶν γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ἐπετέλουν.

1 ἀρητῆρα: lemma CL τὸν Laur : om. CL 2 εὐχὰς LLaur : ἀρὰς C

11. 1.12 θοὰς σημαίνει δύο, τὰς ταχείας, ὡς ἐνταυθοῖ, καὶ τὰς ὀξεῖας, ὥς τὸ “νήσοισι θοῇσιν” (Od. 15.299).

1 θοάς: lemma CL

The meagreness of the text copied in the Florentine manuscript as compared to the breadth of the *Exegesis* is compensated by the importance of this textual witness due to its age. Its dating to the 11th–12th cent. intersects with the life of John Tzetzes (ca. 1110–1180) and with the time period in which the *Exegesis* was written. To attempt to establish whether or not this codex is the oldest textual witness of the *Exegesis* or if it attests to explanatory material which pre-dates Tzetzes and which he then incorporated into his own work, further investigation into the palaeographic characteristics of the manuscript is necessary (§2), as well as careful examination of the relationship between the scholia and the text of the *Exegesis* (§3).

2 The dating of the Laurentian manuscript

The first hand of Laur, initially believed to date back to the 10th cent., as stated by Bandini in his catalogue,¹³ was dated to the 11th cent. by C. Wachsmuth and C.A.J. Hoffmann,¹⁴ soon followed by J. La Roche and others.¹⁵ The dating to the

¹³ Bandini 1768, 2.125.

¹⁴ Wachsmuth 1863, 187: “aus dem 11ten Jahrhundert”; Hoffmann 1864, 28: “nach den Schriftzeichen, die uns vorliegen, wird sie indes wohl ins efte Jahrhundert zu setzen sein”.

¹⁵ La Roche 1866, 460: “was wahrscheinlicher ist”. Cf. e.g. Maass 1884, 287; Schrader 1887, 283; *Mostra* 1949, 21 No. 33.

11th–12th cent. was first proposed by Th.W. Allen, according to whom, “its letters are gross, and in the scholia show the disproportion characteristic of the twelfth century; the gross forms and a kind of broken outline in the strokes considerably resemble Vat. Reg. gr. 41 of a. D. 1092 (plate 25 in Pio Franchi de’ Cavalieri’s facsimiles).¹⁶ I therefore date C [i.e. the Florentine manuscript] to about 1100”.¹⁷ This chronological placement does not seem to have been further called into question and is repeated by, among others, Hartmut Erbse¹⁸ and Martin L. West.¹⁹

However, it is possible to narrow down the dating further in light of the most recent palaeographic studies. In fact, the first hand of the Laurentian manuscript can today be framed within the evolution of informal book hands of documentary origin, inspired by the so-called “graphic change” which came about between the end of the 11th cent. and the beginning of the 12th: or rather, the phenomenon whereby book hands were influenced by trends characteristic of documentary writings, like a typical imbalance in the size of the letters (for example: big *thēta* and *phi*, very small capital *ēta*).²⁰ The first hand of Laur is in this vein and displays a kind of normalization or pretence of formality, with a controlled and stylized rendering of cursive and bureaucratic elements. This tendency to both formalize and stylize weakens our ability to establish a more precise dating of the hand and explains why some qualified opinions, which I collected personally, vary from the first two decades of the 12th cent. to the second half of the same.²¹

Nevertheless, some graphic features typical of this hand make us incline to agree with the later dating.²² First, the recurrence of a double long horizontal stroke (=) written over the word used as an abbreviation for the final -ον, a practice known for Otrantine hands from the 13th cent. onwards and, more rarely,

¹⁶ Franchi de’ Cavalieri/Lietzmann 1910, X–XI, Pl. 25; cf. Lake 1934–1945, 8, No. 300, Pl. 547; manuscript copied by Niketas Anagnostes (Lake’s description and plate available online on Pyle’s website, <http://pyle.it/facsmiles/lake-online/>, July 2017).

¹⁷ Allen 1931, 157–158.

¹⁸ Erbse 1960, 5; Erbse 1969, XVIII.

¹⁹ West 1998, XI: “Vergente iam saeculo [i.e. undecimo] conscriptus est vel ineunte proximo”; West 2001, 142: “late eleventh or early twelfth century”. Cf. Geil 1984, 57; Maniaci 2006a, 233: “fine XI–primi decenni del XII”.

²⁰ The reference study for the “graphic change” is Cavallo 2000. A description of the writing of the Laurentian manuscript is provided in Maniaci 2006a, 233 n. 72.

²¹ It is my welcome duty to thank three expert colleagues for providing me with their opinions: Paola Degni (end of the 11th–first two decades of the 12th cent.), Daniele Bianconi (the second quarter of the 12th cent.?), and Guglielmo Cavallo (not earlier than the middle of the 12th cent., and possibly later).

²² For the following remarks I am indebted to the courtesy and expertise of Giancarlo Prato.

present in 14th cent. manuscripts copied in Greece and Cyprus.²³ A second clue can be recognized in the different ways of writing the mute *iota*: often adscript and of small size, placed just against the line²⁴ or decidedly below the line;²⁵ but sometimes subscript.²⁶ The circumstance has relevance for the chronology of Laur, if we consider that examples of lowered adscript *iota* can be found in the ms. Vat. gr. 2048 (dated 1126 for the portion beginning with f. 147; No. 312 Lake, Pl. 571: τῶι X(ριστ)ῶι; Pl. 572: τῇ δὲ ἀγία, ἐσπέραι),²⁷ and that subscript *iota* is a graphic custom which, at least in dated manuscripts, seems “adoperato molto raramente prima del 1200, ed in ogni caso non prima della seconda metà del secolo XII”.²⁸ Finally, in the dating of the hand, less importance must be given to the frequent presence of *sampi*-shaped ξ in the poetic text as well as, occasionally, in the scholia of Laur. This graphic form, though attested to in a pair of Italo-Greek dated manuscripts of the 11th cent., is quite common in 12th cent. codices of different origins.²⁹ In short, among the datings that have been proposed, these tenuous hints seem to support the later time periods, namely the second half of the 12th cent., that is after the time in which Tzetzes composed his *Exegesis*. However, we must take into account both the intricacy of problems posed by these kinds of Greek writings and the need for deeper investigations into the graphic practices of the 12th cent.

23 Jacob 1977, 275; Prato 1994b, 161. An instance is the ms. Ambr. L 116 sup., of the last quarter of the 13th cent., a witness of the **h**-family of the scholia to the *Iliad* (cf. Sciarra 2005, 14–20, with Pl. I reproducing f. 139r).

24 E.g. f. 1r, sch. to *Il.* 1.3, τῶι; f. 1v, sch. to *Il.* 1.8, ἀρχῇ; *ibidem*, μέσηι; f. 2r, *Il.* 1.15, σκήπτρω; f. 2v, *Il.* 1.26, κοίλῃσιν; f. 2v, *Il.* 1.30, ἡμετέροι ἐνὶ οἴκω; f. 3r, *Il.* 1.33, μύθω; f. 3v, sch. to *Il.* 1.50, τῇ; f. 4r, *Il.* 1.53, ὄρχετο.

25 E.g. f. 1r, sch. to *Il.* 1.1, ἄδειν (2x); f. 1r, sch. to *Il.* 1.3, ἄδῃ; f. 1v, sch. to *Il.* 1.9, ῆι; *ibidem* μαλθα-σούση; *ibidem*, κόσμω; f. 1v, sch. to *Il.* 1.11, τούτω; f. 2v, *Il.* 1.24, θυμῶ; f. 8v, *Il.* 1.179, σῆς.

26 E.g. f. 1r, sch. to *Il.* 1.1, Ὀδυσσεΐα; f. 2r, *Il.* 1.15, χρυσέω, with *iota* written under the second loop of *omēga*; f. 2r, sch. to *Il.* 1.13, γήρᾳ; f. 2v, sch. to *Il.* 1.25, ἀπαξία; f. 3r, sch. to *Il.* 1.37, γαιήοχῳ, with *iota* written under the second loop of *omēga* and placed to the right; f. 3v, *Il.* 1.50, ἐπώχετο; f. 4r, *Il.* 1.56, θνήσκοντας, with subscript *iota* placed between *ny* and *ēta*; f. 5v, sch. to *Il.* 1.85, ἰδίᾳ; f. 6r, sch. to *Il.* 1.98, θέα; f. 7r (f. 7 is displaced and contains *Il.* 1.336–349 in the *recto*, *Il.* 1.350–365 in the *verso*), *Il.* 1.345, ἐταίρω, with *iota* written under the second loop of *omēga*; f. 7v, sch. to *Il.* 1.350, πόντω, with *omēga* written over *tau*, and *iota* written under the second loop of *omēga*; f. 8r, *Il.* 1.160, τρώων, with *iota* under the second loop of the first *omēga*.

27 The second instance is noted by Prato 1994a, 94 n. 55.

28 Prato 1994a, 94 (“used very rarely prior to 1200, and in any case not earlier than the second half of the 12th cent.”), whose statement rests on Lake’s repertory.

29 Canart/Perria 1991, 74 with n. 25.

Thus the paleographic examination is quite inconclusive. Therefore, what is needed is detailed textual analysis, in search of more cogent evidence on the relationship between the Laurentian scholia and Tzetzes' *Exegesis*.

3 The text of the Laurentian scholia

3.1 The character of the first hand of the Laurentian manuscript

The Laur. Plut. 32.3 is one of the four primary textual witnesses of the traditional **b**-branch of the scholia to the *Iliad* (in that critical context the manuscript is represented by the *siglum* C, and hereafter this *siglum* will be used as such). The other three codices, dated in studies and editions to the 11th century, are the Ven. Marc. gr. Z. 453 (coll. 821) (*siglum* B) and two Escorialenses, y I.1 (gr. 294 Andrés; E³) and Ω I.12 (gr. 513 Andrés; E⁴).³⁰ C and BE³ contain *scholia exegetica* written by the respective first hands, responsible for the poetic text as well; in E⁴, the body of scholia which was copied first is that of *D*-scholia, to which the *scholia exegetica* were added at a later date. Apart from the **b**-branch, the other fundamental textual witness of the *exegetica* is the ms. Brit. Mus. Burney 86, known as Townleianus (T), which the subscription dates at 1014 or 1059.³¹ For the class of the *exegetica*, an ancestor common to **b** and T is reconstructed (**c** in Erbse's stemma).³²

The BE³ manuscripts show a striking resemblance and conformity in terms of the text and page layout of the Homeric verses and corresponding *scholia exegetica*. The copyist of the Laurentian manuscript, on the other hand, differs in both of these aspects, proving to be more independent and enterprising. Despite having perhaps borrowed directly from the lost original **b** of the traditional branch, the copyist of C did not faithfully reproduce the marginal commentary in its entirety, nor did he replicate the layout, but rather put it together anew and re-edited the scholia page by page. Consequently, he reorganized the numerical references in red ink which connect the notes in the margins to the corresponding passages in the poetic text.

³⁰ Regarding the BCE³E⁴ manuscripts: Erbse 1969, XVII–XXII. The palaeographic dating of E⁴ is considerably re-evaluated by Maniaci 2006a, 222–223 n. 32, who postpones it by “almeno due secoli” (“at least two centuries”) based on the writing and decorations.

³¹ Erbse 1969, XXVI–XXVIII.

³² For an overview of the classes of the *Iliad* scholia, see Montana, forthcoming. A new and more complete critical edition of the *Iliad* scholia has been undertaken by an Italian staff: see Montanari/Montana/Muratore/Pagani 2017.

In addition to deviating from its model **b** in terms of the substance, arrangement, and numbering of the scholia, C also adopted a different numbering standard. In BE³ the numbering methodically begins with α' at every *verso* of a sheet and continues progressively on the *recto* of the adjacent sheet (as we can thus assume was done from the beginning of the tradition, dating all the way back to **b**); by contrast, in C the numbering starts over again from α' on each page, whether *recto* or *verso* (as in E⁴ as well). This manner of proceeding implies the defined and established structure provided by the model **b** and followed in BE³ to be abandoned; its extemporaneousness is observed in the frequent instances of mediocre, uncertain, or flawed editorial command. In some cases the copyist of C omitted the final part of some of the longer scholia and then, with the space left over in the bottom margin of the page, thought better of it and decided to insert the omitted portions there, connecting them to their corresponding scholia through the use of reference symbols, like x-shaped marks and asterisks. He thus created a sort of “second degree” semiotics, which connects an *addendum* to its scholium by a symbol, in addition to the “first degree”, which relates the scholium to the poetic text by a number.³³ If this peculiarity of the first hand of C with respect to BE³ can be explained primarily through codicological reasoning (visibly, less space available on the page due to the smaller size of this manuscript as compared to that of the other two), then it is reasonable to wonder whether or not certain instances of *mise en texte* originated from a specific and purposeful intention to abbreviate, applied from the start – therefore as a preliminary choice related to the physical size of the book.³⁴ That the “cutting” of

33 In this regard see Erbse 1960, 7, and 1969, XVIII; Maniaci 2006a, 234, and 2006b, 264–265. Schrader 1887, 289–290, on the other hand, hypothesized that the parts added by the first hand represent a different scholiastic strand also present in C's antigraph; *contra* Erbse 1960, 7 n. 2. In rarer cases, the parts of the scholia omitted by the copyist were reinserted by a later hand (C^{rec}), who must have had access to a now lost sample from the same family. Yet another, and markedly more recent hand drew further explanations from later sources, like etymological lexica and possibly the *Commentary on the Iliad* by Eustathius of Thessalonike, and added them mainly in the top and bottom margins of the pages (Erbse, *ibidem*).

34 Maniaci 2006a, 234, explains the copyist's behavior as a consequence of “la maggiore ristrettezza di spazio” (“the greater constraints of the space”) due to the size of the codex, smaller as compared to those of B and E³, which “impone al copista il ricorso ad una soluzione ‘drastica’, che consiste nell'alleggerire la massa esegetica, accorciando od omettendo un certo numero di scoli” (“forces the copyist to resort to ‘drastic’ measures, consisting in the cutting of the exegetical text by shortening and omitting a certain number of scholia”). It is, after all, obvious that the choice itself of a smaller size must have been accompanied, from the very beginning, by the awareness that it would be impossible to recopy every single thing that should have been in the model (if, as is likely, the format of this model was similar to that of BE³).

scholia was programmatic, and that, on the other hand, the carrying out of this intention proceeded *impromptu* as the copying progressed,³⁵ can be deduced by the fact that jumps or omissions of scholia or parts of scholia, and their respective reinsertions, can be seen in C also on pages where the margins have a great deal of unused and empty space.³⁶

The first hand of the codex, therefore, is characterised by a willingness to rather extemporaneously organize the scholiastic component, which can be seen in the trimming down of the *exegetica* and in the subsequent recovery of text. This hesitancy is manifested from the very first sheet of the manuscript, containing *Il.* 1.1–5 (*recto*) and 6–12 (*verso*) with related scholia. Here we encounter a different and even more radical kind of oscillation, concerning, it seems, the initial choice of exegetical model. As mentioned earlier, the bottom margin of the *recto* and the three open margins of the *verso* contain annotations which correspond to parts of Tzetzes' *Exegesis*. To this should be added that the first scholium written by the first hand in the right margin of f. 1r, on *Il.* 1.1 μῆνιν, is an annotation of which there appears to be no trace in the other manuscripts of the family (this may be the reason why Erbse excluded it from his edition, without even mentioning it in the critical apparatus):³⁷

παρὰ τὸ μένω τὸ ἐπιμένω, ἢ ἐπίμονος ὀργή. ἢ παρὰ τὸ μαίνω τὸ ὀργίζομαι μάνις καὶ τροπή τοῦ ᾧ εἰς ἡ μῆνις.

The two alternative explanations offered in the scholium are not original, but are in keeping with the erudite tradition, albeit formulated differently, beginning as early as Apollonius Sophista's *Homeric lexicon*, s.v. μῆνις, 112.24–25 Bekker, in

³⁵ Maniaci 2006a, 261.

³⁶ Some examples: f. 9v, sch. *Il.* 1.203b recovered in the bottom margin; f. 17v, sch. *Il.* 1.453 and 1.449a added in the left and bottom margins respectively; f. 19r, sch. *Il.* 1.505c+b copied in the bottom margin; f. 19v, sch. *Il.* 1.515 in the bottom margin. Another interesting example is the long sch. *Il.* 1.287–9a+b, copied in the left margin of f. 12r, preceded by an asterisk as an indication of reference to the poetic text; its position, however, could indicate that this was actually an error in the distribution of numerical references in the text of the poem and that the “reinsertion” was immediate, *in scribendo*.

³⁷ According to Erbse's edition, at this point C would provide μῆνις παρὰ τὸ μένω μῆνις ὡς ἔνως ἦνις with the rest of the tradition which he took into consideration (including the Venetus A), apart from slight variations from one manuscript to the other. This is wrong. The scholium actually present in the Laurentian manuscript – which should probably be included in the “pair of explanations” specific to it, as referred to by Wachsmuth 1863, 107: see above, n. 7 – was identified and reported by Schrader 1887, 288 n. 1, who observed: “könnte aus Et. M. 583, 20 redigirt sein”.

which they are traced back to Aristarchus of Samothrace³⁸ and Apion (fr. 74 Neitzel) respectively: μήνις· ὁ μὲν Ἀπίων μάνις· οἱ γὰρ ὀργιζόμενοι πως μαίνονται. Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ κότος πολυχρόνιος, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐγκεῖσθαι. κτλ. Similarities of wording give reason to believe that the copyist of C, or his source, drew the two explanations from the tradition of the *Epimerismi Homericī*: 1 A¹ Dyck (1.55.1–2 and 1.57.27–28) παρὰ τὸ μένω, μένις καὶ μῆνις, ἡ ἐπίμονος ὀργή. (...) ἡ μάνις τις οὐσα παρὰ τὴν μανίαν γέγονε μῆνις· εἰκόασι γὰρ τοῖς μαινομένοις οἱ ὀργιζόμενοι; 1 A² Dyck (1.60.74–77): γέγονε μῆνις παρὰ τὸ μένω ῥῆμα. (...) ἡ ἐναπομείνασα ὀργή μῆνις καλεῖται. καὶ ἄλλως· μάνις τίς ἐστίν ἡ μῆνις {ἡ} παρὰ τὴν μανίαν· εἰκόασι γὰρ μαινομένοις οἱ ὀργιζόμενοι. Both etymologies found their way into the ancient and Byzantine lexicography.³⁹

In short, of the twenty-four scholia copied by the first hand in f. 1 of the ms. C (fourteen on the *recto*, ten on the *verso*), the first is not found in the classes of scholia to the *Iliad* examined up until now and seems to date back to the *Epimerismi* (*ad Il.* 1.1); the next twelve, all written on the *recto*, are also common to the other manuscripts of the **b**-branch of scholia and belong to the class of *exegetica* (*ad Il.* 1.1–5: sch. 1e², 1f¹, 2a, 2b, 2d, 3a, 3b¹, 3c, 4b, 4c, 4d, 5a Erbse); the subsequent eleven, distributed between the bottom margin of the *recto* and the open margins of the *verso*, correspond to Tzetzes' *Exegesis* (*ad Il.* 1.5–12). Beginning from f. 2r, the substantial conformity of C with the **b**-branch is strengthened and does not seem to be questioned further (even given the copyist's tendency to abbreviate and, occasionally, reintegrate the scholia).⁴⁰ It is likely that the copyist resorted to a different exegetical source to explain *Il.* 1.5–12 because at the time the corresponding *scholia exegetica* were illegible in its model **b**; and it is hardly a coincidence that in the ms. B, which supposedly mirrors the layout and content of **b**,⁴¹ all the *exegetica* to these lines are written in the bottom margin of f. 1r, namely the part of a codex usually most exposed to damage.⁴²

³⁸ Lehrs 1882, 133.

³⁹ See the rich *apparatus fontium ad loc.* in Dyck's edition of the *Epimerismi*. The explanation attributed to Aristarchus is echoed in the sch. *D Il.* 1.1 van Thiel (μῆνιν: ὀργήν, χόλον ἐπίμονον; cf. van Thiel 2014, 1.42) and, for instance, in an annotation on *Il.* 1.1 present in a manuscript of the **h**-family of the scholia to the *Iliad* (P¹¹ = Paris. gr. 2766: παρὰ τὸ μένω δὲ ἡ ἀπομείνασα ὀργή, μῆνις καλεῖται).

⁴⁰ Another example of exegetic material coming from a source other than **b** can be found in the first pages of C in relation to *Il.* 1.51 βέλος ἐχεπευκὲς ἐφιεῖς, in which the Laurentian manuscript is the only one of the family to include a scholium (τὸ ἔχον πικρίαν βέλος ἐπιτέμπων) obtained by combining two *D*-scholia to *Il.* 1.51 van Thiel: ἐχεπευκὲς: ἔχον πικρίαν, and ἐφιεῖς: ἐπιτέμπων.

⁴¹ E³, the twin codex of B, lacks this part.

⁴² A remark by Augusto Guida inspired this assumption.

Therefore, it makes sense to now focus on the relationship, in terms of form and content, between the text of the Laurentian scholia to *Il.* 1.5–12 and that of the corresponding parts of the *Exegesis*, in order to verify whether or not there are any potential indications that the one may have been derived from the other, in either direction.

3.2 The relationship between the Laurentian scholia and Tzetzes' *Exegesis*

We are not in a position to evaluate to what extent Tzetzes' *Exegesis* is based on previous written texts. In the Introduction to the work, John mentions or presumes Homeric interpreters, in particular allegorists dating up to Michael Psellus, as targets of his own criticism and from whom he sought to differentiate himself.⁴³ Tzetzes then distances himself from his predecessors and therefore, at least tentatively and as far as we are able to observe, does not adhere to their explanations, but develops his own original line of thought. As for his linguistic and lexical comments, we have documentary evidence that he made use of traditional material like the scholia, the *Epimerismi Homerici*, and lexicographical sources, listed by Papathomopoulos in the *apparatus fontium* of his edition.⁴⁴ It was observed, for example, that in analysing *Il.* 1.5 Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή (see above, sch. No. 1), "Tzetze sembra lavorare mantenendo dinanzi a sé un esemplare degli scolî omerici *ad loc.*, dei quali perturba l'ordine di successione e rispetto ai quali mostra sue aggiunte originali", in particular, presupposing, as it seems, the content of the sch. *ex. Il.* 1.5c Erbse and of the sch. *D Il.* 1.5 van Thiel.⁴⁵ And it was also noted that in the comment on *Il.* 1.9 Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός the digression on εἰδωλοποιία, ἡθοποιία, and προσωποποιία (omitted in the Laurentian manuscript,

⁴³ Introduction to the *Exegesis*, 3–6 P. Cf. Cesaretti 1991, 129–134; Budelmann 2002; Pontani 2015, 379–380.

⁴⁴ The pioneering study is Felber 1925. For Tzetzes' dependence on the *Epimerismi Homerici* (not the alphabetical, but the scholia-*epimerismi*) see Dyck 1983, 40. Irigoien 1960, 445, identified an additional instance of Tzetzes' likely use of the alphabetical *Epimerismi* (citation of Callimachus). Browning 1975, 26–27, hypothesized that among the sources available to Tzetzes was "a fuller version of the Venetus A scholia – perhaps the same book as Eustathios used a generation later".

⁴⁵ Cesaretti 1991, 163 ("Tzetzes seems to work with a sample of the Homeric scholia *ad loc.* before him, of which he changed the order and with regard to which he made his own original additions").

sch. No. 6) predictably follows “sulle orme della più antica tradizione dei retori”.⁴⁶

These sources are not passively assimilated by Tzetzes. As Robert Browning observes, Tzetzes' *Exegesis* “shows some of the same independence of view and readiness to take issue with the giants of the past” which is found in his later and more mature commentaries on Aristophanes and Lycophron.⁴⁷ John “sometimes argues with the authorities whom he quotes, largely from the older scholia” and “his sarcastic wit and combative attitude towards his predecessors are no doubt partly a matter of personal character..., ... a sign of the developing self-confidence of Byzantine scholars, a prelude to the great work of his younger contemporary Eustathius and of the often highly original fourteenth-century philologists”.⁴⁸ Scholars have highlighted Tzetzes' ubiquitous tendency to understand his exegetical task as being strongly authorial, self-referential, and polemical, in accordance with and in order to strengthen his own (troubled) role within the educational and socio-cultural context to which he belonged.⁴⁹

Therefore, the *Exegesis*, despite being an early work intended for school, demonstrates the strong temperament of an author who was not prepared to settle for a mechanical repetition of sources, but rather threw himself into rewriting them, using cross-contamination to create an aggregate text. In this light, the literal overlap of the Laurentian scholia to *Il.* 1.5–12 with a large part of the corresponding sections of the *Exegesis* is unlikely to be seen as proof that the scholia in question pre-date the *Exegesis*: rather, a more reasonable and economical explanation can be found by assuming that the Laurentian scholia consist of derivatives of the *Exegesis*. This impression is confirmed by reliable evidence, as the textual analysis will now demonstrate.

3.2.1 Laurentian scholia fully coinciding with Tzetzes' text

Six out of eleven scholia (Nos. 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11) fully coincide, apart from isolated variant readings (for which the reader may refer to the critical apparatuses, above), to the corresponding parts of the *Exegesis*. These are rather short notations, lacking erudite digressions.

⁴⁶ Cesaretti 1991, 164 with n. 55 (“in the footsteps of the most ancient rhetorical tradition”).

⁴⁷ Browning 1975, 26.

⁴⁸ Browning 1992, 139–140.

⁴⁹ Budelmann 2002; cf. Pontani 2005, 165. On the concepts of authority and authorship in middle Byzantine literature see the essays collected in Pizzone 2014, especially Papaioannou 2014.

In four (Nos. **5**, **7**, **10**, **11**) of these instances one finds interpretations matching other ancient scholarly materials, but the explanation provided both in the *Exegesis* and in the Laurentian scholia presents an independent and generally richer reformulation.⁵⁰

The comment on *Il.* 1.10 ἀνὰ στρατόν (No. **8**) distinguishes between the meanings of στρατός and στρατόπεδον and counterposes their equivalence as alleged by a part of the lexicography (explicitly in the *Exegesis*, which refers to οἱ λεξιγράφοι; implicitly in the scholium, which therefore seems abbreviated), e.g. sch. *D Il.* 1.10 van Thiel ἀνὰ στρατόν: κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον. The assertion of the semantic difference dates back to at least Apollonius Sophista, 145.17 Bekker, who nevertheless points out that, according to some (ἔνιοι), the other interpretation is potentially supported by *Il.* 10.66 πολλὰ γὰρ ἀνὰ στρατόν εἰσι κέλευθοι. The assumption that both Tzetzes and sch. No. **8** adhere to the tradition based on Apollonius Sophista is supported by the fact that they also provide the meaning of στρατόπεδον as αἱ σκηναὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ: this explanation seems to imply and reject the interpretation of στρατόν in *Il.* 10.66 as meaning σκηναί and, therefore, as equivalent to στρατόπεδον. An echo of the latter interpretation is found in the scholium *ex.* (T) 10.65–6 Erbse εἰς γὰρ πολλὰς ὁδοὺς τέτμηται τὸ ναύσταθμον, ἵνα ταχέως ἀπὸ τῶν σκηνῶν ἀπαντῶσι πρὸς τὰς βοηθείας.⁵¹ Unlike Apollonius' open-minded stance, that of Tzetzes and of the corresponding Laurentian scholium is more categorical, finding strength in Aesch., *Sept.* 79–80 (inexactly cited in the scholium as well as in Tzetzes' text), which clearly distinguishes the meaning of the two words.

50 For sch. **5**, cf. sch. *D Il.* 1.8 van Thiel; *Epim. Hom.* 8 B^{2a2} Dyck (1.85.17–19), and 8 B¹ and B^{2a1} Dyck (1.84.10–85.16). For sch. **7**, cf. sch. *D Il.* 1.10 van Thiel; *Epim. Hom.* 10 A² Dyck (1.87.85). For sch. **10**, cf. sch. *D Il.* 1.11 van Thiel; *Epim. Hom.* 11 C^{1a-1b} Dyck (1.90.45–49) and 11 C² Dyck (1.90.50–53). For sch. **11** (whose double explanation dates back to at least Heracl., *Hom. probl.* 45), cf. sch. *D Il.* 1.12 van Thiel; *Epim. Hom.* θ 25 Dyck.

51 Cf. *Syn.* σ 249 Cunningham στρατόπεδον ἐποιήσαντο (Thuc. 3.107.1)· ἀντὶ τοῦ σκηνάς. δύο γὰρ σημαίνει ἡ λέξις, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦ στρατεύματος = *Suda* σ 1182 Adler = Phot. σ 611 Theodoridis; cf. sch. Thuc. 1.46.5 Hude στρατόπεδον: <σημείωσαι> ὅτι τὸ στρατόπεδον σημαίνει δύο, τὸν τε λαὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ ὁ λαός, καὶ ἐτυμώτερόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου λέγεσθαι, οἶον τοῦ στρατοῦ πέδον.

sch. 8, *ad Il.* 1.10 *Exeg.* 109.18–110.2 Ap. Soph. 145.17 BekkerP., *ad Il.* 1.10

διαφέρει στρατὸς καὶ ἀνὰ στρατόν· οἱ λεξιγράφοι
 στρατόπεδον· στρατὸν τὸ στρατόπεδον
 εἰρήκεσαν, ἀμαρτάνουσι δέ·

στρατὸς γὰρ τὸ πλήθος ἐστὶ τῆς ἐκστρατείας, στρατόπεδον δὲ ὁ τόπος τοῦ πλήθους (τοῦ πλήθους οἱ. CL) καὶ αἱ σκηναὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλος σαφέστερον παριστᾷ λέγων· “ῥεῖ δὲ στρατὸς στρατόπεδον λιπών” (cf. Sept. 79–80).

στρατὸς τὸ πλήθος τῶν πολεμούντων, στρατόπεδον δὲ ὁ τόπος.⁵² βούλονται δὲ ἔνιοι τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὸν στρατὸν τιθέναι, ὅτε φησὶ “πολλὰ γὰρ ἀνὰ στρατόν εἰσι κέλευθοι” (*Il.* 10.66).

Lastly, the scholarly and elementary explanation of the difference between οὔνεκα/ένεκα and χάριν (No. 9 *ad Il.* 1.11), though not corroborated in the other published scholia to the *Iliad*, is documented with various wordings in the *Epimerismi Homeric* and other sources of erudite literature.⁵³

3.2.2 Laurentian scholia with a shorter text than that of Tzetzes' *Exegesis*

The text of the other five scholia (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6) is shorter than that of the *Exegesis*. Here we find evidence that does not contradict, or that positively indicates, that this brevity could be the result of textual cuts to Tzetzes' commentary, and therefore that the scholia are *excerpta* of the *Exegesis*.

52 Cf., among others, *Syn.* σ 250 Cunningham = *Suda* σ 1183 Adler = Phot. σ 612 Theodoridis: στρατὸς: τὸ πλήθος τῶν πολεμούντων· ὁ δὲ τόπος στρατόπεδον· λέγεται γὰρ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ πέδον (the etymological explanation is also provided in the scholium to Thucydides quoted in the previous footnote). Various other lexicographical parallels are listed in the respective critical editions.

53 *Epim. Hom.* ε 42 Dyck (2.270.5–9) πάλιν τὸ ἔνεκα τοῦ χάριν διαφέρει· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔνεκα ψιλὴν τινα αἰτίαν δηλοῖ· οἶον, “ἔνεκα Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἑλένης ἐστράτευσε Μενέλαος ἐπὶ Τροίαν”. τὸ δὲ χάριν μετὰ <τῆς> αἰτίας δηλοῖ <καὶ τὴν χάριν>, οἶον “χάριν Μενελάου ἐστράτευσεν Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον”, τουτέστι χαριζόμενος τῷ Μενελάῳ, from which *Et. Gud.* s.v. ἔνεκα, 471.12–15 de Stefani; cf. *Amm.*, *Diff.* 173 Nickau; *Ptolem.*, *Diff.* 391.29 Heylbut; *Eust.*, *Il.* 841.43f. (3.187.13 van der Valk), 1040.43–47 (3.793.6–11 van der Valk). Likewise, there is clear evidence of the opposite tendency to consider οὔνεκα/ένεκα and χάριν as equivalent, for example again *Epim. Hom.* ε 42 Dyck (2.270.3–4) τὸ δὲ εἶνεκα τὸ χάριν σημαίνει· “ε<ῖ>νεκα ῥιγεδανῆς Ἑλένης” (*Il.* 19.325), from which *Et. Gud.* s.v. εἶνεκα, 423.23 de Stefani; cf. sch. *Ariston.* (A) *Il.* 1.572a ἐπίτηρα ... οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι ἀντὶ συνδέσμου αἰτιώδους χρῶνται, ἀντὶ τοῦ χάριν, ἔνεκα; and frequently in the *D*-scholia, for example *ad Il.* 1.96 van Thiel τοῦνεκ': τούτου ἔνεκα, τούτου χάριν.

In three (Nos. 1, 3, 4) of these scholia we find non cogent discrepancies, which can be equally explained as omissions by the scholiast or as additions made by Tzetzes to a shorter text. In comparison to the Laurentian sch. No. 1, Tzetzes' comment on the Homeric Διὸς βουλή is more extensive and has a marked polemical tone. John begins by giving a summary preview of his own negative judgment on the traditional explanations he is about to describe (περὶ τῆς Διὸς βουλῆς πολλοὶ πολλὰ λεληρήκεσαν/λεληρήκασιν; it is remarkable that in the scholium the negative implication is absent, as the verb utilised is a far more moderate and descriptive πεφιλοσοφήκασιν). He continues by putting forward his personal opinions regarding some of the interpretations mentioned (one unfavourable: ἡλιθίως πάνυ καὶ ἀπροσφόρος; one favourable: οἷς καὶ ἐγὼ σύμφημι). Furthermore, he includes an interpretation that is not anonymous as the others are, but attributed to Aristarchus (οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλέα γενέσθαι ἐπίτιμον). He then offers the observation that the explanation put forth by the Stoic thinkers summarizes all of the others just mentioned (ὕφ' ὃ καὶ τὰ προλεχθέντα ταῦτα ἀνάγονται τῆς τε γῆς <καὶ> τῆς δρυός, τῆς Ἀχιλέως τιμῆς καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ χρησμοῦ τῆς ἀλώσεως); and finally he provides an internal cross reference (ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον). Similarly in sch. No. 4, on διος, internal cross references are missing which, however, are present in the *Exegesis* (ὥς πρόην ἔφην, and κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς Στωϊκοὺς, ὥς ἔφην, Ζεὺς καὶ ἡ εἰμαρμένη ἐστίν). These personal stances and cross references are features suited to the character of the continuous authorial commentary and are specifically aimed at giving it a sense of unity and continuity despite its structuring by lemmata. Meanwhile, the internal references and other authorial devices are extraneous to the scholiography, in which the fragmentation of the commented text into lemmata fits well with the tendency of the individual annotations to be self-sufficient and characterized by an impersonal and anonymous style.⁵⁴ Sch. No. 3, on ἄναξ, corresponds to the letter with the analogous portion of the *Exegesis*, except for the fact that it does not, as Tzetzes on the other hand does, conclude the explanation with the anecdote regarding Theseus, Helen, and the Dioscuri in relation to the origin of the word and its use.⁵⁵ Ultimately, these “quantitative” discrepancies do not demonstrate the dependence of the scholia on the *Exegesis*, but neither do they preclude the opposite conclusion.

⁵⁴ On the tension between lemmatization and the search for a sense of continuity in Tzetzes' *Exegesis* see Budelmann 2002, 153–157.

⁵⁵ The source must be Plut., *Thes.* 33, which provides other hypotheses as well on the origin and meaning of the word; cf. Eust., *Il.* 21.16ff. (1.34.30ff. van der Valk).

Some more fruitful considerations can be made regarding scholia Nos. 2 and 6. In No. 2 (*ad Il.* 1.7 Ἀτρείδης = Io.Tz., *Exeg.* 103.10–104.6 P.) the genealogical traditions of the Atridae are reported, with only selective reference to the blood line that leads to Agamemnon and Menelaus, while in the *Exegesis* space is given to genealogical lines in their entirety (cf. *Il.* 3–9):

sch. 2, *ad Il.* 1.7

Exeg. 103.10–104.6 P., *ad Il.* 1.7

Ταντάλου δὲ καὶ Εὐρυανάσσης Πέλοψ

Ταντάλου δὲ καὶ Εὐρυανάσσης Πέλοψ, Βροντέας, Νιόβη

Πέλοπος δὲ καὶ Ἴποδαμείας Ἀτρεὺς καὶ Θυέστης

Πέλοπος δὲ καὶ Ἴποδαμείας Ἀτρεὺς, Θυέστης, Δίας, Κυνόσουρος, Κόρινθος, Ἴππαλκμος, Ἴππασος, Κλεωνός, Ἀργεῖος, Ἀλκάθους, Ἑλῖος, Πιτθεύς, Τροϊζήν, Νικίππη, Λυσιδίκη, καὶ ἕκ τινος Ἀξιόχης, νόθος Χρῦσιππος

Ἀτρέως δὲ καὶ Ἀερόπης, κατὰ μὲν τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ πάντας ἀπλῶς, Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος

Ἀτρέως δὲ καὶ Ἀερόπης, κατὰ μὲν τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ πάντας ἀπλῶς, Ἀγαμέμνων, Μενέλαος καὶ Ἀναξιβία, ἡ μήτηρ Πυλάδου

Πλεισθένης δὲ καὶ Κλεόλλας τῆς Διάντος Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος

Πλεισθένης δὲ καὶ Κλεόλλας τῆς Διάντος Ἀγαμέμνων, Μενέλαος καὶ Ἀναξιβία

Mention of the poetic *auctoritates* concerning Plisthenes' lineage from Atreus and Aerope is also abbreviated in the scholium as compared to the *Exegesis*, even if only because of the omission of a generic reference to "some others" (*Il.* 8 καὶ ἄλλους τινάς).⁵⁶

These differences are more easily explained as being due to the trimming down of a text that was originally much richer, rather than the result of an expansion of a shorter text through the laborious and "surgical" addition of series of names. Moreover, as has already been mentioned, the tendency for the first hand of the Laurentian manuscript to abbreviate is well-illustrated in its attitude regarding the text of the *scholia exegetica*.

A possible and more evident textual indicator that the *Exegesis* pre-dates the scholia can be found in sch. No. 6 (*ad Il.* 1.9 Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός = Io.Tz., *Exeg.* 106.9–12; 107.9–108.4 P.). This scholium is the longest of those copied in the

⁵⁶ The information on the two mythographic versions of the ancestry of Agamemnon and Menelaus recurs in sch. *D Il.* 1.7 van Thiel Ἀτρείδης: ὁ Ἀτρέως παῖς Ἀγαμέμνων. Ἀγαμέμνων κατὰ μὲν Ὅμηρον Ἀτρέως τοῦ Πέλοπος, μητρὸς δὲ Ἀερόπης, κατὰ δὲ Ἡσίοδον Πλεισθένης κτλ.

Laurentian manuscript, and the difference in the amount of text as compared to the corresponding part of the *Exegesis* is proportionally large (a ratio of about 1 : 2). The definition of “son of Leto and Zeus” (*Il.* 1.9) as prosopopoeia or *allegorikos mythos*,⁵⁷ proposed at the beginning of both the scholium and the *Exegesis* (*Il.* 1–3), prompts a digression in the *Exegesis* (*Il.* 3–11), where εἰδωλοποιία, ἡθοποιία, and προσωποποιία are distinguished and defined; the Platonic and Aristarchean⁵⁸ etymologies of Λητώ are reported; and the preference is reiterated for the allegorical exegesis of divine names, according to the three levels already introduced in the previous pages (στοιχειακῶς, πραγματικῶς, ψυχικῶς),⁵⁹ to which Tzetzes refers (καθὰ καὶ πρότερον εἶπομεν: the reference is to the comment on *Il.* 1.1 θεά, 82.9ff. P.). Consequently (*Il.* 11 τοίνυν), Tzetzes suggests an allegorical interpretation of Λητώ for each of these three levels. In the logical development of the passage in the *Exegesis*, the conjunction τοίνυν serves as a conclusive element with respect to the whole digression, including the rhetorical definition of the prosopopoeia, the etymology of the name Leto, and a reference to the method of the threefold allegorical meaning of divine names. Especially the internal reference, the function of which is to avoid weighing down the commentary with repetition, responds brilliantly to the aforementioned structural strategy of Tzetzes’ *Exegesis*: meta-discourse proves to be the authorial device that aims to balance the fragmentation of the commentary lemma by lemma with the need to affirm the underlying methodological and hermeneutic framework.⁶⁰ None of this is true for the Laurentian scholium, where we find only the three allegorical explanations of the name Λητώ (*Il.* 11–21), here too introduced by τοίνυν (Λητὼ τοίνυν...). Now, while in the *Exegesis* the conjunction serves to provide evidence for the reasoning, in the scholium it sounds weak, if not barely pertinent or completely nonsensical; and comes across as a residual element and, therefore, as an indication of epitomization.

57 Cf. sch. *D Il.* 1.9 van Thiel πάλιν δὲ τοῦτο ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Μούσης (follows the *historia* of the union between Zeus and Leto and the birth of Apollo and Artemis).

58 The manuscripts of the *Exegesis* give Ἀριστοτέλης, which proves to be an error for Ἀρίσταρχος thanks to *Epim. Hom.* 9A^{1b} Dyck (1.85.28–33): Papathomopoulos 2007, 107, *apparatus fontium*.

59 The three-way division is part of the “hermeneutic program” which Tzetzes delineates in the *Exegesis* and applies both here and in the *Allegoriae* (Cesaretti 1991, 147), perhaps influenced by Michael Psellus’ *Allegoria in Tantalum* (*ibidem*, 160); cf. Hunger 1954, 46–52.

60 Budelmann 2002, 156–157, specifically in relation to this passage of Tzetzes’ *Exegesis*. See above, regarding the internal references in the parts of the *Exegesis* corresponding to sch. Nos. 1 and 4.

4 Conclusions

In light of both the palaeographic and textual arguments produced, we can reasonably favor one of the two possible solutions to the question of the relationship between the text of the Laurentian scholia and that of Tzetzes' *Exegesis*. The re-assessment of the palaeographic characteristics of the Laurentian manuscript, despite not allowing for unquestionable conclusions, does not exclude that the first hand may be dated no earlier than the middle of the 12th cent. The textual examination, for its part, demonstrably supports the idea that the scholia to *Il.* 1.5–12 contained in the manuscript are actually *excerpta* of Tzetzes' *Exegesis*. Some of them appear in an abridged and simplified form, both as a function of the available space in the page margin, and also – in some cases – in order to free them from the subjective and polemical aspects (in addition to systematic elimination of personal judgments, digressions and cross-references, the substitution of πεφιλοσοφήκασιν for λεληρήκασιν at the beginning of sch. No. 1 is emblematic of the excerptor's general attitude). This conclusion indicates that the Laurentian manuscript is the oldest known textual witness of this Byzantine work; and perhaps documents a moment of, or rather a rapidly abandoned attempt at, early penetration of the *Exegesis* as an anonymous marginal commentary into the manuscript tradition of the *Iliad*.⁶¹

In this regard, it is intriguing that at the very origin of the composition of the *Exegesis* there is an instance of unauthorized early written dissemination, under false authorship, of the contents of the lessons on the *Iliad* held by Tzetzes for his students. The author himself was the one who reported the situation in his Introduction, calling his unfaithful pupil a “crow” (8.1–13 P.), the bird which according to the proverb makes himself beautiful with the feathers of others (cf. *Ar., Eq.* 1020). The occurrence is more clearly explained by Tzetzes in his own scholium *ad loc.* (423.10–16 P.): τίς οὗτος ὁ κολιοῖς; τῶν ἐμῶν ὁμιλητῶν εἷς, ὃς ἐμοῦ ἀκροώμενος παρενέγραφε χάρταις, ἅπερ ἀπεστομάτιζον, καὶ ὡς ἴδια ταῦτα ἐμελλε ἐξενεγκεῖν. καὶ δὴ καὶ κρυφῇ πρὸς τινὰς τοιαῦτα ἐτεραπεύετο, ὡς δῆθεν αὐτὸς ταῦτα συγγεγραφός· ὅπερ μαθὼν ἔγωγε, πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν ἐζήγησιν τοῦ βιβλίου ἐτράπην, τὰ τοῦτου συγγέων καὶ περιτρέπων ὁρμήματα. Could we argue that the source of the

⁶¹ A similar case, apparently not from quite such an early date and arising in a peripheral context (Terra d'Otranto), is the renowned Heidelberg *Odyssey* (Pal. gr. 45), subscribed in 1201–1202 by Palagano d'Otranto, a disciple of the copyist Nicola d'Otranto *alias* Nettario di Casole († 1235). In the margins of this manuscript, *excerpta* from Tzetzes' commentaries, mainly on Lycophron's *Alexandra*, are re-used and intermingled with other exegetic material: cf. Pontani 2005, 222–223; Arnesano/Sciarra 2010, 437–440.

copyist of the Laurentian manuscript (or of his model for this portion of exegesis) were Tzetzes' school materials at the time circulating without authorization?

Be that as it may, we can deduce that the editorial work represented by the Florentine codex most likely took place in the Constantinopolitan setting, but we cannot identify the source or the model from which the copyist received Tzetzes' materials. The most plausible hypothesis is that he obtained them from a tradition foreign to that of the *scholia exegetica* to the *Iliad* passed down in the **b**-branch and that, for a brief initial segment of his work, he preferred them to the others or was compelled to do it by the circumstances (a possible gap in his model). It is worth noting the nearly identical number and size of the eleven Tzetziian *excerpta* of the Laurentian manuscript and the corresponding ten *scholia exegetica* present in the other manuscripts of the **b**-branch (sch. 5c, 6, 7a, 7b, 8–9, 8b, 9, 10a, 10b, 11b Erbse). Only in three cases do the scholia of the Laurentian manuscript and the *exegetica* refer to the same Homeric word or expression (sch. No. 1 and ex. 5c; sch. No. 2 and ex. 7a; sch. No. 4 and ex. 7b). The two series of scholia are, therefore, for the most part not in direct competition with each other, but rather are alternatives and complements to one another; thus the preference of the copyist of C for one over the other may have been influenced by the differing general approach of the two series (explicative and grammatical for the ex. vs mythographic and allegorical for Tzetzes). We cannot exclude, however, that the copyist was forced to find a different source for the comment on *Il.* 1.5–12 by the bad material conditions of his antigraph in this particular place.⁶² It seems less likely that the copyist of the Laurentian manuscript found Tzetzes' comments in his antigraph **b** as additional marginal *excerpta*: in this case, the *excerpta* would have been added to **b** (which was not more recent than the 11th cent.)⁶³ only after the composition of the *Exegesis* in 1140/1143, and the copyist of the Laurentian manuscript would have copied them a short time after, preferring them for *Il.* 1.5–12 over the primary scholiastic apparatus of **b**.⁶⁴

⁶² In this hypothesis, the supposed damage occurred in **b** after that the common ancestor of BE³ (β in Erbse's stemma), where the *scholia exegetica* to *Il.* 1.5–12 are present, was copied from it.

⁶³ As mentioned, the mss. BE³, both descendants of **b**, date back to the 11th cent. For the dating of E⁴, the other textual witness of this branch, see above, n. 30.

⁶⁴ I am grateful to Davide Muratore, Filippomaria Pontani, and Giuseppe Ucciardello for insightful advice. English translation by Jessica Ordman and Rachel Barritt Costa.

Bibliography

- Allen, Th.W. (ed.) (1931), *Homeri Ilias*. 1, *Prolegomena*, Oxford.
- Arnesano, D./Sciarrà, E. (2010), "Libri e testi di scuola in Terra d'Otranto", in L. Del Corso/O. Pecere (eds.), *Libri di scuola e pratiche didattiche. Dall'Antichità al Rinascimento. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Cassino, 7–10 Maggio 2008)*, Cassino, 2, 425–473.
- Bachmann, L. (ed.) (1832), *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem*. 1, Leipzig, 746–845.
- Bandini, A.M. (1768), *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Laurentianae*, Florentiae, 2, 124–125.
- Branca, V. (1981), "Poliziano e la libreria medicea di San Marco", in *Miscellanea Augusto Campana*, Padova, 1, 167–187.
- Browning, R. (1975), "Homer in Byzantium", in *Viator* 8, 15–33 (repr. in R. Browning, *Studies on Byzantine History, Literature and Education*, London 1977, XVII).
- Browning, R. (1992), "The Byzantines and Homer", in R. Lamberton/J.J. Keaney (eds.), *Homer's Ancient Readers*, Princeton, 134–148.
- Budelmann, F. (2002), "Classical Commentary in Byzantium: John Tzetzes on Ancient Greek Literature", in R.K. Gibson/C. Shuttleworth Kraus (eds.), *The Classical Commentary: Histories, Practices, Theory*, Leiden/Boston/Köln, 141–169.
- Canart, P./Perria, L. (1991), "Les écritures livresques des XI^e et XII^e siècles", in D. Harlfinger/G. Prato (eds.), *Paleografia e Codicologia greca*. Atti del II Colloquio internazionale di Berlino (Berlin-Wolfenbüttel, 17–31 ottobre 1983), Alessandria, 1, 67–118.
- Cavallo, G. (2000), "Scritture informali, cambio grafico e pratiche librerie a Bisanzio tra i secoli XI e XII", in G. Prato (ed.), *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito*. Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca, Firenze, 1, 219–238.
- Cesaretti, P. (1991), *Allegoristi di Omero a Bisanzio. Ricerche ermeneutiche (XI–XII sec.)*, Milano.
- Cramer, J.A. (ed.) (1835), *Anecdota Graeca Oxoniensia*, 1, Oxford.
- Dyck, A.R. (ed.) (1983), *Epimerismi Homeric. Pars prior Epimerismos continens qui ad Iliadis librum A pertinent*, Berlin/New York.
- Erbse, H. (1960), *Beiträge zur Überlieferung der Iliasscholien*, München.
- Erbse, H. (ed.) (1969), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (scholia vetera)*, 1: *Praefationem et scholia ad libros A–Δ continens*, Berlin.
- Felber, H. (1925), *Quellen der Ilias-Exegesis des Joannes Tzetzes*, Diss. Zürich.
- Franchi de' Cavalieri, P./Lietzmann, J. (eds.) (1910), *Specimina Codicum Graecorum Vaticanorum*, Bonn.
- Fryde, E.B. (1996), *Greek Manuscripts in the Private Library of the Medici*, 1469–1510, 1–2, Aberystwyth.
- Giske, H. (1881), *De Ioannis Tzetzae scriptis ac vita*, Diss. Rostock.
- Glei, R. (ed.) (1984), *Die Batrachomyomachie. Synoptische Edition und Kommentar*, Frankfurt am Main.
- Harlfinger, D. (1974), *Specimina griechischer Kopisten der Renaissance*, 1: *Griechen des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin.
- Hart, G. (1881), "De Tzetzarum nomine vitis scriptis", in *JCPH Suppl.* 12, 1–75.
- Hermann, G. (ed.) (1812), *Draconis Stratonicensis liber De metris poeticis. Ioannis Tzetzae Exegesis in Homeri Iliadem*, Lipsiae.
- Hoffmann, K.A. (ed.) (1864), *Einundzwanzigstes und zweiundzwanzigstes Buch (Φ und Χ) der Ilias. Nach Handschriften und den Scholien*, 1, Clausthal.

- Hunger, H. (1954), "Allegorische Mythendeutung in der Antike und bei Johannes Tzetzes", in *ÖBGes* 3, 35–54.
- Irigoin, J. (1960), "Sur un distique de Callimaque (fr. 495+533 Pf.)", in *REG* 73, 439–447.
- Jacob, A. (1977), "Les écritures de Terre d'Otrante", in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris 21–25 octobre 1974), Paris, 269–281.
- Jackson, D.F. (1998), "Fabio Vigili's Inventory of Medici Greek Manuscripts", in *Scriptorium* 52, 199–204.
- Krafft, P. (1975), *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung von Cornutus' Theologia Graeca*, Heidelberg.
- Lake, K./Lake, S. (1934–1945), *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, 1–10, Boston (Mass.).
- La Roche, J. (1866), *Die homerische Textkritik im Alterthum*, Leipzig.
- Lehrs, K. (1882³), *De Aristarchi studiis Homericis*, Leipzig.
- Lolos, A. (1981), *Der unbekannte Teil der Ilias-Exegesis des Iohannes Tzetzes: A 97–609*, Königstein.
- Maass, E. (1884), "Die Iliasscholien des codex Lipsiensis", in *Hermes* 19, 264–287.
- Maniaci, M. (2006a), "Issues with the *Mise en Page* of Manuscripts with Framing Commentary. An Example of Several Textual Witnesses of the *Iliad*", in *S&T* 4, 211–297.
- Maniaci, M. (2006b), "Words within Words: Layout Strategies in Some Glossed Manuscripts of the *Iliad*", in *Manuscripta* 50, 241–268.
- Martinelli Tempesta, S. (2015), "Trasmissione di testi greci esametrici nella Roma di Niccolò V. Quattro codici di Demetrio Xantopulo e una lettera di Bessarione a Teodoro Gaza", in *S&T* 13, 271–350.
- Matranga, P. (ed.) (1850), *Anecdota Graeca e mss. bibliothecis Vaticana, Angelica, Barberiniana, Vallicelliana, Medicea, Vindobonensi deprompta*, 1–2, Roma (repr. Hildesheim/New York, 1971).
- Mioni, E. (1985), *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices Graeci manuscripti. 2: Thesaurus Antiquus. Codices 300–625*, Roma.
- Montana, F. (forthcoming), "Editing Anonymous Voices: the *Scholia Vetera* to the *Iliad*", forthcoming in *Sicut dicit... A Methodological Workshop on the Editing of Commentaries on Authoritative Texts* (Leuven, 9–11 March 2016), Leuven.
- Montanari, F./Montana, F./Muratore, D./Pagani, L. (2017), "Towards a New Critical Edition of the Scholia to the *Iliad*: a Specimen", in *TiC* 9, 1–21.
- Mostra della Biblioteca di Lorenzo nella Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Firenze, 21 maggio–31 ottobre 1949, Firenze 1949.
- Papaioannou, S. (2014), "Voice, Signature, Mask: the Byzantine Author", in Pizzone 2014, 21–40.
- Petitmengin, P./Ciccolini, L. (2005), "Jean Matal et la bibliothèque de Saint-Marc de Florence (1545)", in *IMU* 46, 207–374.
- Pizzone, A. (ed.) (2014), *The Author in Middle Byzantine Literature. Modes, Functions, and Identities*, Berlin/Boston.
- Pontani, F. (2001), review of: M.A. Pincelli, *Martini Philetici In corruptores Latinitatis*, Roma 2000, in *BMC* 2001.03.22.
- Pontani, F. (2005), *Sguardi su Ulisse. La tradizione esegetica greca all'Odissea*, Pisa (repr. Roma 2011).
- Pontani, F. (2015), "Scholarship in the Byzantine Empire (529–1453)", in F. Montanari/S. Matthaios/A. Rengakos (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*, Leiden/Boston, 297–455.

- Prato, G. (1994a), "Scritture librarie arcaizzanti della prima età dei Paleologi e i loro modelli", in G. Prato, *Studi di paleografia greca*, Spoleto, 73–114, 24 Pl. (firstly published in *S&C* 3, 1979, 151–193).
- Prato, G. (1994b), "Manoscritti Greci in Grecia", in G. Prato, *Studi di paleografia greca*, Spoleto, 151–169, 24 Pl. (firstly published in G. Cavallo/G. De Gregorio/M. Maniaci (eds.), *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio*. Atti del seminario di Erice (18–25 settembre 1988), Spoleto, 1991, 1, 3–24).
- Schrader, H. (1887), "Florentinische Homerscholien", in *Hermes* 22, 282–308.
- Sciarra, E. (2005), *La tradizione degli scholia iliadici in Terra d'Otranto*, Roma.
- Van Thiel, H. (ed.) (2014), *Aristarch, Aristophanes Byzantios, Demetrios Ixion, Zenodot. Fragmente zur Ilias* gesammelt, neu herausgegeben und kommentiert, 1–4, Berlin/Boston.
- Wachsmuth, C. (1863), "Ueber die Zeichen und einige andere Eigenthümlichkeiten des codex Venetus der *Ilias*", in *RhM* 18, 178–188.
- Wendel, C. (1948), "Tzetzes, Johannes", in *RE* VII A2, Stuttgart, 1959–2010.
- West, M.L. (ed.) (1998), *Homeri Ilias*, 1, Stuttgart/Leipzig.
- West, M.L. (2001), *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad*, München/Leipzig.

Davide Muratore

On the sources of Lascaris' edition of the *D-scholia* on the *Iliad*

Abstract: A preliminary inquiry allows us to recognize the sources of the material added by the *ed. princeps lascariana* to its main exemplar (Vat. gr. 33) in a MS of the paraphrasis attributed to Psellos, in Eustathius, in MS Parisinus gr. 2681 (owned by Lascaris himself) and, perhaps, a MS of the **h** family. As a result this material must be discarded from an edition of the *D-scholia*. Such an edition will also benefit from a scrutiny of the printed tradition not restricted to its older stages.

The printed tradition of the Homeric poems (and related texts) has attracted some attention in the past decades.¹ Nevertheless, much remains to be done,² and I

1 Regarding individual editions, scholars and bibliographers have mainly focused on the *editions principes* of both Homer (Florence, 1488; cf. most recently Megna 2007–2008, esp. 217–218 n. 2, with further bibliography) and the *D-scholia* (Rome, 1517; cf. most recently Staikos 1998, 282, 306; Fogelmark 2015, esp. 9 n. 15, 23–26, 36 n. 61). Two books have been devoted to the Homeric holdings of individual collections: in 1988 Agamemnon Tselikas edited – with a short but very informative preface – a richly illustrated catalogue of the Homeric holdings of the Δημοσία Βιβλιοθήκη Χίου (Tselikas 1988; 97 items); in 2013, Glenn W. Most, Alice Schreyer *et alii*, brought out a very detailed catalogue of the *Bibliotheca Homerica Langiana*, that is of the Homeric collection assembled by Michael C. Lang and donated by him to the University of Chicago Library in 2006 (Most/Schreyer 2013; 175 items). Finally, Philip Young's *The Printed Homer* combines a broad picture – starting with the question of the identity of Homer and ending with the fate of the Homeric poems in the age of globalization and the Internet (Young 2003, *Part I: Homer and the Homeric Text*, 7–169) – with “a comprehensive list of all known editions of the Homeric texts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as well as other works at one time attributed to Homer” (*Part II: Printed Editions of the Homeric Text, 1470 to 2000 C.E.*, 171–385; the quotation is from p. 173), both in the original Greek and in translation.

2 For a comprehensive survey of Homeric printed editions cf. still Heyne (1802), iv–xxxv. Young's very extensive repertory not only does not aim to deal analytically with the tradition of the Greek text of Homer and the *Homeric* in print, but needs – at least with respect to the Greek editions (the only ones I have randomly checked) – a careful scrutiny and revision. Indeed, there are omissions, duplicates and imprecisions. Firstly, Young omits, e.g., the school editions of *Iliad* book I, II, III, IV, and IX by Étienne Prevosteau, Paris 1602, 1596, 1600, 1604 and 1598 respectively, and of book X by J. Libert, Paris 1610, on which see now Hepp 1968, 789–790; Ford 2007, 143 and n. 2; on Libert cf. again Heyne (1802), xxviii and n. *. Several other editions enumerated by Hepp are similarly absent in Young (who is well aware of the limitations of his list: cf. *Appendix A: Comments on the Printings Lists of Part II*, in Young 2003, 389–393). Moreover, “1517 – Le

think that a more comprehensive and detailed inquiry will contribute not only to the history of the reception, but – particularly for the scholia – to the constitution of the text itself.

In this paper, I investigate the sources exploited by Lascaris to expand his main exemplar in his edition of the *D-scholia*. As a preliminary, however, I start with a short excursus about a more recent stage of the printed tradition.

Until the *proecdosis* of Helmut van Thiel³ – substantially revised in 2014⁴ – the *D-scholia* had been read through the *editio princeps* (*siglum* La),⁵ published in Rome in 1517 by Ianos Lascaris at the press of the Greek Gymnasium *ad Caballinum montem*,⁶ or, more often, using one of its several reprints.⁷ Among these reprints, a leading rôle is played by the one published together with the *Iliad* text by Christian Gottlob Heyne at Oxford in 1821⁸ and, again, in 1834.⁹ Heyne 1834 is also the text

Premier Livre de l'Iliade (Greek). Strasbourg, France: Joannis Schott" referred to in Young 2003, 179 seems to be a duplicate of "1516 – Homeri Liber Primus Iliados, Graece (Greek), Strasbourg, France: Joannis Schott" listed in Young 2003, 178, perhaps resulting from what was written by Brunet 1860–1865, III 281 (a work quoted by Young in *Appendix B: Sources Used for Part II*, 394–395): "Panzer, VI, p. 79, cite le premier livre de l'Iliade, en grec, *Argentorati, in aedibus Joan. Schott*, 1517, in-4". In Panzer's passage, dealing with the Strasbourg editions, only a Homeric edition of the year 1516 is mentioned (and no edition dated 1517). Finally, Young's data about the Homeric editions of Theodorus Martinus (Thierry Martens, Dirk Martens) need reconsideration: cf. de Gand 1845, 128 n. 112; *Tentoonstelling Dirk Martens* 1973, 223 (A 341–342), 285 (M 217), 286 228; Most/Schreyer 2013, 28–29.

3 Van Thiel 2000a.

4 Van Thiel 2014.

5 I employ Allen's *sigla* (except for the Romanus-Matritensis, Allen's Ve¹, Ve²) with additions: cf. Muratore 2014, 55 n. 2. Particularly: A = Venetus Marc. Gr. Z. 454 (822); Ag = Angelicus gr. 122; B = Venetus Marc. Gr. Z. 453 (821); Bd = Bodmer 85; Bm¹² = Lond. Harl. 5727; C = Laur. Plut. 32, cod. 3; E³ = Escorial. y.I.1 (gr. 294 Andrés); E⁴ = Escorial. Ω. I. 2 (gr. 513 Andrés); Ge = Genav. gr. 44; La = scholl. D ed. pr. lascariana, Romae 1517; Le = Leid. Voss. gr. F 64; M¹ = Ambr. A 181 sup. (gr. 74); M⁵ = Ambr. F 101 sup. (gr. 355); M¹¹ = Ambr. L 116 sup. (gr. 502); P = Par. gr. 2556; P³ = Par. gr. 2681; P¹¹ = Par. gr. 2766; P²⁰ = Par. Suppl. gr. 679 (S van Thiel); P²¹ = Par. Suppl. gr. 1095; Ps = Par. Suppl. gr. 608; Q = Vat. gr. 33; R¹ = Ricc. gr. 30 (K. II. 10); U⁴ = Venetus Marc. Gr. Z. 458 (841); U¹⁸ = Venetus Marc. Gr. IX, 5 (1336); V⁵ = Vat. gr. 30; V¹³ = Vat. gr. 1316; X = Vat. gr. 32; Y = Vat. gr. 2193; Z = Romanus, Bibl. Nat. gr. 6 + Matrit. Bib. Nac. 4626.

6 On this edition cf. now Pontani 2017.

7 E.g., van der Valk's knowledge of the *D-scholia* is based upon the Aldine edition, first published in Venice, 1521 (van der Valk 1963–1964, I 202 n. 1; on the text of the Aldine edition cf. Muratore 2013, 428–432). On the *Nachleben* of this edition cf. also Pontani 2017.

8 Heyne 1821.

9 Heyne 1834.

included in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* both in the CD-ROM version (TLG_E) and in the online version.¹⁰

Heyne's *editio minor* states in the *Monitum* appended to the preface that the scholia are published "ad fidem editionis Romanae ab interpolationibus liberata", but a collation of the scholia to the first book does not confirm this claim. Heyne corrects mistakes in the sequence of scholia¹¹ and plain misprints¹² or more serious blunders of the *editio princeps*,¹³ but he adds as well not only at least fifteen new misprints¹⁴ but, notably, new material not found in the manuscript tradition of the *D-scholia* (at least in the MSS of the main branch, those exhibiting the scholia without the Homeric text):

A 1 Ἀχιλλῆος: ... διὰ τὸ μέτρον καὶ διὰ τὸ ἄχος, ὃ ἐστὶ λύπην, ἐπενεγκεῖν ... van Thiel
... διὰ τὸ μέτρον· τῷ ἄχος, τουτέστι λύπην ἐπενεγκεῖν ... La
... διὰ τὸ μέτρον. (λέγεται δὲ Ἀχιλλεύς, παρὰ) τὸ ἄχος, τουτέστι λύπην,
ἐπενεγκεῖν ... Heyne

A 39 ἔρεψα: (ἐπέρεψα) ὠρόφωσα, ἐστεφάνωσα Heyne

A 176 διοτρεφέων, r. 3 ἄνδρες ἀοιδοὶ (ἔασιν) ἐπὶ χθονὶ (= Hes. *Th.* 95) Heyne

10 <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/index.php>.

11 A 117 λαόν post A 117 σόον ἔμμεναι La – A 213 ἀγλαά post A 214 ὕβριος εἵνεκα τῆσδε La – A 215 πόδας ὠκύς post A 213 ἀγλαά La – A 220 ἄψ ante A 219 βαρεῖαν La – A 223 ἐπέεσσιν post A 224 χόλοιο La – A 272 τῶν et A 272 οἶοι post A 272 ἐπιχθόνιοι La – A 278 ὁμοίης post A 278 ἔμμορε La (= van Thiel) – A 307 ἐτάροισιν post A 316 ἀτρυγέτοιο La – A 431 ἱερὴν post A 432 οἱ δ' ὅτε La – A 520 αὐτως et A 520 αἰεὶ post A 521 καὶ τε μέ φησι La – A 569 καὶ ῥα [A 567 in van Thiel 2000a, 2014] et A 569 καθήστο ante A 568 βοῶπις La – A 602 δαίνυντο ante A 601 ἐς ἥλιον καταδύντα La. A further correction in the sequence of the scholia – first made in the Cambridge 1689 edition – must, I think, be accepted: προβάλλοντο· προήνεγκαν, ἐβάστασαν erroneously appears in Z after A 449 οὐλοχύτας, instead of after A 458 οὐλοχύτας, a misplacement rather than the witness of a *varia lectio*.

12 A 45 ἀμφιρεφέα τε φαρέτην: ἀμφιρεφέα in le. La – A 50 ἀργούς, line 12 εὐδιέφθαρτον: εὐδιέφθαρτον La – A 52 πυραί, 9 Οἰωνόν: ἡωνόν La – A 52 θαμειαί, 2 κύνεσσι: κύνεσι La – A 86 οὐ μὰ γάρ: ἀπωμοτικῶς: ἀπομωτικῶς La – A 87 ἀναφαίνεις: προσημáινεις: προσημένεις La, etc.

13 The correction at A 5 Διὸς δ' ἔτελείετο βουλή, r. 13 Στασίνω must be ascribed to Heyne: Στασίνω recte Heyne (cf. Στασίμω Hervagius 1541), τάσεινω Z, Τασίνω Y, Ταρασίνω Q U¹⁸ V¹³ La Ps Ald Hervagius 1535 Cambridge 1689, Τερασίνω Ag Bm¹² P^{pc}, Τερατίνω Bd P^{ac}.

14 A 42 ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσι, line 2 Χρύσης: Χρήσης Heyne – A 123 Ἀχαιοί, 4 ἀπὸ Ἄργου τοῦ Ἄπιδος: τοῦ om. Heyne – A 123 Ἀχαιοί, 5 καλεῦντο: καλοῦντο Heyne – A 132 οὐ παρελεύσεαι: ὁ ante παρελθὼν om. Heyne – A 180 Μυρμιδόνεσσιν ἄνασσε, 9 πέτρου: πέτρον Heyne – A 234 τὸ μὲν οὐ ποτε: ἄν: αὐ Heyne – A 268 φερσίν, 4 εἰ τῷ: ἐν τῷ Heyne – A 268 φερσίν, 5 ὥσανει: ὥσανναι Heyne – A 293 οὐτιδανός: οὐτιδανός Heyne – A 316 ἀτρυγέτοιο: ἔνιοι: ἔνοιιο Heyne – A 366 ὥχόμεθ' ἐς Θήβην, 11 εἰλήφθη: εἰλήφθη Heyne – A 501 δεξιτέρη: δεξιᾶ: δεξιῇ Heyne – A 579 σὺν δ' ἡμῖν δαῖτα ταράξῃ: καὶ: παῖ Heyne – A 580 εἴπερ γὰρ κ' ἐθέλλῃσιν: καὶ pro κ' Heyne.

The first addition (A 1) stems from the *Hervagiana secunda* (a. 1541),¹⁵ the second one (A 39) is denounced as a spurious addition perpetrated by the *editio Hackiana* (= Schrevel 1656) in the apparatus of *Variae lectiones, emendationes et coniecturae in Scholia Homerica* of the Cambridge edition,¹⁶ where nevertheless it is retained in the text of the scholion; finally, the third one (A 176) is an emendation introduced by the Cambridge 1689 edition.¹⁷ Indeed, almost all¹⁸ these mistakes and additions passed into the Heyne edition from the renowned Cambridge edition of 1689.

All of these mistakes and additions¹⁹ are inherited by the database of the *TLG* too.

But it is now time to address the main topic of this essay, which is the inquiry into the sources of Lascaris' *editio princeps* of the *D-scholia*, an essential step in order both to appraise its authority as a witness and to evaluate the breadth and distinctive character of Lascaris' editorial work.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Everwin Wassenbergh regarded the *editio princeps* as the result of the conflation of interlinear glosses (derived from the dismembering of a paraphrasis) and more substantial marginal scholia from various manuscript sources,²⁰ made by Lascaris himself with the assistance of his pupils of the *Collegium Graecum*.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Heyne²¹ deemed the *scholia brevia*²² to be a set of materials that originated from: 1) a fuller version of the corpus preserved in the Venetus A (*inter alia* for the mythographical scholia); 2) an abbreviated version of the exegetical scholia; 3) interlinear glosses presumably extracted from a paraphrasis.²³ This compilation was either found by Lascaris in

15 Hervagius 1541, 1; cf. also Cambridge 1689, 738.

16 Cambridge 1689, 738 “39. Dele verbum ἐπέρεψα. Hackianum est”.

17 Cambridge 1689, 379 “pro ἅοιδοι ἔασιν ἐπὶ Vett. omnes ἅοιδοι ἐπὶ”.

18 The only exceptions are A 42, A 293, A 316, A 501 where the Cambridge edition has the right reading; A 366 where Cambridge 1689 has a different mistake (ἐλέφθη); and A 579 where Cambridge 1689 omits the word.

19 The only exceptions are A 42, A 293, A 316, which are mere *lapsus calami*.

20 Wassenbergh 1783, xviii–xix, part. xix: “Certe nullus usquam Homeri Codex reperietur, qui brevia illa Glossemata ita exhibeat, ut Romae sunt edita. Longiora Scholia, tam Historica, quam reliqua, e diversis Codicibus congesta existimo”.

21 On Heyne's edition cf. Most/Schreyer 2013, 72–75, with further bibliography.

22 Heyne (1802), lx–lxiii.

23 Heyne (1802), lxxii–lxxiii.

a manuscript²⁴ or put together by Lascaris himself.²⁵ Indeed, only the former assumption seems consistent with what Lascaris wrote in the preface of his edition – as Heyne duly quotes²⁶ – where the text claims to be published “infinitis prope-modum malignitate ... temporum laceratus plagis haud parvo negotio restitutus”.²⁷ This claim seems to imply a single source in bad condition, and this meaning is adopted – at the end of the nineteenth century – by one of the leading investigators of the tradition of the *D-scholia*, Adolf Schimberg.²⁸ According to him, Lascaris used a single manuscript yet unknown and perhaps lost,²⁹ a twin of the antigraph of Vat. gr. 33 (Q)³⁰ and Vat. gr. 32 (X);³¹ the editor must be praised for his critical work, but much more for the rearrangement of the scholia, which is perhaps hinted at by the preface's words “haud parvo negotio restitutus”.³²

The manuscript regarded as lost by Schimberg was identified by Vittorio de Marco³³ with the Vat. gr. 33 (Q) itself because: 1) the text of La is very close to that of Q and their divergence gradually decreases so much so that it is negligible from book VIII onwards (excepting when Lascaris emended a passage of his source he deemed unsound); 2) the transposition in La of the final words ἐν τῷ πολεμεῖν of *sch.* A 258 οἱ περὶ μὲν βουλῇ Δαναῶν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς to the end of the following scholium A 258 περὶ περισσῶς καὶ ὑπερβαλόντως ἐστὲ καὶ ὑπερέχετε appears to be a direct result of the layout of Q where (f. 13v) καὶ ἐν τῷ πολεμεῖν is added at the end of the line holding the *sch.* A 258 περὶ, separated from it by a backslash; 3) at A 570 δῶμα La shows an expansion³⁴ unique to Q, where it is added in a smaller

²⁴ Heyne (1802), lxii–lxiii.

²⁵ Heyne (1802), lxxii–lxxiii.

²⁶ Heyne (1802), lxx n. 26*.

²⁷ Lascaris 1517, epistle “Lectori” (c. α i).

²⁸ Schimberg 1890, 439–452.

²⁹ Schimberg 1890, 423.

³⁰ Q in van Thiel 2000a, 2014, V in Schimberg and de Marco.

³¹ X in van Thiel 2000a, 2014, P in Schimberg, R in de Marco.

³² Appendix I below shows, *exempli gratia*, the *Scholienbestand* of Q (and U¹⁸) in Ω. Schimberg 1890, 450 observes that, as the incorrect order goes back to the archetype, it is unlikely that it also possessed the Homeric text. Some notes about the reordering of the scholia performed by the *editio princeps* are collected in Appendix II below.

³³ De Marco 1932, 24–25. See also the prolegomena of de Marco's unfinished edition of the *D-scholia* (p. 3): “Multis ante annis ostendere conatus sum ... Iani Lascaris editionem, nonnulla tantum ex alio hausta fonte si excipias, ex libro V [our Q] pendere et in eadem hodie persto sententia”. On Vittorio de Marco, his Homeric studies, and the unfinished edition of the *D-scholia* to *Iliad* I–XVII [= de Marco *ed. sch.*] cf. Geymonat 1989, Montanari 1995, 147.

³⁴ A 570 ἀνὰ δῶμα· τὸ .ω. μέγα διὰ τὸ μέτρον post οἰκίαν add. La.

size by the first hand.³⁵ Thus de Marco concludes that Lascaris used Q as a base text, rarely consulting a – still unknown – MS of the **bT** family.³⁶

The most recent editor of the *D-scholia*, Helmut van Thiel, too, judges Q³⁷ or a MS close to Q³⁸ to be the likely source of the *editio princeps*, with the addition of material from the **b** family of the exegetical scholia (“wofür E [our E³, Escorial. y.I.1] als Vertreter gewählt ist”) and from Eustathius.

It is now time to attempt a fresh evaluation of the evidence. Although the manuscript tradition of the *D-scholia* is far from fully explored and the relevant side of the stemma needs to be revised to take into account MSS whose text has not until now been investigated,³⁹ evidence both internal and external seems to substantiate the claim that Vat. gr. 33 (Q) was the main source of the *editio princeps*.

As noted by de Marco the *ed. pr.* agrees systematically with Q, faithfully reproducing its *Scholienbestand*, and in particular, almost all the scholia specific to it alone.

Moreover, the use of Vat. gr. 33 is suggested by the entries in the lending registers of the Vatican Library published in 1942 by Maria Bertola. They record⁴⁰ that on 9 June 1516 Ianos Lascaris borrowed

³⁵ Schimberg 1890, 444; cf. de Marco, *ed. sch. apparatus ad loc.*

³⁶ De Marco 1932, 25.

³⁷ Van Thiel 2000b, 2 “Vorlage war vermutlich Q; Zusätze stammen aus exegetischen Scholien (“b-Scholien”, wofür E [our E³] als Vertreter gewählt ist) und aus Eustathius”; 12 “L (editio princeps des Janos Laskaris, Rom 1517) hat vermutlich Q als Vorlage benutzt, verhält sich aber selbständig: Zu Σ 486 scheint er u.a. Scholien zu Hesiods Erga und zu Arat mit Überlegung benutzt zu haben. ... Laskaris hat den Textbestand erweitert vor allem durch Übertragungen von anderen Stellen und von umfangreichen Stücken besonders aus Codex E (oder einer verwandten Handschrift) und Eustathios (Erstausgabe Rom 1542). Solche Stellen gehören eigentlich nicht in die Sammlung, sind aber darin aufgenommen zur Information, weil alle bisherigen Untersuchungen sie als D-Scholien behandelt haben”. Cf. also van Thiel 2014, 4, 14–15.

³⁸ Van Thiel 2000a, 2 “Lascaris librum codici Q affinem e scholiis Homericis classis b et ex Eustathio auxit”.

³⁹ Starting from Venetus Marc. Gr. IX, 5 (1336), which transmits the full collection of the *D-scholia* (without Homeric text). It was transcribed in Rome in 1492 by Demetrios Damilas for Gioacchino Torriani. Formerly in the Venetian Library of Saints John and Paul (San Zanipolo), it carries the dedication by Marcus Musurus to the Eupatridae (cf. Jackson 2011, 30, 54, 57, 69; Speranzi 2013, 132, 181 n. 130, 254 n° 55; Ferreri 2014, 607–608). I deal in detail with this manuscript elsewhere (Muratore 2018).

⁴⁰ Vat. lat. 3966, f. 95r in Bertola 1942, 111–112, and tav. *117. The evidence is exploited in connection with the edition of the *D-scholia* by Barberi/Cerulli 1972, 68 and n. 7, Layton 1994, 325 and 332 n. 66; Pontani 2017. Layton 1994, 329 ascribes to Zacharias Kallierges the printing of the scholia (as

... Expositionem homeri in Iliada in Corio albo ex [et Bertola] membranis

And on 7 July

Iliada homeri in papyro in corio rubro ex [b] bancho viij
alium librum eiusdem expositionis in corio nigro

These manuscripts are recognizable in the 1518 inventory of the Vatican Library published by Mark L. Sosower, Donald F. Jackson and Antonio Manfredi and in the nearly contemporary inventory by John Severus of Sparta preserved in Vat. gr. 1483:⁴¹

“Iliada homeri in papyro in corio rubro ex [b] bancho viij” is Vat. gr. 29, “n° 407. Ilias Homeri, ex papyro in rubro”⁴² in the inventory of 1518 and “βιβλίον ἐνδέκατον. Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάς μετὰ παραφράσεως” in the inventory compiled by John Severus of Sparta,⁴³ in the ὁγδοῇ τράπεζα (f. 17r).⁴⁴

“alium librum eiusdem expositionis in corio nigro” is Vat. gr. 32 “n° 421. Expositio in Homerum, ex membranis in nigro” in the 1518 inventory,⁴⁵ “βιβλίον δέκατον ἑβδομον. Ὁμήρου λεξικὸν εἰς Ἰλιάδα”⁴⁶ in Severus' inventory (f. 17v).⁴⁷

well as of the other editions from the Gymnasium Graecum, now credited to Vittore Carmelio), but cf. Fogelmark 2015, 23–24.

⁴¹ The inventory – “τὰ ὑν' Ἑλληνικὰ βιβλία ἐν τῇ ὁσημέρᾳ ἀνοιγομένη τῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παλατιοῦ Βιβλιοθήκῃ” (f. 1r); “ἸΣ ΧΣ | ἐπὶ Λέοντος δεκάτου τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς ἀπάσης ἐκκλησίας μεγίστου ἀρχιερεῶς Πίναξ ἦτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν κοινῇ στοᾷ τῆς ἱερᾶς παλατινῆς βιβλιοθήκης ὑν' εὐρεθέντων ἑλληνικῶν βιβλίων Ἱερωνύμου τοῦ Ἀλεάνδρου ἐπιστάτου” (2v) – is preserved in Vat. gr. 1483, ff. 3rv and 15–151 (ff. 4r–14r include a subject index). It was published – in an abbreviated form – by Devreesse 1965, 235–263; transcriptions of the relevant items are mine. It is dated to 1517–1518 by Devreesse 1965, 236, Canart 1977–1979, 307 n. 2 (1517–1518, most probably 1518, according to Canart 1977, *passim*, esp. 134–135), Rita 2010, 293, 306 nn. 313–314; “tra il luglio 1517 e il dicembre 1521” by Chr. Grafinger in Rita 2010, 292 and by D'Aiuto/Vian 2011, 586–587; to 1519–1521 by Big-nami Odier 1973, 30, 42 n. 98; ca. 1520 according to Mercati 1921, 109 [132], Devreesse 1962, 327 n. 1. Cf. also Lilla 2004, 8–9, 135 n° 14.

⁴² Sosower/Jackson/Manfredi 2006, 49.

⁴³ Devreesse 1965, 237 n° 11.

⁴⁴ Cf. “11. Ilias Homeri, iterum, et a tergo epigrammata quaedam Antipatri Sidonii in Homerum et eius imaginem, Iuliani unum in Organa et Agathii unum in Mauricium imperatorem” in Fabio Vigili's inventory (Vat. lat. 7135, ff. 78r–164r), in Cardinali 2015, 142 n° 11; “XI. Ilias Homeri” from the MSS “in octavo scamno supra” in Vigili's transcription of the lemmata of the MSS of the *Bibliotheca publica graeca*, Vat. lat. 7135, ff. 2r–12r, sp. 2r, in Cardinali 2015, 292. It is n° 371 (“in VIII° bancho”) in the 1533 inventory – with catchwords –, published by Dilts/Sosower/Manfredi 1998, 47 “12. Homeri Ilias, ex papiro in rubro. ἐκατόμβης”.

⁴⁵ Sosower/Jackson/Manfredi 2006, 51.

⁴⁶ Devreesse 1965, 238 n° 17 (without any identification).

⁴⁷ Cf. “26. Homeri Lexicon, idest Didymi Expositio in Homerum, qui Aristarchum sequitur, ita namque in principio inscribitur Ilias, tamen enarratio, sed perbene” in Fabio Vigili's inventory, in

“Expositionem homeri in Iliada in Corio albo ex membranis” is identified by Sosower – Jackson – Manfredi 2006, XIV with Vat. gr. 33, among the MSS on loan at the time when the inventory was prepared and therefore not included in it. It can be identified – I believe – with “βιβλίον δέκατον ἔκτον. Ὁμήρου [σχόλια] ἡλεξικόν’ Ἰλιάδος” in the ὀγδόη τράπεζα in Severus’ inventory.⁴⁸

But the *editio princeps* is not a plain copy of its source, nor a superficially emended one. It shows a thoroughly revised text and, moreover, one which is expanded by the addition to the existing scholia of material unknown to the main witnesses of the *D-scholia* and of totally new scholia. We will now scrutinize this new material, trying to identify the source(s) on which Lascaris drew.

Of the roughly 120 scholia unique to La that I have gathered from my collation (as yet incomplete) and from a look through van Thiel’s editions, a few are mere statements that the lemma is an ὄνομα κύριον,⁴⁹ and they are quite likely to have been added by Lascaris himself, perhaps as a match to the superscribed stroke that sometimes marks proper nouns in manuscripts.

Cardinali 2015, 148 n° 25 (“in VIII supra”); “26. Expositio in Homerum” in Vigili’s transcription of the lemmata, Cardinali 2015, 292 n° 26 (“in octavo scamno supra”). It is n° 363 in the 1533 inventory: Dilts/Sosower/Manfredi 1998, 46 “4. Expositio in Homerum, ex membranis in gilbo ἐλικῶν IIII carta” (“in VIII° banco”).

48 Devresse 1965, 238 n° 16 (without any identification). Cf. “15. Expositio quaedam sive commentarii in Homeri Iliada” in Fabio Vigili’s inventory, in Cardinali 2015, 144 n° 14 (“in VIII supra”); “15. Expositio in Homerum” in Vigili’s transcription of the lemmata, Cardinali 2015, 291 n° 15 (“in octavo scamno supra”). It is n° 360 in the 1533 inventory: Dilts/Sosower/Manfredi 1998, 46 “1. Commentaria in Homerum, ex membranis in gilbo καλῶς δε” (“in VIII° banco”).

49 Unique to the *editio princeps* are Δ 499 Δημοκῶντα· ὄνομα κύριον, E 462 Ἀκάμαντι· ὄνομα κύριον, M 342 Θωάτην· ὄνομα κύριον. At B 814 πολυσκάρθμοιο· πολυκινήτου, ταχείας διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐνεργεῖν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ· σκαρθμός γάρ ἡ τῶν ποδῶν κίνησις. Μυρίνα δὲ Ἀμάζονος ὄνομα ZYQA the ed. pr. prints the final section of the scholium separately: Μυρίνα· ὄνομα κύριον Ἀμάζονος La. This kind of gloss is not particularly frequent in the *D-scholia* (and is mainly inserted in order to avoid possible misinterpretation): cf. A 263 Πειρίθοον· Πειρίθουν· ὄνομα κύριον. Περιίθους ὁ Ἴξιονος, γένει μὲν ἦν Ἀθηναῖος κτλ. ZYQLa; B 658 Ἀστυόχεια· ὄνομα κύριον QLa; B 704 Ποδάρκης· νῦν ὄνομα κύριον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ (τοῦ QL) Πρωτεσιλάου ZQLa; Δ 458 Ἐχέπωλον· ὄνομα κύριον ZYQLa; Δ 491 Λεῦκον· νῦν προπερισπομένως ἀναγνωστέον, ἴν’ ἢ ὄνομα κύριον ZYQX (ἴν’ ἢ ὄνομα κύριον post Δ 487 ἀζομένη, r. 1 ἀναγνωστέον transp. La); E 9 Δάρης· ὄνομα κύριον QLa; Z 22 Ἀβαρβαρή· κύριον ὄνομα τῆς (τῆς om. La) νύμφης ZYQXLa; Θ 269 Ἐπειάρτιν· Ἦτοι ὄνομα κύριον, τὸ Ἐπάρτης (ὁ Ἐπάρτης QL). Ἡ, ἀντὶ τοῦ, ἐπὶ τινα δὴ ZYQLa; Δ 739 Μούλιον· ὄνομα κύριον ZYQXLa; O 525 Δόλοψ· νῦν ὄνομα κύριον ZQLa; Π 152 Πήδασον· ὄνομα κύριον ἵππου ZYQP²⁰La; P 40 Φρόντιδι· ὄνομα (κύριον QL) τῆς Πάνθου γυναικὸς ἡ Φρόντις κτλ. ZYQXP²⁰La; P 561 Φοῖνιξ· νῦν ὄνομα κύριον τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τροφοῦ ZYQXP²⁰La; P 611 Κοίρανον· νῦν ὄνομα κύριον ZYQXLa; Ω 250 Πολίτην· νῦν ὄνομα κύριον ZQLa.

Many others are short glosses with a *verbatim* correspondence to the paraphrasis credited to Psellos:⁵⁰ Γ 129 ἀγχοῦ· πλησίον, Γ 131 χαλκοχιτώνων· σιδηροθωράκων, Γ 134 σιγῇ· σιωπῇ, Δ 504 τεύχεα· τὰ ὄπλα, Δ 505 πρόμαχοι· πρωταγωνισταί, Ε 156 πατέρι δέ· τῷ δέ πατρί (τῷ πατρί δέ Psell.), Ε 250 ὀλέσσης· ἀπολέσης, Ε 367 αἰπύν· ὑψηλόν, Ε 444 ἀλευάμενος· ἐκκλίνας (ἐκκλίνων Psell.), Ε 450 τοῖον· τοιοῦτον, Ε 462 ἡγήτορι· ἡγεμόνι, Ε 469 σάωσομεν· σώσωμεν, Ε 494 ἄλτο· καθήλατο, Ε 495 πάντη· πανταχοῦ, Ε 564 δαμείη· φονευθῇ, Ε 666 ἐξέρυσαι· ἐξελκῦσαι, Ε 805 δαίνυσθαι· εὐωχεῖσθαι, Ε 852 μεμῶς· προθυμούμενος, Η 253 διάμψε· διέσχισεν, Ι 54 ἔπλευ· ἐγένου, Ι 456 γεγαῶτα· γεγεννημένον, Λ 37 δερκομένη· βλέπουσα, Λ 38 τελαμών· ἀναφορεύς, Μ 136 ἐφέβοντο· ἔφευγον (ἔφυγον Psell.), Ν 213 ἔνειακ· ἐκόμισαν, Ν 242 ἐναλγίκιος· ὁμοίος, Ν 243 αἰγλήεντος· λαμπροῦ, Ο 23 βηλοῦ· βαθμοῦ, Ο 264 κροαίνων· κρούων.

To single out the actual manuscript (or manuscripts) used by Lascaris, further investigation of the manuscripts of Psellos' paraphrasis is needed. Perhaps a clue may come from Ε 247 μεγαλήτορος· μεγαλοψύχου,⁵¹ where only a fraction of the *Iliad* MSS share the reading of the lemma (A ss. D Ge L² L¹⁰ L¹¹ L¹⁶ M¹¹ M¹³ Ma³ Mc P⁶ P¹⁰ P¹⁵ P¹⁷ P²⁰ P²¹ R¹ S U⁹ U¹¹ U¹³ V¹ V⁴ V¹⁰ V¹¹ V¹³ V²² Vi³ Vi⁵ W³, μὲν ἀμύμονος cett. according to Allen's apparatus).⁵² Some of these manuscripts are catalogued by Ioannis Vassis as witnesses of the pseudo-Psellian paraphrasis,⁵³ and four

50 A further group of short glosses is attested by both Psellos and P³: see below, p. 150. No critical edition of the paraphrasis is yet available and the correspondences collected here are based on Bekker's text. We can expect the discovery of the actual MS of the paraphrasis used by Lascaris to clarify and specify the picture. Cf. also Ε 653 δαμέντα· δαμασθέντα, φονευθέντα, ἀναιρεθέντα (δαμασθέντα Psell. ed. Bekker, ἀναιρεθέντα Psell. MS Leidensis Voss. gr. F 64 (Le)), Ε 658 διαμπερές· διαμπάξ, διόλου (δι' ὅλου Psell. MS Le), Ε 847 ἔασε· κατέθετο, ἀφήκεν (ἀφήκε Psell.), Μ 328 κύδος (v.l. Hom. εὐχος)· δόξαν, τιμὴν (δόξαν Psell.), Ν 813 ἐξαλαπάξειν· κενώσσειν, πορθήσειν (ἐκπορθήσειν Psell.), Ο 366 φύζαν· φόβον, φυγὴν (φυγὴν Psell.).

51 An almost identical scholion is at Β 547 (not "Β 567" as stated by van Thiel 2000a, 2014) – Β 547 μεγαλήτορος· μεγαλοψύχου, γενναίου ZQLa – but the occurrence is still relevant; cf. also Hesych. μ 463; *sch. rec.* Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2.22.1, p. 303.28 Stählin/Treu.

52 Ludwich's apparatus records this reading from manuscripts S [= D Allen], F [L¹⁶], F^r [R¹], G [Ge], H [Vi⁵], W [Vi³], U^b [W³], Y [P²¹], Z [S], A¹ [A ss.], and a MS not in Allen's apparatus, X^b [Vind. Suppl. gr. 42 (Vi⁶)]. E³ P³ and P¹¹ too read μὲν ἀμύμονος.

53 Vassis 1991, XI–XII. Among these manuscripts, two must be excluded here from our investigation, since they do not preserve, in the passage under scrutiny, the pseudo-Psellian paraphrase: Ge in Γ 1-H 467, pp. 111–315 contains the *Paraphrasis Vaticana A* (cf. Vassis 1991, 59); V¹³ does not have a paraphrasis in our passage (Vassis 1991, 99–100).

contain our passage: R¹ = Ricc. gr. 30 (K. II. 10),⁵⁴ M¹¹ = Ambr. L 116 sup. (gr. 502),⁵⁵ U¹³ = Marc. Gr. IX, 33 (1352),⁵⁶ and lastly V⁴ = Vat. gr. 29,⁵⁷ which is positively known to have been borrowed by Lascaris from the Vaticana in 1516⁵⁸ and so it is the main candidate for a detailed investigation.

Other material stems perhaps from a manuscript of the **h** family:⁵⁹ at N 103 λύκων τ' ἥϊα πέλονται La shows a scholion absent from the main tradition of *D*, but present in A **h**(AgBd Ge M^{1P11}), and in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (423.20 Kallierges). At A 171 ἀφύξειν Lascaris' edition supplements the *D*-scholium as follows:

A 171 ἀφύξειν· ἀπαντλήσειν, προσωρεύσειν· ZQX La (and **h**) | τὸ δὲ ὄλον οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω δέ σε, φησίν, ἐμοῦ ἀπόντος καταστρέψαι τὴν Ἰλιον, καὶ πολὺν πλοῦτον λαβεῖν La

In this case too, the added text matches a scholium preserved – according to Erbse's apparatuses – in A and **h**(Ag M^{1P11})⁶⁰ as well as a marginal gloss of MS Oxford, New College 298 (O⁸ Allen, Os Dyck), f. 136v, p. 302 Dyck.⁶¹ It is also registered as a marginal note⁶² in the copy of the *editio princeps* of the Homeric poems (Florence, 1488)

⁵⁴ Vassis 1991, 78–80. The MS belonged to the apostolic protonotary Lorenzo Bartolini (cf. f. 3r): on Bartolini (Florence ca. 1494–May 1533) cf. Deutscher 1985.

⁵⁵ Vassis 1991, 83–85. The MS belonged to Lianoro Lianori (Bologna 1425–July 1478; cf. Martínez Manzano 2004, 18) and to Luca Bonfiglio (Padua, ca. 1470–July 1540; cf. Cavagna 1985), before reaching the Ambrosiana in 1603.

⁵⁶ Vassis 1991, 114–115; in the 16th century it belonged to Antonio Agustín (Saragoza 1516–Tarragona 1586).

⁵⁷ Vassis 1991, 89–92: 'Psellian' paraphrasis in A-Γ, Λ 206–221, 690–830, N 1-Ε 112; *Paraphrasis Vaticana B* (Vassis 1991, 26, 201 and n. 110) in Δ-Λ 205, Λ 222–689. It belonged to Cristoforo Garatone, who donated his manuscripts to the Vaticana in the mid-15th century (on whom see Mercati 1926, 106 ff., esp. 112; Devreesse 1962, 322 n. 1; Devreesse 1965, 9 n. 5; Bignami Odier 1973, 11, 21 n. 17; Pesce 1974, esp. 64 n. 225, 65 and n. 230, 66 n. 234, 92 n. 19 and 21; *PLP* II (1977), n° 3550; Moro 1999; Cataldi Palau 2001, 249–250; Lilla 2004, 4 and n. 15).

⁵⁸ See above, p. 139.

⁵⁹ This family, closely connected with the 'Psellian' paraphrasis, shows a skeleton composed mainly of *D*-scholia, expanded by means of the addition of explanatory material drawn mainly from the scholia maiora, the *scholia exegetica*, the *Epimerismi*, the lexicographic tradition, and other sources not yet fully identified: cf. Erbse (1969–1988), I LV1–LVIII; Vassis 1991, *ad indicem*; Sciarra 2005; Castelli 2013, esp. 229 ff.; Muratore 2014; Pasquato 2015.

⁶⁰ A 169–171 ex. | D νῦν δ' εἴμι Φθίην δέ (— ἐνθάδ' ἄτιμος ἑών)· ὁ νοῦς ὑπερβατόν· νῦν δ' εἴμι Φθίην δέ σὺν νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, ἐνθάδ' ἄτιμος ἑών, ἐπειὴ πολὺ φέρτερόν ἐστιν. | οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω δέ σε φησὶν ἐμοῦ ἀπόντος καταστρέψαι τὴν Ἰλιον καὶ πολὺν πλοῦτον λαβεῖν. A.

⁶¹ A 171 (ἀφύξειν·) ἀπαντλήσειν, † πρόσω ράσειν† (*lege* περισωρεύσειν Dyck). τὸ δὲ ὄλον· οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω δέ σε, φησὶν, ἐμοῦ ἀπόντος καταστρέψαι τὴν Ἰλιον καὶ πολὺν πλοῦτον λαβεῖν.

⁶² On c. A III verso, inner margin, appended to *sch. D* A 171 ἄτιμος: A 171 (ἄτιμος) ὅ ἐστιν ἀτιμαζόμενος· ἐνῆλλαται δὲ ἡ πτώσις· ἀντὶ γὰρ γενικῆς κέχρηται ὀνομαστικῇ, ὅ ἐστι σχῆμα. τὸ

annotated by Ianos Lascaris⁶³ and now in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Réserve Yb 3. No other noteworthy addition⁶⁴ of the *editio princeps* is present in the Paris incunabulum, which, in spite of its connection with Lascaris, must be discarded as a source of these complements.

Some additions seem to be traceable to the use of Eustathius – as has been suggested (see above) – whose *Parekbolai* Lascaris owned in Par. gr. 2695 and 2701 for the *Iliad* and Par. gr. 2702 for the *Odyssey*.⁶⁵

New scholia

B 504 Γλίσσαντα· προπαροξυτόνως ὡς γίγαντα La⁶⁶

cf. Eustath. 269, 19–20 = *Il.* 1.411.27–412.4 van der Valk: τῷ δὲ τόνῳ Γλίσσας Γλίσσαντος, ὡς γίγας γίγαντος, οἱ δὲ Σχολιασταὶ φασιν, ὅτι ἡ μὲν συνήθεια προπερισπᾷ Γλίσσαντα λέγουσα, ἡ δὲ ἱστορία προπαροξύνει τὸ ὄνομα

B 571 Ὀρνειαί· κώμην Ἀργείας La

cf. Eustath. 291, 25 ff. = *Il.* 1.448.25 ff. van der Valk Ὀρνειαὶ δὲ ἡ δίχα τοῦ ι Ὀρνεαί – τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα ἐν κοινῇ χρήσει κεῖται – κώμη ἐστὶν Ἀργείας κατὰ τὸν Γεωγράφον. (Strab. 8.6.17 (376 C.)) ... καλεῖται δὲ οὕτως ἢ ἀπὸ ... ἡ ὁμωνύμως Ὀρνέα τῷ ποταμῷ. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὁ Γεωγράφος φησὶ λέγων, κτλ.

Z 40 ἄξαντε· θραύσαντες La

cf. Eustath. 623, 36 = *Il.* 2.238.14–15 van der Valk “ὄζω ἔνι βλαφθέντε μυρικίνῳ ἀγκύλον ἄρμα ἄξαντ’ ἐν πρώτῳ ῥυμῷ”, ὃ ἐστὶ θραύσαντες, κλάσαντες, κατὰ ῥυμόν, “αὐτῶ μὲν ἐβήτην” καὶ ἐξῆς

δὲ ὅλον οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω δέ σε, φησίν, ἐμοῦ ἀπόντος καταστρέψαι τὴν ἥλιον (*sic*) καὶ πολλῇν (*vid.*) πλοῦτον λαβεῖν.

63 Cf. Pontani 2005, 458–459, 471, (481)–482 n. 1084, 484, 499.

64 Z 53 καταξέμεν· κατάξειν· ὑψηλὴ γὰρ καὶ ἀνεμόεσσα ἢ Ἴλιος is a scholion **b**(BCE³E⁴) also found in Par. gr. 2681 (P³, on which, more later).

65 All these MSS bear Lascaris' *marginalia*: see, for Par. gr. 2695, Pontani 2000, 46; for Par. gr. 2701, Pontani 2005, 470 n. 1062; for Par. gr. 2702, Mondrain 2000, 420. All of them entered the library of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi (they are Ridolfi *In grammatica* 19, 20, and 21 in the main catalogue of Ridolfi's library: cf. Muratore 2009, II 108–109, and *ad indicem*), and are duly acknowledged as Lascarian by the *Lista de' libri che furono del s^{co} Lascheri* (nn. 119, 120, and 121), among the MSS “che sono fuori”: in the middle of the 1540s they were presumably on loan to be used for the edition of Eustathius' Homeric commentaries by Antonio Blado: cf. Muratore 2009, I 161–162, 173 and *passim*. On Eustathius' manuscripts see Martini 1907; van der Valk 1971, IX–XLVIII; now Cullhed 2012.

66 “B 504/L³ Γλίσσαντα· προπαροξυτόνως ὡς γίγαντα. (~ E³)” of van Thiel 2014 (*ad v.*) is a step backwards from “ὡς γίγαντα ~ Eust.” of van Thiel 2000a and is, moreover, misleading, since here E³ has only *sch. Hrd.* B 504b Erbse (Γλίσσαντ'): ἡ συνήθεια προπερισπᾷ τὸ ὄνομα, ἡ δὲ ἱστορία περισπᾷ (προπαροξύνει in Erbse's text is a correction from Eustathius, which is also the source of the parallel with γίγαντα).

perhaps also E 447 ἰοχέαιρα· ἡ ἰοῖς, ὅ ἐστι βέλεσι, χαίρουσα, τουτέστι τοξική La
cf. Eustath. 772, 45 = Il. 2.793.7–8 van der Valk Ἰοχέαιρα δὲ ὅτι ἡ, ὡς καὶ πρὸ ὀλίγων ἐρρέθη,
χέουσα ἰοὺς ἢ χαίρουσα ἰοῖς ὡς τοξική, πολλὰ χού φαίνεται

Additions to existing scholia

Δ 161 σύν τε μεγάλῳ ἀπέτισαν· ἀπέδωκαν. λείπει δὲ τὸ, χόλῳ. ἴν' ἦ, σύν μεγάλῳ χόλῳ ZYQX
La | ἦ τόκῳ ἦτοι ποινῇ, προστίμῳ La
cf. Eustath. 458, 44–45 = Il. 1.726.7–8 van der Valk καὶ οὐχ' ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ σύν μεγάλῳ καὶ τόκῳ
καὶ ποινῇ, τουτέστι προστίμῳ. Here P³V⁵ had the scholion, but without the expansion of La

K 418 Ἑσχάροι· πυραῖ. δηλοῖ δὲ ἡ λέξις καὶ τὴν ἐστίαν, καὶ τὸ ῥυπαρὸν καὶ καυθὲν ἔλκος, καὶ
τὸν βωμόν. ZYQXA La **h** | ὡς παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ. καὶ τὴν κυρίως λεγομένην ZQXA La
h | ἐσχάραν. τὴν μὴ ἔχουσιν ὕψη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γῆς οὖσαν, ἢ κοίλῃν. ὅθεν καὶ τὰ ἐν σώματι κοῖλα
ἔλκη ἐσχάροι παρ' ἱατροῖς La
cf. Eustath. 815, 11–13 = Il. 3.101.12–16 van der Valk Τὸ δὲ ἐσχάρα κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὡς
ὁμώνυμον σημαίνει πολλά. λέγεται γὰρ οὕτω καὶ ὁ βωμός, ὡς παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ,
δηλοῖ δέ, φασίν, ἡ λέξις καὶ ῥύπον καὶ καυθὲν ἔλκος καὶ τὴν κυρίως δὲ λεγομένην ἐσχάραν
τὴν μὴ ἔχουσιν ὕψος ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γῆς οὖσαν ἢ κοίλῃν. ὅθεν καὶ τὰ ἐν σώματι κοῖλα ἔλκη ἐσχάροι
ἱατρικῶς καλοῦνται

In fact, a good quantity of the material added by Lascaris also occurs in two closely related manuscripts,⁶⁷ Par. gr. 2681 (P³)⁶⁸ and Vat. gr. 30 (V⁵).⁶⁹ The former,

⁶⁷ Allen 1924, 14 n. 2, then Severyns 1953, 219–227, Severyns 1955, recognized the close relationship between P³, Par. Suppl. gr. 1095 (P²¹) and Vat. gr. 30 (V⁵) in the Proclan *Vita*, whose text they witness in the same shortened version. Concerning the scholiastic apparatus, P²¹ is definitely poorer, especially in the later part of the *Iliad* (it does not display the supplements of the Lascariana, e.g. at Γ 362, E 178, E 629, Λ 736, O 679, T 119).

⁶⁸ Par. gr. 2681 is a manuscript from the Palaeologan Renaissance plausibly ascribed by Filipopomaria Pontani to the library of Iohannes Kritopoulos (Pontani 2005, 245–246 with n. 552; on Kritopoulos' hand and MSS cf. Mondrain 2008, esp. 122 ff.; on P³ cf. 127 n. 20). It reached the library of Cardinal Ridolfi (cf. Muratore 2009, *ad indicem*; Speranzi 2009–2010, 47), the fate of which it shared. When the inventory of Lascaris' books in the cardinal's library was drawn up, this manuscript too was “fuora” (i.e., presumably, on loan: cf. Muratore 2009, esp. I 173). It shows multiple layers of scholia which – as suggested by Jean Boivin (*apud* Villosion 1788, xv), and, not long ago, by Pontani (Pontani 2005, 245–246 with n. 552) – deserve a careful examination. Here, I do not deal with the different strata of annotation (all prior to Lascaris) of the manuscript: at this stage the mere presence of the material in the MS is suitable for what I aim to prove.

⁶⁹ Vat. gr. 30 is a paper MS of mm 368 x 264 from the 14th century. A-B 493 are Moschopulean (text with paraphrasis and scholia; cf. Grandolini 1980–1981; Grandolini 1981; Melandri 1981; Vitarelli 1981, *passim*; Grandolini 1981–1982, 7–8; Grandolini 1982; Melandri 1983, 177–178, 180, 188, 191; Melandri 1985). From the Βωῶρτία to the end (as well as in the liminary texts) the MS is closely related to P³. It was used by Allacci for his edition of the Proclan *Vita Homeri* (Severyns 1953, 25–27; Severyns 1955) and is the Vatican MS whose Porphyrian readings Villosion

restored⁷⁰ and annotated⁷¹ by Lascaris, seems to be – as suggested also by the textual evidence – the source of Lascaris' additions.

At Z 44 the *editio princeps* brings out a scholion that Marchinus van der Valk⁷² judged to be a genuine *D-scholion* since it does not appear in **bT** (as, on the contrary, happens for a similar addition at Z 40 αὐτὸ μὲν ἐβήτην).⁷³ Vittorio de Marco – in the apparatus of his unfinished critical edition – identified the sources of the several portions of the scholion⁷⁴ as “non e scholiis minoribus hausta, sed e laciniis undique collectis resarta”. All this material is actually already collected – in a richer form – by Eustathius, in the commentary to Γ 346; from where it is transcribed next to our Homeric passage in MSS Escorialensis γ.Ι.1 (E³), Leidensis Voss. gr. F 64 (Le), Par. gr. 2681 (P³), and Vat. gr. 30 (V⁵). Now, in P³V⁵ it appears nearly exactly as in the *editio princeps*.

Z 44 δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος·

Τὸ εἰς δολιχὸν διάστημα κίειν δυνάμενον. πλεονάσαντος τοῦ σ, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ θεόσδοτος. Ἡ, τὸ μακρὸν, οὗ ἢ σκιὰ δολιχή. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τοῦ παρακολουθοῦντος. Ἡ, ὅπερ, διὰ τὸ σκιᾶ ἐντραφῆναι, δολιχὸν γέγονε La

Τὸ εἰς δολιχὸν διάστημα κίειν δυνάμενον. πλεονάσαντος τοῦ σ, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ θεόσδοτος. Ἡ, τὸ μακρὸν, οὗ καὶ ἢ σκιὰ δολιχή. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τοῦ παρακολουθοῦντος. Ἡ, ὅπερ, διὰ τὸ σκιᾶ ἐκτραφῆναι, δολιχὸν γέγονεν P³V⁵

Ὅτι δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος, ὡς καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ ἐρρέθη, τὸ εἰς δολιχὸν διάστημα καὶ μακρὸν κίειν [κύειν Le] δυνάμενον [καὶ add. Le] πλεονάσαντος τοῦ σ, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ θεόσδοτος. ἢ οὗ σκιὰ

occasionally quotes thanks to the good offices of Raffaele Vernazza (cf. Ferreri 2002; the *pinax* at f. br singles out “Πορφυρίου ἐξήγησις εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδα 24, 36, 42, 46, 47, 48, 54, 264, et alibi”). I hope to deal further with this MS in a subsequent paper.

70 Cf. Allen 1931, 32–33; Irigoin 1961, 288; Pontani 2005, 245–246 with n. 552; Speranzi 2006, 208 n. 67; Muratore 2009, esp. II 127; Speranzi 2010a, 317 n. 12; Speranzi 2010b, 15 and n. 13.

71 Cf. Pontani 2005, 245–246 with n. 552; Speranzi 2006, 208 n. 67.

72 Van der Valk 1963–1964, I 229 n. 139.

73 “αὐτὸ μὲν ἐβήτην: γραφικῶς οἱ μὲν ἵπποι φεύγουσιν, ἐπικειμένον τοῦ ζυγοῦ· τὸ δὲ ἄρμα ἐπιπλέκεται μυρικής κλάδω· ὁ δὲ Ἄδραστος, κυλισθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ ἁρματος, κεῖται παρὰ τὸν τροχὸν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον· ὁ δὲ Μενέλαος ἀνατετακὼς τὸ δόρυ ἐφέστηκεν αὐτῷ LET” according to van Thiel 2014; but, *re vera*, this scholion is in **b**(BCE³E⁴) T, in Le (Leid. Voss. gr. F 64; there are some small variant readings: τὸ δὲ ἄρμα: ἐπὶ δὲ ἄρμα Le – δ’ Ἄδραστος Le), and also in P³ (first scholion on f. 71v, linked to the text with the letter “α”; P³ too shows a variant reading μὲν οἱ ἵπποι P³, recte E³ Le cett.).

74 “δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος· Τὸ εἰς δολιχὸν διάστημα κίειν δυνάμενον [cfr. EM 282.10 s.] πλεονάσαντος τοῦ σ, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ θεόσδοτος. [cfr. EM 461.15 s.] Ἡ, τὸ μακρὸν, οὗ ἢ σκιὰ δολιχή. [cfr. Ap. So. 60.3, Hesychius, Δ 2151, ΣΔ ad Γ 346] Τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τοῦ παρακολουθοῦντος. Ἡ, ὅπερ, διὰ τὸ σκιᾶ ἐντραφῆναι, δολιχὸν γέγονε”.

δολιχή, ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ παρακολουθοῦντος δηλοῖ τὸ μακρόν. ἢ ὅπερ διὰ τὸ ἐν σκιᾷ ἐκτραφῆναι γέγονε δολιχόν, ὃ καὶ ἀνεμοτρεφὲς [ἀνεμοτραφὲς Le] Ὅμηρος καλεῖ. κραταιὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰ εἰληθεροῦμενα, εὐφυέστερα δὲ τὰ σκιατραφούμενα. Le ad Z 44 = Eustath. 422, 26 (Il. 2.239.17–21 van der Valk, ad Γ 346)

Another relevant passage is the extensive supplement appended by the *editio princeps*⁷⁵ to *sch. D T 119 Ἀλκμήνης δ' ἀπέπαυσε*. This supplement does not appear in any of the MSS that have been suggested as a possible source of Lascaris' additions,⁷⁶ Escorialensis y.I.1 (E³),⁷⁷ Escorialensis Ω. I. 2 (E⁴), and Leidensis Voss. gr. F 64 (Le),⁷⁸ but it is present in its entirety⁷⁹ in Par. gr. 2681 (P³), f. 242r, and in Vat. gr. 30 (V⁵), f. 240v.

⁷⁵ It is absent in van Thiel 2000a, van Thiel 2014 but it was present in Heyne 1821, and Heyne 1834 and, from this edition, in the *TLG* (both in the CD-ROM *TLG_E* and in the online version: cf. above, p. 134).

⁷⁶ For MS E³ cf. above, p. 138. For E⁴ cf. Pontani 2017; for Voss. gr. F 64 cf. Pontani 2005, 459.

⁷⁷ In fact, the material added by the *editio princeps* that shows up in E³ is present in P³ too (I have not yet checked these passages in Vat. gr. 30). *Sch. D* to Λ 786 is published by van Thiel 2014 as follows: “γενεῖ ὑπέρτερος· τῷ τοῦ γένους ἀξιώματι κρείσσων, ἢ νεώτερος ZYQX ~ G [our Ge] | Ἵωνες γὰρ ὑπέρτερον τὸν νεώτερον L ~ E³”. But this is a plain exegetical scholion transmitted by **b**(BCE³E⁴) T and by P³ too (f. 154v, in mg.). P³ shares with **b**T and the MS of Pier Vettori (Monac. gr. 16, V in Erbse's edition) the corrupt *ὑπετέωρον* instead of *νεώτερον*; as the *editio princeps* on the contrary offers the correct reading (for which Erbse's apparatus notes “*γρ(άφεται)* νεώτερον Vict. in margine codicis V (fort. cl. D)”), the emendation must be ascribed to the *Lascarian*a. Cf. also E 812 ἀκήριον· ἀψυχοποιόν YQX La | εἰς ἀψυχίαν ἄγον La: for La's expansion cf. **b**(BCE³E⁴) T and P³ (f. 67v); Π 260 εἰνοδοῖς· τοῖς ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ οἰκοῦσιν, ὅ ἐστιν φωλεύουσιν ZYQ²⁰ La | τοῖς τὴν σφηκίαν ἔχουσι παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν La, cf. *sch. ex.* **b**(BCE³E⁴) T Π 260a παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔχουσι τὴν σφηκίαν also transmitted by P³ (207v); P 556 κατηφέη· συγγνότης, λύπη ZYQXP²⁰ La | ἀπὸ τοῦ κάτω ἔχειν τὰ φάη La = *sch. ex.* **b**(BCE³E⁴) T to P 556a, transcribed exactly as in **b** by P³ s.l. f. 217v: αἰσχύνη ἀπὸ τοῦ κάτω ἔχειν τὰ φάη, λύπη; Σ 514 τεῖχος μὲν ῥ' ἄλοχοί τε φίλαι καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς: εἰς τὸ ῥύατο στικτέον ante τὸ ἐφεσταῶτες add. La, cf. *sch. ex.* **b**(BCE³E⁴) T ad Σ 514–15b τεῖχος ... (… οὐς ἔχε γῆρας): τινὲς εἰς τὸ ῥύατο στίζουσιν κτλ., in P³ (f. 239^v) too; T 383 ἴει· ἐνεποίκιλλε, ZYQX ἐνέβαλεν La (= P³, f. 247^v s.l.); Y 2 ἀμφὶ σέ· instead of ἐξ ἐκατέρου μέρος La has ὀρθοτονητέον τὴν ἀντωνυμίαν (from *sch. ex.* **b**(BCE³) T ad Y 2a ἀμφὶ σέ, Πηλέως υἱέ), which is present in P³ (f. 247^v) as well; Y 277 λάκε· La adds ἡ διεκόπη, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱματίοις, λακίδες λέγονται αἱ διακοπαί: cf. *sch.* **b**(BCE³E⁴) T; cf. P³, 232v, from Eustath.; then follows Eustath. 1208, 39–41 (= Il. 4.409.5–7 van der Valk ἀπλῶς δὲ οὐδέποτε τὸ λακεῖν ἐπὶ ἀνθρωπίνης κυριολεκτεῖται φωνῆς· εἰ μὴ ἄρα παρὰ μόνοις τοῖς τραγικοῖς· ὡς καὶ ὁ κωμικὸς παίζων φησι τὸ φοῖβος ἔλακεν); Ψ 762 πηνίον· εἴλημα κρόκης, ZYQGe La | πάντα τὰ ἔργα ἐν παραβολαῖς εἰπών, νῦν καὶ περὶ γυναικωνίτιδος ἔφη. La: for La's expansion cf. **b**(BCE³E⁴) and P³ (278r).

⁷⁸ It is also lacking in Marc. Gr. IX, 5 (U¹⁸).

⁷⁹ Lines 20 ff. (the Pythagorean explanation) are also separately transmitted – in a more or less similar form – by Vat. Ross. 897 (gr. 37), 15th–16th century, bought by Andreas Coner at Venice in 1508 (cf., most recently, Muratore 2009, I 183 nn. 31–32; the text – at f. 52v – is published by Cumont 1923, 20); Par. gr. 2107, f. 129r (available online at: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10722212z?rk>

- T 119⁸⁰ Ἀλκμήνης δ' ἀπέπαυσε: Ζεὺς μιγείς τῇ Ἥλεκτρυόνης Ἀλκμήνῃ ὃν τρόπον εἴρηται ἐν τῇ Ξ, ἐγκυον κατέστησε, μελλούσης δὲ τίκτειν ὥμοσεν ἐν θεοῖς τὸν ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γεννηθέντα τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ βασιλεύειν. Ἦρα δὲ ζηλοτύπως διαθεθεῖσα τὰς μὲν Ἀλκμήνης ὠδίνας ἐπέσχεν, Ἀντιβείαν δέ, ἣν τινες Νικίππην εἶπον, τὴν Σθενέλου γυναῖκα κυοφοροῦσαν
- 5 Εὐρυσθέα ἐπτάμηνον τεκεῖν ἐποίησεν, ὅθεν καὶ τὰ ἐπτάμηνα γεννώμενα τροφῆς μοῖραν εἴληχε. βασιλεὺς δὲ ὢν Εὐρυσθέους Ἡρακλεῖ τοὺς ἄθλους ἐπέτασσε, οὓς τελειώσας κατὰ τὰς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑποθήκας ἀθανασίας μετέλαβε. **A d**(ZE⁴LeQU¹⁸Y La) **h**(AgBdBm¹²M¹M⁵M¹¹P¹¹R¹U⁴) | πῶς τὰ ἐπταμηνιαῖα ζωογονοῦνται, τὰ δὲ ὀκταμηνιαῖα οὐ. καὶ λέγομεν τρεῖς κινήσεις ἔχειν τὸ βρέφος ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ. τὴν κατὰ δ' μήνα, καθ' ἣν τὰς φυσικὰς
- 10 ἐμφαίνει κινήσεις, καὶ ἔτι τὴν καθ' ἔβδομον, καθ' ἣν ἔχει κίνησιν τῆς εἰς φῶς προόδου. ἀλλ' ἡ μήτηρ ἀδυνατεῖ καὶ ἄωρός ἐστιν ἀποβαλεῖν. διὰ τοῦτο γίνεταί καὶ ἑτέρα κίνησις κατὰ τὸν θ', καθ' ἣν ἔχει πρὸς δυνάμει καὶ ἡ μήτηρ ἀποβαλεῖν αὐτό. αἱ δὲ κινήσεις εὐτάκτως εἰς δ'. εἴθ' οὕτως εἰς τρεῖς, ὥς εὐσθενέστεραι. εἴτα εἰς δύο μῆνας, ὥς ἔτι εὐσθενέστεραι. ἐξ ὧν ἀποτελεῖται τὸ ἐννεάμηνον. οὕτως ἔχουσι καὶ αἱ ὀπώραι ἀποτριψιν, ὠριμότητα, καὶ
- 15 ἀποβολὴν τῆς μητρὸς, καθ' ἣν ἀποβάλλει ἡ μήτηρ ὅταν ξηρανθῇ τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῆς ὀπώρας λεγόμενον πισμάτιον. εἰς τοῖνυν τὸν ἔβδομον μῆνα, ἐπεὶ ἔχει κίνησιν τῆς εἰς φῶς προόδου· εἰ γένηται τοῦτο, ἀλγεῖ μὲν ἡ μήτηρ, τὸ δὲ βρέφος σώζεται. κατὰ δὲ τὸν η' ὃν συνεχοῦς κινήσεως οὔσης πρὸς τὸν θ', καὶ διακοπῆς ἐκείνης, ἀπόλλυται τὸ
- 20 κυοφορούμενον καὶ πολλάκις καὶ ἡ μήτηρ. εἰς γὰρ τὴν συνεχῇ κίνησιν εἰ γένηται τμησίς ἐπὶ πλεόν βλάπτει, καὶ δῆλον ἐκ τῆς φλεβοτομίας. **P³ V³ La** | οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ μαθηματικῶς ἦτοι ἀριθμητικῶς τὴν αἰτίαν ἀποδιδόασιν, λέγοντες· ἐκκείσθω τρίγωνον σκαληνὸν τὸ α'β'γ', ἔχον τὴν μὲν α'β', μονάδων δ'. τὴν δὲ β'γ', μονάδων ε'. φανερόν ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς Πυθαγορείους ὁ μὲν γ', καὶ ὁ ε' ἄρρενες, ὡς περιττοί· ὁ δὲ δ' θῆλυς, ὡς ἄρτιος. πεπολυπλασιάσθω ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ε', γίνονται κ'. καὶ ὁ ε', ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν κέ', ὁμοῦ με'. ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ ἐμβαδοῦ τοῦ
- 25 τριγώνου ἦτοι τὸν ζ', γίνονται σσ', ἃ περιέχουσι χρόνον μηνῶν θ'. πάλιν τὸν δ' ἐπὶ τὸν ε', γίνονται κ'. τὸν γ' ἐπὶ τὸν ε', γίνονται ιε', ὁμοῦ λε'. ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ ἐμβαδοῦ τοῦ τριγώνου τὸν ζ', ὁμοῦ σί'. ἃ περιέχουσι χρόνον μηνῶν ζ'. πάλιν τὸν γ', ἐπὶ τὸν ε', γίνονται ιε'. ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν γίνονται κέ', ὁμοῦ μ'. ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ ἐμβαδοῦ τὸν ζ', γίνονται σμ'. καὶ περιέχουσι χρόνον μηνῶν η'. ἐπεὶ οὖν μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν θ' καὶ ζ' κατὰ φυσικὴν συμπλοκὴν
- 30 ἄρρενος, καὶ θήλεος τοῦ ε' καὶ δ' καὶ γ', οἱ ἀριθμοὶ τῶν ζ' καὶ θ' γίνονται, εἰκότως τὰ οὕτω

=42918; the text is published by Cumont 1923, 20–21, and by de Falco 1923a [*non vidit*]; and Leid. Voss. gr. Q 20, f. 6v, which belonged to Henri Estienne, then to Isaac Voss (published by Reitzenstein 1889, 624 n. 2; the manuscript is now available online at: https://socrates.leidenuniv.nl/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=3479239). A survey of the authors that hand down this Pythagorean explanation of the vitality of the foetus of seven and nine months, as opposed to that of eight months (including our scholion) – the topic was widespread in Byzantium: cf. e.g., in an exegetical context, Johannes Protospatharios, *Ἐξήγησις φυσικὴ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἡσιόδου*, in Gaisford 1823, 450, 13 ff. – is offered by de Falco 1923b, 42 [204], with a thorough discussion. Useful also are Heiberg 1925 and Robin 1924.

80 I print the text of the *editio princeps*, c. T iiiiv. The first section of the scholion – for which no apparatus is given – is present in ZQY (and U¹⁸), in E⁴ Le, in the Venetus A and in **h** (to the MSS quoted in Muratore 2014, 83 – AgBdM¹M⁵M¹¹P¹¹R¹U⁴ – Bm¹² at least must be added). ZY A and **h** also preserve the source of the *historia*: ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Ῥιανῶι (ἀριανῶ AgBdU⁴, ἀρριανῶ M¹P¹¹, ἀρειανῶ M⁵M¹¹R¹Bm¹², ἱστορεῖ Ἀριανός Y, recte Z tantum) post μετέλαβε add. ZY A **h**.

τικτόμενα ζωογονεῖται. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἡ' μηνῶν, οὐ φαίνεται ἄρρενος συμπλοκὴ πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ. οὔτε γὰρ ὁ ε', οὔτε ὁ γ' γίνονται ἐπὶ τὸν δ', ὅς ἐστι θῆλυς. εἰκότως οὖν παρὰ φύσιν οὕσης τῆς συμπλοκῆς, οὐ ζωογονεῖται τὰ τικτόμενα **P³V⁵La** (sim. *alii*, cf. n. 79)

8 ὀκταμηνιαῖα: ὀκτω- V⁵ 9 ἔχειν: ἔχει P³V⁵ – κατὰ δ' ἡ' μήνα: κατὰ τὸν δ' ἡ' μήνα P³V⁵ 11 γίνεται P³V⁵ 13 εἰς τρεῖς: εἰς τρία P³V⁵ – εὐσθενέστεραι: -ρον P³V⁵ – εὐσθενέστεραι²: ἀσθενέστερον P³V⁵ 14 οὕτως ἔχουσι καί: οὕτω γὰρ καί P³V⁵ 15 ἀποβάλλει: ἀποβάλλει P³ 17 κατὰ δὲ τὸν: κατὰ γὰρ τὸν P³V⁵ – ἡ': ὄγδοον V⁵ – ὄν: ὄν ἐπὶ P³pc, ὄν ἐπὶ vid. P³ac, οὐ· ἐπεὶ V⁵ 18 συνεχούς: des. e corr. P³ – πρὸς τὸν θ': πρὸς τὸν ζ con1. Rufus 1559⁸¹ 20 οἱ δὲ: οἱ γὰρ P³V⁵ 22 τὴν δὲ β'γ' μονάδων ε': τὴν δὲ β'γ' μονάδων γ', τὴν δὲ α'γ' μονάδων ε' P³V⁵, τὴν δὲ α'γ' μονάδων γ' post μονάδων ε' add. Hervagius 1541 Schrevel 1656 Cambridge 1689⁸² Barnes 1711 Heyne 1821 Heyne 1834 23–24 ἐπὶ τῶν ε': sic P³V⁵La, lege ἐπὶ τὸν ε' (cf. *infra*) 24 καὶ ὁ ε', ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν κε': καὶ ὁ κ', ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν κε' V⁵ 26 ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμίσι: ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμίσι P³, ἐπὶ τὰ ἡμίσι V⁵ 28 καὶ τὸν ε' ante ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν add. P³V⁵ (recte) – ἐπὶ τὸ: ἐπὶ τὰ V⁵ 30 καὶ γ': καὶ om. V⁵ 32 ἐπὶ τὸν δ': ἐπὶ τῶν δ' P³V⁵ 33 ζωογονεῖται recte P³V⁵ Schrevel 1656 Cambridge 1689, ζωογονεῖται La Hervagius 1541

This text⁸³ combines a physical and a mathematical explanation of why seven-month- and nine-month-old children survive birth, but eight-month-old children do not. These are exactly the two kinds of explanation that John Pediasimos Pot-hos⁸⁴ declines to deal with in his short essay *Περὶ ἑπταμήνων καὶ ἑννεαμήνων*.⁸⁵

81 Rufus 1559, c. C 3rv (also quoted in Cambridge 1689, 772).

82 Cambridge 1689, 772 notes “Haec verba, τὴν δὲ α, γ, μονάδων γ. tres vetustissimae [= i.e. Al-dina 1521, Hervagius 1535, and Argent. 1539] non agnoscunt”. The Cambridge edition shows other small variant readings in comparison with the *editio princeps*: 10 καὶ ἔτι τὴν: καὶ τὴν ἔτι Cam-bridge 1689 – 18 ἐπὶ πλέον: ἐπιπλέον Cambridge 1689 – 28 γίνονται: γίνονται Cambridge 1689 (all shared with the *Hackiana* of 1656 edited by Cornelis Schrevel; the second and the third, but not the first, also in the Hervagiana of 1541)

83 Cf. van Thiel 2000b, 12 n. 34: “Ein kurioser Sonderfall ist der vermutlich neupythagoreische Text, den L nach T 119D μετέλαβεν bietet, gedruckt in allen Editionen (bei Heyne 2, 279f.): ‘πὼς τὰ ἑπταμηνιαῖα ζωογονοῦνται, τὰ δὲ ὀκταμηνιαῖα οὐ;’ Vgl. S. Weinstock in Cat. Cod. Astr. Gr. 9, 1, 1951, 101–3”. But the text referred to by van Thiel matches our text only thematically (it is from Psellus’ *Περὶ ἑπταμήνων καὶ ὀκταμήνων καὶ ἑννεαμήνων ἐμβρύων*, inc. Ἡρωτήσας τὴν αἰτίαν, λογιώτατε πάντων ἀνδρῶν, τοῦ τὰ μὲν ἑννεάμηνα ἐμβρυα..., des. οὗτος δὲ ἐκπίπτει τῶν συμφώνων διαστημάτων, published by Weinstock from MS Oxford, Bodl. Library, Barocci 131, f. 404r: cf. Moore 2005, 422, n° 1039, CET.DISC.20).

84 On Pediasimos cf. *PLP* n° 22235; Constantinides 1982, 116–125; Wilson 1983, 242–243; Macrides 1991; Bianconi 2005, *passim*, esp. 60–72; Pontani 2005, 268 n. 597, 309–310.

85 Published by Cumont 1923; cf. also Roscher 1907, 69–86; Cumont 1923; de Falco 1923a; Heiberg 1925; Constantinides 1982, 123 and n. 58. As regards the physical explanation (lines 6–16) cf. Cumont 1923, 14, lines 6–7 (just at the beginning of the essay): καὶ φυσικοὶ μὲν ἑτέραν ἀποδιδοῦσι τὴν ἀπόδειξιν, ἣν οὐ καιρὸς λέγειν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰς μῆκος τὴν ἐπίλυσιν προελθεῖν. A list of some exam-ples of this kind of explanation is provided in Cumont’s apparatus of *loci similes*. Concerning the

At line 22 (of the text above) both P³ and V⁵ show the sound text, whereas the *ed. pr.* omits some words owing to a *saut du même au même* (cf. also line 26 καὶ τὸν ε' P³V⁵, om. La); but at lines 24, 28, and 30 it is only P³La that show the correct reading, while V⁵ has a (slightly) corrupt one (the opposite, again a mere slip, happens at line 13), and at line 16 Lascaris' κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἦ' ὄν συνεχοῦς stems from P³'s κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἦ' ὄν ἐπ(ε)ὶ συνεχοῦς, rather than from V⁵'s κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἦ' οὐ· ἐπεὶ συνεχοῦς.

Also several other supplements to existing *D-scholia* specific to the *editio princeps* are in both P³ and V⁵, but the agreement is often better with the former.

Γ 362 κόρυθος φάλον: van Thiel rightly connects Lascaris' supplement (at the end of the *D-scholia*) καὶ 'φαληριῶσα πέτρα' (Lycophr. 188), καὶ 'φαληριόωντα κύματα' (N 798–799) with Eustathius 424, 9; but his immediate source was most likely P³, where the *D-scholion* runs above the Homeric verse and between the two columns of the Homeric text, in a slightly abbreviated form, but supplemented, at the end, by these exact words extracted from a wider Eustathian text. The supplement is also present in V⁵ (f. 34v), with some minor mistakes (ὕλοι instead of ἥλοι in the *D-scholia*, φαληριῶσα and φαληριόωντα in the expansion).

E 178 ἐπιμῆνις· ἐπίμονος ὄργη: van Thiel traces to Herodianus the material added by Lascaris after ὄργη (ἢ ἐπὶ περισσῇ ὡς τὸ βοῶν ἐπιβουκόλος ἀνὴρ); but cf. P³ (s.l. and in the inner margin): ἢ ἐπὶ περισσῇ ὡς καὶ τὸ βοῶν ἐπιβουκόλος ἀνὴρ, ἢ ὄργη ἐπίμονος (περισσὴ τὸ τὸ βοῶν ἐπιβουκόλος ἀνὴρ V⁵ s.l.)

E 629 ὥρσεν ... κραταιή: this is an exegetical scholion transmitted by b(BCE³E⁴) T, but also by Q and some h-manuscripts; at the end, after εἰς Κρήτην ἐκόμισεν, b adds ἀφ' ἧς φασι Σαρπηδόνα γενέσθαι; P³ (f. 61v) and V⁵ (f. 67v) add further on Μίνωα καὶ 'Ραδάμανθυν; and we find in the *Lascariana* ἀφ' ἧς φασι Σαρπηδόνα γενέσθαι καὶ Μίνωα καὶ 'Ραδάμανθυν.

Λ 736 συμφερόμεσθα· συννήχθημεν: La adds συνεβάλομεν εἰς μάχην: cf. P³ (f. 153v) and V⁵ (f. 150r) συμφέρεσθαι τὸ συμβάλλειν (συμβάλλειν V⁵) εἰς μάχην ἀφ' ὧν καὶ συμβολή ὁ πόλεμος (πολέμιος V⁵) καὶ συμπερτὴ ἀρετὴ οἰονεῖ κτλ.

Finally, several other short scholia added by the *editio princeps* seem to derive from material present in Par. gr. 2681, but not in Vat. gr. 30.⁸⁶ Excluding the material present in Psellos' paraphrasis too,⁸⁷ they are:

geometrical explanation (lines 17–end) cf. Cumont 1923, 18, lines 25–26 (at the very end of the text): Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ἀπολογίαι γεωμετρικώτεραι τῶν εἰρημένων, ἀλλὰ ἄρκουσι ταῦτα.

86 Present in both P³ and V⁵ are: B 561 Ἡϊόνας τε· οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐνικῶς (= P³V⁵ s.l.) – N 207 νίωνοιο· ἐκγόνου (cf. τοῦ Ἀμφιμάχου δηλονότι ὃν Ἔκτωρ ἀνείλεν ἐ ἐγγόνου P³V⁵) – P 621 κύψας· ὡς πεζός (= P³V⁵ s.l.).

87 Δ 504 ἀράβησε δέ· ἤχησε δέ (ἤχησε P³ s.l.) – E 57 διὰ δὲ στήθεσφι· διὰ τοῦ στήθους (διὰ τοῦ στήθους διήλθεν καὶ ... ἐπέλασεν vid. P³ s.l.) – E 245 τόξων εὖ εἰδώς· τῆς τοξικῆς ἐπιστήμων (τῆς τοξικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἔμπειρος P³ s.l., cf. τῆς τοξικῆς ἔμπειρος Psell.) – E 280 προῖει· προέπεμψεν (προέπεμψεν P³ s.l., Psell.) – E 653 ἐξ ἐμέθεν· ἐξ ἐμοῦ (ἐξ ἐμοῦ P³ s.l., Psell.) – E 654 εὐχος·

Α 98 πρὶν γ' ἄπο· ὑπερβατόν (= P³ s.l.) – Α 477 φάνη· ἐφάνη (εἴπερ καλῆς ἡμέρα ἐφάνη P³ in mg.) – Β 535 πέρην· πέραν (ραν vid. P³ s.l.) – Ε 236 ἐλάσση· ἀπελάση (ἀπελάση, ἀπαγάγη P³ s.l.) – Ε 751 ἀνακλῖναι· διαστεῖλαι, ἀναζυγῶσαι, ἀναστεῖλαι (διαστεῖλαι P³V⁵ s.l., ἀναζυγῶσαι, ἀνακλῖναι P³ s.l. from a different hand) – Ε 784 ἦῦσεν· ἐφώνησε (ἐφώνησε P³ s.l.) – Ζ 32 ἐνῆρατο· ἐφόνευσσε (ἐφόνευσσε(ν) P³ s.l.) – Θ 554 εἴατο· ἐκαθέζοντο (ἐκάθεντο P³ s.l.) – Α 399 ἐπέτελλε· ἐπέταττεν (= P³ s.l.) – Α 403 ὀχθήσας· λυπηθείς (= P³ s.l.) – Α 553 ἀντίον· κατὰ πρόσωπον (= P³ s.l.) – Μ 259 ἐμόχλευον· διὰ μοχλῶν ἐκίνουν (= P³ s.l.) – Μ 339 ἵπποκόμων· ἐχουσῶν κόμας ἐξ ἱππεῖων τριχῶν (= P³ s.l.) – Μ 414 μᾶλλον· ἢ τὸ πρότερον (ἢ πρότερον P³ s.l.) – Μ 414 ἐπέβρισαν· βαρεῖς ἐπῆλθον τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς (βαρέως ἦλθον τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς P³ s.l.) – Ο 245 ὀλιγηπελέων· ὀλιγοθυμῶν (= P³ s.l.) – Ο 263 στατός· ἀναπεπαυμένος, ἰστάμενος (ἀναπεπαυμένος Psell., ἰστάμενος P³ s.l.) – Ρ 557 ἔσσεται· γενήσεται (γενήσεται P³ in mg.)

In conclusion, we have identified – I hope plausibly – the sources of an important portion of the material added by the *editio princeps* to Q (Vat. gr. 33), the manuscript of the *D-scholia* that has been used as the main exemplar. This material, of which a definite source is now recognized, must accordingly be removed from the text of an edition of the *D-scholia* (but not from the apparatuses, for obvious historical reasons).

Other sources (perhaps a manuscript from the **h** family) must, in all likelihood, be added, and the particular manuscript of Psellos' paraphrasis used by Lascaris is still to be identified. Therefore, our findings are far from conclusive.

It seems certain that any new edition of the scholia to the *Iliad* must involve a systematic examination of the huge amount of manuscript material that has come down to us. And also that the scrutiny of the printed tradition of these texts will be rewarding not only with respect to cultural history – which would be precious in any case – but also, although on a smaller scale, for the constitution of the text.

καύχημα, δόξαν (καύχημα P³ in mg., Psell.) – Ε 783 ἀλαπαδνόν· ἀσθενές (ἀσθενές P³ s.l., Psell.) – Ε 808 ἐπιτάρροθος· βοηθός (βοηθός P³ s.l., Psell., E³) – Ε 808 ἦα· ἦν, ὑπῆρχον (ἦν Psell., ὑπῆρχον Psell. MS Le; ἦν, τροπῇ τοῦ ε εἰς η καὶ τοῦ ι εἰς α καὶ ἐκβολῇ τοῦ ν ἦα P³) – Ι 702 ἦ κε μένη· ἐάν μένη (ἦ ἐάν ἀπέλθῃ ἦ ἐάν μένη P³ ad Ι 701, cf. Psell. ἐάν τε παραγένηται ἐάν τε μένη) – Ν 492 κτίλον· κριόν (ὡς προβατεὺς ὁ ποιητὴς λέγει ἀλαλοῦσθαι (vid.) | ὀπιθεν κριόν P³, cf. Psell.) – Ο 107 οὐδ' ὄθεται· οὐδ' ἐπιστρέφεται (ἐπιστρέφεται· λογίζεται γάρ ὡς οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτε κτλ. P³, cf. Psell.). For these scholia I have not yet checked Vat. gr. 30.

Appendices

1. *Scholienbestand* of Q (and U¹⁸) in *Iliad* Ω

hyp. I, *hyp.* II, Ω 1 λῦτο δ' ἄγών, Ω 2 δόρποιο μέδοντο, Ω 124 ἐντύνοντο, Ω 8 πείρων, Ω 11 τότε δὲ, Ω 12 δινεύεσκεν, Ω 105 ἄλαστον, Ω 12 ἀλύων, Ω 125 λάσιος, Ω 96 λιάζετο κύμα, Ω 102 ὤρεξεν, Ω 91 ἄκριτα, Ω 125 ἱέρευτο, Ω 128 τέο μέχρι, Ω 129 ἔδεται, Ω 147 ἰήνη, Ω 139 τῇδ' εἶη ὅς ἄποινα φέροι, Ω 137 νεκροῖο δέδεξο, Ω 151 ἄγοιτο, Ω 141 νηῶν ἀγύρει, Ω 153 πομπόν, Ω 153 ὀπάσσομεν, Ω 157 ἄσκοπος, Ω 157 ἀλιτήμων, Ω 158 ἰκέτεω, Ω 158 πεφιδήσεται, Ω 162 ἔφυρον, Ω 163 ἐντυπὰς ἐν χλαίνῃ κεκαλυμμένος, Ω 164 κόπρος, Ω 165 κατεμήσατο, Ω 185 ἐρύξει, Ω 187 ἐνδυκέως, Ω 166 νυοί, Ω 172 ὄσσομένη, Ω 190 ὄπλισαι, Ω 168 κέατο, Ω 190 πείρινθα, Ω 191 κήωντα, Ω 192 κέδρινον ὑψόφορον, Ω 192 γλήνεα, Ω 194 διόθεν, Ω 198 αἰνῶς, Ω 202 ἔκλεο, Ω 205 σιδήρεον ἦτορ, Ω 206 αἰρήσει, Ω 207 ὠμηστής, Ω 189 ἡμιονεῖν, Ω 213 προσφῦσα, Ω 211 ἀργίποδας, Ω 213 ἄντιτα, Ω 214 οὐ ἐκακίζόμενον, Ω 219 ὄρνις κακός, Ω 222 νοσφιζοίμεθα, Ω 227 γόου ἐξ ἔρον εἶην, Ω 22 μενεαίνων, Ω 29 νείκεσεν, Ω 24 κλέψαι δ' ὀτρύνεσκον Ἄργειφόντην, Ω 221 θυοσκόος, Ω 221 ἱερῆς, Ω 228 φωριαμῶν, Ω 227 ἐξ ἔρον εἶην, Ω 228 ἐπιθήματα, Ω 232 τάλαντα, Ω 230 ἀπλοΐδας, Ω 235 ἐξεσίην, Ω 228 ἀνέωγεν, Ω 238 αἰσχροῖς, Ω 239 ἔρρετε, Ω 239 ἐλεγχές, Ω 240 κηδήσοντες, Ω 247 διέπε, Ω 241 ἡ ὀνόσασθε, Ω 245 κεραιζομένην, Ω 248 σπερχομένοιο, Ω 248 ὁμόκλα, Ω 250 Πολίτην, Ω 253 κατηφόνες, Ω 254 πεφάσθαι, Ω 255 πανάποτμος, Ω 261 χοροῖτυπῆσιν ἄριστοι, Ω 257 ἵπποχάρμην, Ω 58 θήσατο, Ω 262 ἐπιδήμιοι ἀρπακτῆρες, Ω 267 πρωτοπαγέα, Ω 78 Ἴμβρος, Ω 269 ὀμφαλόεν, Ω 269 οἰήκεσσι, Ω 54 κωφὴν γὰρ δὴ γαῖαν ἀεικίζεις, Ω 270 ζυγόδεσμον, Ω 272 πέζη ἐπὶ πρώτῃ, Ω 19 ἀεικείν, Ω 29 νείκεσσε θεάς, Ω 29 μέσσαυλον, Ω 30 ἦνυσεν, Ω 30 μαχλοσύνην, Ω 33 δηλήμονες, Ω 41 γναμπτόν, Ω 40 ἐναΐσιμοι φρένες, Ω 45 σίνεται, Ω 47 ἡ ἐ κασίγνητον ὁμογάστριον ἡ καὶ υἱόν, Ω 48 μεθῆκεν, Ω 57 ὁμήν, Ω 46 ὀλέσαι, Ω 60 ἀτίτηλα, Ω 65 ἀποσκύδαινε, Ω 68 ἐπεὶ οὐτὶ φίλων ἡμάρτανε δώρων, Ω 71 κλέψαι μὲν ἔασωμεν, Ω 24 εὐσκοπον, Ω 73 μήτηρ παρμέμβλωκεν, Ω 80 βυσσόν, Ω 75 πυκινὸν ἔπος, Ω 79 μείλανι, Ω 80 μολυβδαῖνη, Ω 81 βοὸς κέρας, Ω 94 ἔσθος, Ω 251 Δηϊφοβόν τε {Πάριν τε} καὶ Ἰππόθοον, Ω 81 ἔρχεται ἐμμεμαυῖα, Ω 272 ἔστορι, Ω 272 ἐπὶ δὲ κρίκον ἔστορι βάλλον, Ω 273 ἐπ' ὀμφαλόν, Ω 274 γλῶχινα, Ω 274 ἔγναμψαν, Ω 275 ἐπ' ἀπήνης, Ω 277 ἐντεσιεργούς, Ω 278 Μυσοί, Ω 279 ὑπαγον ζυγόν, Ω 283 ἀγχίμολον, Ω 241 (ὀνόσασθε), Ω 293 καὶ εὐ κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον, Ω 292 οἰωνόν, Ω 287 τῇ, Ω 300 ἐφιεμένη, Ω 303 ἀκήρατον, Ω 302 ταμῖν, Ω 296 ἐὼν ἄγγελον, Ω 304 χέρνιβον, Ω 306 ἔρκει, Ω 309 ἐλεεινόν, Ω 315 τελειότατον, Ω 316 μορφονόν, Ω 316 περκνόν, Ω 317 ὑψοφόροιο, Ω 319 εἷσατο, Ω 318 εὐκλήϊς ἀραρυῖα, Ω 324 τετράκυκλον, Ω 322 σπερχόμενος, Ω 324 ἀπήνην, Ω 323 ἐριδούπου, Ω 341 ἐφ'

ὑγρήν, Ω 326 ἐφέπων, Ω 342 ἀπείρονα, Ω 335 ἑταιρίσαιοτο, Ω 345 κρατύς, Ω 343
 θέλγει, Ω 347 αἰσνητήρι, Ω 348 πρῶτον ὑπηνήτη, Ω 348 χαριεστάτη ἤβη, Ω 352 ἐξ
 ἀγχιμόλοιο, Ω 349 μέγα σῆμα παρέξ Ἴλοιο ἔλασσαν, Ω 354 φραδέος νόου ἔργα
 τέτυκται, Ω 355 διαρραῖσαι, Ω 360 ταφών, Ω 360 ἐριούνιος, Ω 362 ἰθύνεις, Ω 365
 ἀνάρσιοι, Ω 370 οὐδέν, Ω 367 ὀνειάτα, Ω 358 σὺν δὲ γέροντι νόος χύτο, Ω 359 ὀρθαὶ
 δὲ τρίχες ἔσταν, Ω 369 ἀπαμύνεσθαι, Ω 371 ἀπαλεξήσαιμι, Ω 375 ὁδοιπόρον, Ω 377
 πέπνυσαι, Ω 388 οἶτον, Ω 388 ἀπότμου, Ω 376 αἴσιον, Ω 391 κυδιανεῖρη, Ω 390
 πειρᾷ ἐμεῖο γεραίε, Ω 376 ἀγητός, Ω 387 τέων, Ω 392 εὖτε, Ω 396 μία δ' ἤγαγε νηὺς
 εὐεργής, Ω 400 μεταπαλλόμενος, Ω 403 (ἀσχαλώωσι), Ω 404 ἴσχειν, Ω 409
 μελεΐστί, Ω 413 αὐτως ἐν κλισίῃ, Ω 414 εὐλαί, Ω 418 αἰσχύνει, Ω 415 ἀρηιφάτους,
 Ω 417 ἀκηδέστω, Ω 418 θειοῖο κεν, Ω 419 ἐρσήεις, Ω 420 μιάρός, Ω 420 μέμυκεν,
 Ω 421 ἐτύπη, Ω 425 ἐναίσιμα, Ω 426 εἴ ποτ' ἔην γε, Ω 428 ἐπεμνήσαντο, Ω 433
 πειρᾷ, Ω 757 πρόσφατος, Ω 428 αἴση, Ω 425 διδοῦναι, Ω 429 ἄλεισον, Ω 430 σὺν γε
 θεοῖσιν, Ω 434 παρέξ Ἀχιλῆα, Ω 434 κέλη, Ω 436 συλεύειν, Ω 439 οὐ κεν τίς τοι
 πομπὸν ὀνοσσάμενος, Ω 438 ὁμαρτέων, Ω 439 ὀνοσσάμενος, Ω 444 δόρπα, Ω 446
 ἀπῶσεν, Ω 446 ὀχῆας, Ω 450 δοῦρα, Ω 450 κέρσαντες, Ω 450 ἔρειψαν, Ω 451
 λαχνήεντ' ὄροφον, Ω 451 λειμωνόθεν ἀμήσαντες, ** ἐρμυνήν, ** ἐρύουσιν, Ω 453
 σταυροῖσιν, Ω 453 θύρην, Ω 453 ἐπιβλής, Ω 454 ἐπιρρήσεσκον, Ω 460 ἄμβροτος,
 Ω 464 ἀγαπαζέμεν, Ω 475 ἐδωδῆς, Ω 478 κύσε, Ω 487 τηλικού, Ω 488 ἀμφὶς ἐόντες,
 Ω 496 ἱῆς, Ω 489 ἀρήν, Ω 496 νηδύος, Ω 446 ὦξεν, Ω 462 οὐδ' Ἀχιλλέως
 ὀφθαλμοῖσιν, Ω 476 ἔτι καὶ παρέκειτο τράπεζα, Ω 500 ἀμυνόμενον, Ω 503 αἰδεῖο,
 Ω 506 ὀρέγεσθαι, Ω 528 ἐάων, Ω 463 ὀφθαλμοὺς εἴσειμι, Ω 480 ὥς δ' ὅταν ἄνδρα
 ἄτη πυκινὴ λάβῃ ... καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, Ω 491 ἐπεὶ ἔλπεται, Ω 506 ἀνδρὸς παιδοφόνου
 ποτὶ στόμα χεῖρ' ὀρέγεσθαι, Ω 525 ἐπέκλωσεν, Ω 526 ἀκηδέες, Ω 510 ἐλυσθείς, Ω
 524 κρυεροῖο, Ω 507 ὑφ' ἡμερον ὥρσε γόοιο, Ω 513 τετάρπετο, Ω 518 (ἄνσχεο), Ω
 527 δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, Ω 531 λυγρῶν, Ω 529
 καμμίξας, Ω 530 ἄλλοτε μὲν τε κακῶ ὃ γε κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῶ, Ω 530 κύρεται,
 Ω 531 λωβητόν, Ω 532 βούβρωστις, Ω 533 φοιτᾷ, Ω 533 τετιμμένος, Ω 536 ὄλβω, Ω
 539 γονή, Ω 539 κρειόντων, Ω 540 πανάωριον, Ω 541 κομίζει, Ω 542 κήδων, Ω 544
 Λέσβος ἄνω Μάκαρος ἔδος, Ω 544 ἐέργει, Ω 598 τῶν ἔτερον, Ω 545 ἄπειρος, Ω 551
 πρὶν κακὸν ἄλλο πάθησθα, Ω 557 ἔασας, Ω 567 μετοχλίσσειεν, Ω 569 μὴ σε γέρων
 οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἐνὶ κλισίῃσιν ἐάσω, Ω 546 κεκάσθαι, Ω 556 ἀπόναιο, Ω 545 ἀπείρων, Ω
 570 ἀλίτωμαι, Ω 559 τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδών, Ω 572 θύραζε, Ω 579 ἥρεον, Ω 566
 φυλακούς, Ω 577 καλήτορα, Ω 580 εὐνήτον, Ω 584 χόλον οὐκ ἐρύσαιτο, Ω 595
 ἀποδάσσομαι, Ω 592 σκυδμαινέμεν, Ω 597 κλισμῶ, Ω 594 ἐπεὶ οὐ μοι ἀεικέα δῶκεν
 ἄποινα, Ω 578 εὐσώτρου, Ω 607 ἰσάσκετο, Ω 567 μετοχλίσσειεν, Ω 614
 οἰοπόλοισιν, Ω 611 λαοὺς δὲ λίθους ποίησε Κρονίων, Ω 584 ἐρύσαιτο, Ω 616
 νυμφάων, Ω 616 αἶτ' ἀμφ' Ἀχελῷον ἐρρώσαντο, Ω 621 ἀργύφεον, Ω 625 ἐπένειμε,
 Ω 630 ὄσσοι, Ω 632 ἀγαθὴν, Ω 633 τάρπησαν, Ω 635 λέξον, Ω 527 οὔδει, Ω 527 ἐν

Διὸς οὐδαι, Ω 617 θεῶν ἐκ κήδεα πέσσει, Ω 622 ἄμφεπον, Ω 640 αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτοις, Ω 615 Σίπυλον, Ω 641 πασάμην, Ω 602 καὶ γάρ τ' ἠὺκομος Νιόβη ἐμνήσατο σίτου, Ω 642 λαυκανίης, Ω 644 δέμνια, Ω 642 οὔτι πεπάσμην, Ω 646 ἔσσασθαι, Ω 648 ἐγκονέουσαι, Ω 657 ποσσημαρ, Ω 618 μεδώμεθα, Ω 637 μύσαν, Ω 661 θείης, Ω 670 σχήσω, Ω 671 ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρα γέροντος ἔλλαβε δεξιτέρην, Ω 657 κτερεῖζέμεν, Ω 673 προδόμῳ, Ω 692 πόρον, Ω 665 δαίνυτο λαός, Ω 696 ἔλων, Ω 696 οἰμωγῇ, Ω 700 Πέργαμον, Ω 701 ἀστυβοώτην, Ω 704 ὄψεσθε, Ω 708 ἀάσχετον, Ω 709 ξύμβληντο, Ω 716 οὐρεῦσι, Ω 720 τρητοῖς, Ω 720 αἰοιδούς, Ω 725 ἀπ' αἰῶνος, Ω 728 ἥβην, Ω 728 ἴξεσθαι, Ω 729 ἐπίσκοπος, Ω 730 ῥύσκει, Ω 731 ὀχήσονται, Ω 730 κεδνάς, Ω 730 ἔσχες, Ω 733 ἀεικέα, Ω 734 ἀεθλεύων, Ω 734 πρὸ ἄνακτος, Ω 734 ἀμειλίχου, Ω 739 ἔσκε, Ω 741 ἀρητόν, Ω 747 ἀδινού, Ω 731 οἰκήσονται, Ω 734 ἥ τις Ἀχαιῶν ῥίψει χειρὸς ἐλών, Ω 753 ἀμιχαλόεσσαν, Ω 755 ῥυστάζεσκεν, Ω 754 ταναηκεί, Ω 758 ὄν τ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων οἷς ἀγανοῖσι βέλεσσιν ἐποιχόμενος κατέπεφνεν, Ω 757 πρόσφατος, Ω 757 ἐρσήεις, Ω 759 ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσι, Ω 765 ἤδη γὰρ νῦν μοι τόδε εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἐστὶν ἐξ οὗ ἐκείθεν ἔβην, Ω 767 ἀσύφηλον, Ω 768 ἐνίπτοι, Ω 770 ἐκυρή, Ω 771 παραιφάμενος, Ω 772 ἀγανοφροσύνη, Ω 773 ἄμμορον, Ω 775 πάντες δέ με πεφρίκασιν, Ω 776 ἀπείρων, Ω 781 πημαίνειν, Ω 785 φασισμβροτος, Ω 787 ὑπάτη, Ω 784 ἀγίνεον, Ω 793 λέγοντο, Ω 794 κατειβετο, Ω 795 λάρνακα, Ω 796 μαλακοῖσι, Ω 801 χεύαντες, Ω 797 κάπετον, Ω 799 σκοποί, Ω 799 εἶατο, Ω 804 ἀμφίεπον.

2. Some notes on Lascaris' rearrangement of the scholia

With regard to the rearrangement of the scholia performed by the *editio princeps*, I take some examples from book Ω (the one van Thiel used to illustrate omissions of the *Lascariana*).⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Van Thiel 2000b, 13 and n. 35 says that “Umgekehrt fehlen in L, vermutlich aus Unachtsamkeit, nicht wenige Scholien, die in seiner Vorlage Q stehen und zum Bestand gehören” and, in a note, “L hat ausgelassen, Beispiele Buch Ω: 58 60 62 63 78 80 94 166 172 187 341 345 357 372 409 487 514”. Leaving aside some mere *lapsus* (Ω 357, where there is no scholion, must stand for 367 ὄνειδα, omitted by Lascaris; and similarly “372” is likely to stand for Ω 392 εὔτε), van Thiel's note needs to be supplemented and rectified as follows: 1) some scholia are already missing in the exemplar of La: Ω 62 ἀντιάτε, Ω 63 κακῶν ἔταρε, Ω 487 ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ, Ω 514 ἀπὸ πραπίδων ἦλυθ' ἵμερος (and Ω 662 ἐέλμεθα, Ω 673 προστόφ, Ω 752 πέρνασκε, omitted in van Thiel's note); 2) La also omits other scholia present in the model: Ω 128 τέο μέχρι, Ω 269 οἴκεσι, Ω 270 ζυγόδεσμον, Ω 272 πέζη ἐπὶ πρώτῃ, Ω 434 παρὲξ Ἀχιλῆα, Ω 446 ὦξεν, Ω 462 οὐδ' Ἀχιλλέως ὀφθαλμοῖσιν, Ω 506 ὀρέγεσθαι, Ω 525 ἐπέκλωσεν, Ω 556 ἀπόναιο, Ω 570 ἀλίτωμαι, Ω 570 ἀλίτωμαι, Ω 578 ἐνυσώτρου, Ω 598 τῶν ἕτερον, Ω 637 μύσαν, Ω 731 ὀχήσονται, Ω 739 ἔσκε; 3) to the contrary, it does not omit *sch.* Ω 187 ἐνδυκέως· ἐπμελῶς which, however, is incorrectly

At times it has not been successful: the placement remains incorrect e.g. at Ω 595 ἀποδάσσομαι, Ω 592 σκυδμινέμεν; the placement is incorrect in a different way from the exemplar e.g. at Ω 559 τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν which is between Ω 570 ἀλίτωμαι and Ω 572 θύραζε in Q, but between Ω 566 φυλάκους and Ω 569 μή σε γέρων οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἐνὶ κλισίῃσιν ἔάσω in the *ed. pr.*

The rearrangement led

- to the removal of scholia that do not refer to the Homeric text: post Ω 451 ἐρυμνήν· ἰσχυράν, ἀσφαλῆ add. ZQU¹⁸, ἐρύουσιν· φυλάσσουσι add. ZXQU¹⁸: neither ἐρυμνήν nor ἐρύουσιν appear in *Iliad* Ω – and ἐρυμνήν is quite unknown to Homer – and the scholia are accordingly omitted by the *ed. pr.*; for further examples see e.g. post Δ 67 δειδίσσεσθαι ZQX, om. La; post K 133 προτροπάδην· προθύμως ZYQX, om. La; post Λ 223 εἴσω δάμασεν· ἔνδον διέκοψεν ZYQ, om. La; post Ξ 445 ἀντιόω· μεταλήψομαι ZYQX, om. La (= *sch. D N 752*) and πέτετο· ἔτρεχεν ὑπερβολικῶς ZYQX, om. La (cf. N 755 [lemma], E 366 [gloss]); post Ξ 512 ἀνείρετο· ἀνηρώτησεν YQX, om. La (for the lemma cf. Φ 508, η 21); etc.
- to adjust the lemma (and the corresponding gloss) to the Homeric text: Ω 335 ἐταιρίσαιο· ἐταῖρον λάβῃ, συνεργήσῃ Q / ἐταιρίσαι [~ Hom.]· ἐταίρω βοηθήσαι La – Ω 413 αὐτως (αὖ- Q) ἐν κλισίῃ κτλ. Q / αὐτως ἐν κλισίῃσι [= Hom. v.l.] κτλ. La; for further examples see e.g. B 663 ὄζος Ἄρεως· πολεμικός Q / ὄζον [= Hom.] Ἄρεως· πολεμικόν La – B 695 ἀνθεμόεσσαν· ἄνθη φέρουσιν Q / ἀνθεμόεντα [= Hom.]· ἄνθη φέροντα, φυτοῖς θαλερόν La (for φυτοῖς θαλερόν cf. Eustath. 324, 18, *Il.* 1.504.28 van der Valk τόπος γὰρ ἀνθεμόεις ὁ φυτοῖς θαλερὸς καὶ ἀνθηρὸς παρὰ τὸ ἄνθεμον, ὃ σημαίνει τὸ ἄνθος) – B 780 νέμοντο· περιεβόσκοντο Q / νέμοιτο [= Hom.]· περιεβόσκετο La – B 865 Ταλαίμενος· Ταλαίμονος Q / Πυλαιμένος [= Hom. v.l.]· Πυλαιμένους La – Σ 351 ἀλείφατα· ἀπὸ ἀλείμματος ἐλαίου Q / ἀλείφατος· ἀπὸ ἀλείμματος ἐλαίου La – Ψ 328 πύθεσθαι· σήπεσθαι, φθείρεσθαι Q / καταπύθεται [= Hom.]· σήπεται, φθείρεται La – Ψ 463 νῦν δ' οὐ πῃ κτλ. Q / νῦν δ' οὐ πῶ [= Hom. v.l.] κτλ. La

placed between Ω 157 ἀλιτήμων and Ω 158 ἰκετέω although it is in the right place in Q (and U¹⁸); 4) in Ω 409 μελεῖστί La omits only ἀντὶ τοῦ κατατετηγμένου (absent already in QU¹⁸ and transmitted by Z alone).

Bibliography

- Allen, Th.W. (1924), *Homer: the Origins and Transmission*, Oxford.
- Argent. (1539) = Ὀμήρου ἑξηγητής. *Homeri Interpres*, cum indice locupletissimo, Argentorati (per Vuendelinum Rihelium).
- Barberi, F./Cerulli, E. (1972), "Le edizioni greche in *Gymnasio medico ad Caballinum montem*", in *Atti del Convegno di Studi su Angelo Colocci* (Jesi, 13–14 settembre 1969, Palazzo della Signoria), Jesi, 61–76.
- Barnes, J. (ed.) (1711), Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάς καὶ Ὀδύσσεια καὶ εἰς αὐτὰς σχόλια, ἢ ἐξηγήσεις, τῶν Παλαιῶν. *Homeri Ilias et Odyssea, Et in easdem Scholia, sive Interpretatio, Veterum. Item Notae perpetuae, in Textum et Scholia, Variae Lectiones, etc. cum Versione Latina emendatissima. Accedunt Batrachomyomachia, Hymni et Epigrammata, una cum Fragmentis, et Gemini Indices. Totum Opus cum Plurimis MSS. Vetustissimis, et Optimis Editionibus Collatum, Auctum, Emendatum, et Priscae Integritati Restitutum...*, Cantabrigiae.
- Bertola, M. (ed.) (1942), *I due primi registri di prestito della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Codici Vaticani Latini 3964, 3966*, pubblicati in fototipia e in trascrizione con note e indici, Città del Vaticano.
- Bianconi, D. (2005), *Tessalonica nell'età dei Paleologi. Le pratiche intellettuali nel riflesso della cultura scritta*, Paris.
- Bignami Odier, J. (1973), *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI. Recherches sur l'histoire des collections de manuscrits*, avec la collab. de J. Ruyschaert, Città del Vaticano.
- Brunet, J.Ch. (1860–1865), *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, I–VI, Paris 1860–1865.
- Cambridge (1689) = Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάς καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν σχόλια τῶν παλαιῶν. *Homeri Ilias et Veterum in Eam Scholia Quae vulgo appellantur Didymi: Totum Opus cum Plurimis, Vetustiss. et Optimis Edit. collatum; Et Luculenter ex Earum fide Restitutum...*, Cantabrigiae (ex Officina Joann. Hayes), 1689.
- Canart, P. (1977), "Un copiste expansif: Jean Sévère de Lacédémone", in K. Treu (ed.), *Studia Codicologica*, Berlin, 117–139 (= Canart 2008, 285–317).
- Canart, P. (1977–1979), "Démétrius Damilas alias le Librarianus Florentinus", in *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 14–16, 281–347 (= Canart 2008, 451–522).
- Canart, P. (2008), *Études de paléographie et de codicologie*, reprod. avec la collab. de M.L. Agati et M. D'Agostino, I–II, Città del Vaticano.
- Cardinali, G. (ed.) (2015), *Inventari di manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Vaticana sotto il pontificato di Giulio II (1503–1513), introduzione, edizione e commento*, Città del Vaticano.
- Castelli, C. (2013), "Due scolî a *Iliade* I 1 nei supporti cartacei dell'*Ilias Picta*: considerazioni e prospettive di indagine", in *Κοινωνία* 37, 225–234.
- Cataldi Palau, A. (2001), "Legature constantinopolitane del monastero di Prodomo Petra tra i manoscritti di Giovanni di Ragusa", in *Codices manuscripti* 37/38, 11–50 (= Ead., *Studies in Greek Manuscripts*, I–II, Spoleto 2008, part. I n° 12, pp. 235–280 e 16 tavv., from which I quote).
- Cavagna, A.G. (1985), "Lianoro Lianori", in P.G. Bietenholz/T.B. Deutscher (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, I–III, Toronto/Buffalo/London, I, 168–169.
- Constantinides, C.N. (1982), *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204–ca. 1310)*, Nicosia.

- Cullhed, E. (2012), "The Autograph Manuscripts Containing Eustathius's *Commentary on the Odyssey*", in *Mnemosyne* 65, 445–461.
- Cumont, F. (1923), "L'opuscule de Jean Pédiasimos Περὶ ἐπταμήνων καὶ ἑννεαμήνων", in *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 2, 1, 5–21.
- D'Aiuto, F./Vian, P. (eds.) (2001), *Guida ai fondi manoscritti, numismatici, a stampa della Biblioteca Vaticana*, I–II, Città del Vaticano.
- De Falco, V. (ed.) (1923a), *In Ioannis Pediasimi libellum de partu septemmestri ac novemmestri nondum editum* (Περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἐπτάμηνος καὶ ἑννεάμηνος ὁ τόκος σώζεται), Napoli.
- De Falco, V. (1923b), "L'aritmologia pitagorica nei *Commenti ad Esiodo*", in *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica* 7, 3–4, 25–53 [187–215].
- De Gand, M.J. (1845), *Recherches historiques et critiques sur la vie et les éditions de Thierry Martens (Martinus, Mertens): ouvrage revu, annoté et augmenté de la galerie des hommes nés à Alost, qui se sont distingués aussi bien dans la philosophie, l'histoire et la politique, que dans les sciences et les arts*, Alost.
- De Marco ed. sch. = de Marco's unfinished critical edition of the *D-scholia to Iliad* I–XVIII.
- De Marco, V. (1932), "Sulla tradizione manoscritta degli *scholia minora* all'*Iliade*", in *Atti e Memorie della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* s. VI, 4, 371–407 [= separate offprint, 1–37, from which I quote].
- Deutscher, T.B. (1985), "Lorenzo Bartolini", in P.G. Bietenholz/T.B. Deutscher (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, I–III, Toronto/Buffalo/London, I, 97.
- Devreesse, R. (1962), "Pour l'histoire des manuscrits du fonds Vatican grec", in *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda*, Città del Vaticano, I, 315–336.
- Devreesse, R. (1965), *Le fonds grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V*, Città del Vaticano.
- Dilts, M.R./Sosower, M.L./Manfredi, A. (eds.) (1998), *Librorum Graecorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae Index a Nicolao De Maiorani compositus et Fausto Sabæo collatus anno 1553 [sic, lege 1533]*, Città del Vaticano.
- Erbse, H. (ed.) (1969–1988), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Scholia vetera)*, I–VII, Berolini.
- Ferreri, L. (2002), "Il codice vaticano utilizzato da Viljoison nell'edizione dell'*Iliade* Veneta. Con una sua lettera inedita all'ambasciatore di Venezia Girolamo Zulian", in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* IX, Città del Vaticano, 212–219.
- Ferreri, L. (2014), *L'Italia degli umanisti*. I, Marco Musuro, Turnhout.
- Fogelmark, S. (2015), *The Kallierges Pindar. A Study in Renaissance Greek Scholarship and Printing*, I–II, Cologne.
- Ford, Ph. (2007), *De Troie à Ithaque. Réception des épopées homériques à la Renaissance*, Genève.
- Gaisford, T. (ed.) (1823), *Poetae minores Graeci*, II, Lipsiae.
- Geymonat, M. (1989), "Obituary of Vittorio de Marco", in *Gnomon* 61, 188–190.
- Grandolini, S. (1980–1981), "La parafrasi al secondo libro dell'*Iliade* di Manuel Moschopoulos", in *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Perugia* 18, 7–22.
- Grandolini, S. (1981), "Nota all'edizione moscopulea dell'*Iliade*", in *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 33, 251–253.
- Grandolini, S. (1981–1982), "Sul testo dell'*Iliade* nel Vat. gr. 50", in *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Perugia* 19, 1, 5–10.
- Grandolini, S. (1982), "La parafrasi al primo libro dell'*Iliade* di Manuel Moschopoulos", in *Studi in onore di Aristide Colonna*, Perugia, 131–149.

- Heiberg, J.L. (1925), "Rev. of Cumont 1923 and de Falco 1923a", in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 25, 145–146.
- Hepp, N. (1968), *Homère en France au XVII^e siècle*, Paris.
- Hervagius (1535) = Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάς καὶ Ὀδύσσεια μετὰ τῆς ἐξηγήσεως. *Homeri Ilias et Ulyssea cum interpretatione*. Ἡ τῶν αὐτῶν πολυπλόκος ἀνάγνωσις. *Variae lectionis in utroque opere, annotatio*, Basileae (apud Io. Hervagium), 1535.
- Hervagius (1541) = Ποιήσεις Ὀμήρου ἄμφω ἢ τε Ἰλιάς καὶ ἢ Ὀδύσσεια, ὑπὸ τε Ἰακώβου τοῦ Μικύλλου καὶ Ἰωαχείμου Καμεραρίου, σπουδαίως πρὸς τὴν νυνὶ ἔκδοσιν παρασκευασθεῖσαι. *Opus Utrumque Homeri Iliados et Odysseae*, diligenti opera Iacobi Micylli et Ioachimi Camerarii recognitum. Πορφυρίου φιλοσόφου ὁμηρικὰ ζητήματα. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πορφυρίου περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα τῶν νυμφῶν ἄντρου. *Porphyrus philosophi Homericarum quaestionum liber. Eiusdem de Nympharum antro in Odysseae opusculum*, Basileae (apud I. Hervagium), 1541.
- Heyne, C.G. (ed.) (1802) = *Homeri carmina cum brevi annotatione. Accedunt variae lectiones et observationes veterum grammaticorum cum nostrae aetatis critica curante C.G. Heyne, Tomus tertius. Versio latina Iliadis praemissa commentatione de subsidiis studii in Homericis occupati*, Lipsiae/Londini.
- Heyne, C.G. (ed.) (1821), *ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΙΛΙΑΣ. Homeri Ilias cum brevi annotatione*. Accedunt scholia minora passim emendata, I–II, Oxonii.
- Heyne, C.G. (ed.) (1834), *ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΙΛΙΑΣ. Homeri Ilias cum brevi annotatione*. Accedunt scholia minora passim emendata, I–II, Oxonii.
- Irigoien, J. (1961), "Rev. of H. Erbse, Beiträge zur Überlieferung der Iliasscholien, München 1960", in *Revue de Philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 35, 285–288.
- Jackson, D.F. (2011), *The Greek Library of Saints John and Paul (San Zanipolo) at Venice*, Tempe (Arizona).
- Lascaris (1517) (siglum La) = Σχόλια παλαιὰ τῶν πάνυ δοκίμων εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδα. Romae 1517 [Ἐτυπώθη ἐν Ῥώμῃ, παρὰ τὸν Κυρίνου λόφον, ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ εὐγενοῦς καὶ σοφοῦ ἀνδρὸς, προξένου τῶν λογίων καὶ κηδεμόνος ἀρίστου Ἀγγέλου τοῦ Κολλωτίου τῶν ἀπορρήτων γραμματέως τοῦ ἄκρου ἀρχιερέως. ἔτει τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας χιλιοστῶ πεντακοσιοστῶ ἑπτακαιδεκάτῳ, τῆς δὲ ἀναρρήσεως τοῦ παναγιωτάτου καὶ θεοφιλεστάτου Λέοντος πάπα δεκάτου ἔτει πέμπτῳ].
- Layton, E. (1994), *The Sixteenth Century Greek Book in Italy. Printers and Publishers for the Greek World*, Venice.
- Macrides, R.J. (1991), "Pediasimos, John", in A.P. Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, New York/Oxford, 1615.
- Martínez Manzano, T. (2004), "Autógrafos griegos de Lianoro Lianori en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca", in *Scriptorium* 58, 16–25.
- Martini, E. (1907), "Eustathianum", in *Rheinisches Museum* 62, 273–294.
- Megna, P. (2007–2008), "Per la storia della *princeps* di Omero. Demetrio Calcondila e il *De Homero* dello pseudo Plutarco", in *Studi Medievali e Umanistici* 5–6, 217–278.
- Melandri, E. (1981), "Per un'edizione della *Technologia* di M. Moscopulo ad Hom. A-B 493", in *Prometheus* 7, 215–224.
- Melandri, E. (1983), "La parafrasi di M. Moscopulo ad Hom. A-B 493 e la tradizione esegetica e lessicografica dell'*Illiade*", in *Prometheus* 9, 177–192.
- Melandri, E. (1985), "Rapporti fra scolii e parafrasi nel commentario di M. Moscopulo", in *Studi in onore di Adelmo Barigazzi II* [= *Sileno* 11], 41–60.

- Mercati, G. (1921), "Scrittori ecclesiastici greci copiati da Giovanni Fabbri nella Vaticana", in *Bessarione* 37, 88–119 (= Id., *Opere minori*, IV, Città del Vaticano 1937, 110–142).
- Mercati, G. (1926), *Scritti di Isidoro il cardinale Rutenio e codici a lui appartenuti che si conservano nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Roma.
- Mondrain, B. (2000), "Janus Lascaris copiste et ses livres", in G. Prato (ed.), *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito*. Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca (Cremona 4–10 ottobre 1998), Firenze, 417–426.
- Mondrain, B. (2008), "La réutilisation de parchemin ancien dans les livres à Constantinople au XIV^e et au XV^e siècle: quelques exemples, de la 'collection philosophique' aux folios palimpsestes du Parisinus gr. 1220", in S. Lucà (ed.), *Libri palinsesti greci: conservazione, restauro digitale, studio*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale 'Rinascimento Virtuale', Villa Mondragone-Monteporzio Catone 2004, Roma, 111–130.
- Montanari, F. (1995), *Studi di filologia omerica antica*, II, Pisa.
- Moore, P. (2005), *Iter Psellianum. A Detailed Listing of Manuscript Sources for All Works Attributed to Michael Psellos, Including a Comprehensive Bibliography*, Toronto.
- Moro, G. (1999), "Cristoforo Garatone", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* LII, Roma, 234–238.
- Most, G.W./Schreyer, A. (eds.) (2013), *Homer in Print. A Catalogue of the Bibliotheca Homerica Langiana at the University of Chicago Library*. Essays by M.C. Lang, G.W. Most, and D. Wray. Entries by A. Lee and D. Moser, Chicago.
- Muratore, D. (2009), *La biblioteca del cardinale Niccolò Ridolfi*, I–II, Alessandria.
- Muratore, D. (2013), "Due note sulla tradizione degli *Scholia D in Homeri Iliadem*", in E. Bona/C. Lévy/G. Magnaldi (eds.), *Vestigia notitiae. Scritti in memoria di Michelangelo Giusta*, Alessandria, 425–433.
- Muratore, D. (2014), "Some Thoughts on the Interlinear Scholia in the h Family of the *Iliad*", in F. Montana/A. Porro (eds.), *The Birth of Scholiography. From Types to Texts*, Berlin/Boston (= *Trends in classics* 6, 1), 54–89.
- Muratore, D. (2018), "Studi sulla tradizione e sul testo degli *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem*. 3, Gli *Scholia D* nel Marc. Gr. IX, 5 (1336)", in *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 146, 1, 239–249.
- Pasquato, A. (2015), "Il palinsesto Ambrosiano A 181 sup. (gr. 74): studio codicologico, paleografico e testuale", in *Aevum* 89, 301–338.
- Pesce, L. (1974), "Cristoforo Garatone trevigiano, nunzio di Eugenio IV", in *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 28, 23–93.
- Pontani, F. (2000), "Il proemio al *Commento all'Odissea* di Eustazio di Tessalonica (con appunti sulla tradizione del testo)", in *Bollettino dei Classici* 21, 5–58.
- Pontani, F. (2005), *Sguardi su Ulisse. La tradizione esegetica greca all'Odissea*, Roma.
- Pontani, F. (2017), "Edizioni sicuramente del Ginnasio greco. 1517. *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem*", in L. Ferreri/S. Delle Donne/A. Gaspari/C. Bianca (eds.), *Le prime edizioni greche a Roma (1510–1526)*, Turnhout, 215–224.
- Reitzenstein, R. (1889), "Rev. of *Analecta sacra et classica spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, ed. I. B. card. Pitra, Paris 1888", in *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 20, coll. 621–626, 653–657.
- Rita, A. (2010), "Per la storia della Vaticana nel primo Rinascimento", in A. Manfredi (ed.), *Storia della Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana*. I, *Le origini della Biblioteca Vaticana tra Umanesimo e Rinascimento, 1447–1534*, Città del Vaticano, 237–307.
- Robin, L. (1924), "Rev. of several works of V. de Falco ([Iamblichus] *Theologoumena arithmeticae*, Leipzig 1922; "Sui *Theologoumena arithmeticae*", in *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica* 6, 1–2

- (1922), 49–61; “Sui trattati aritmo-logici di Nicomaco ed Anatolio”, *ibid.* 6, 3–4 (1922), 51–60; “*Subseciva*. Su di un verso di Vergilio (*Ecl.* IV, 61 *matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses*)”, *ibid.* 7, 1–2 (1923), 33–38; “*Ad Heraclitum A 19 Diels*”, *ibid.* 7, 1–2 (1923), 18; de Falco 1923a; *L'Epicureo Demetrio Lacone*, Napoli 1923”, in *Revue des Études Grecques* 37, 242–245.
- Roscher, W.H. (1907), *Enneadische Studien. Versuch einer Geschichte der Neunzahl bei den Griechen, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des ält. Epos, der Philosophen und Ärzte*, Leipzig.
- Rufus (1559) = *Christophori Rufi Antexegemata ad Petrum Victorium*, Patavii, Excudebat Gratiolus Perchacinus, Patavii.
- Schimberg, A. (1890), “Zur handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung der *Scholia Didymi*”, in *Philologus* 49, 421–456.
- Schrevel (ed.) (1656) = Ὅμηρου Ἰλιάς καὶ Ὀδύσσεια, Καὶ εἰς αὐτὰς σχόλια, ἥ ἐξηγήσεις Διδύμου. *Homeri Ilias et Odyssea. Et in easdem scholia, sive interpretatio Didymi. Cum Latina versione accuratissima, Indiceque Graeco locupletissimo Rerum ac variantium lectionum*, accurate C. Schrevelius, Lugduni Batavorum.
- Sciarra, E. (2005), *La tradizione degli scholia iliadici in Terra d'Otranto*, Roma.
- Severyns, A. (1953), *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclus*. III, *La Vita Homeri et les sommaires du Cycle*. I, *Étude paléographique et critique*, Paris.
- Severyns, A. (1955), “Allatius et la *Vita Homeri* de Proclus”, in *Acme* 8, 2–3, 131–135.
- Speranzi, D. (2006), “Tra Creta e Firenze. Aristobulo Apostolis, Marco Musuro e il Riccardiano 77”, in *Segno e Testo* 4, 191–210.
- Speranzi, D. (2009–2010), “Andata e ritorno. Vicende di un Plutarco medico tra Poliziano, Musuro e l'Aldina”, in *Incontri triestini di filologia classica* 9, 45–63.
- Speranzi, D. (2010a), “Vicende umanistiche di un antico codice. Marco Musuro e il *Florilegio* di Stobeo”, in *Segno e Testo* 8, 313–350.
- Speranzi, D. (2010b), “Note codicologiche e paleografiche”, in M. Bernabò (ed.), *La collezione di testi chirurgici di Niceta. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 74.7. Tradizione medica classica a Bisanzio*, Roma, 13–35.
- Speranzi, D. (2013), *Marco Musuro. Libri e scrittura*, Roma.
- Staikos, K.S. (1998), *Charta of Greek Printing. The Contribution of Greek Editors, Printers and Publishers to the Renaissance in Italy and the West*, Cologne.
- Tentoonstelling Dirk Martens (1973), *Tentoonstelling over het werk, de persoon en het milieu van Dirk Martens, ingericht bij de herdenking van het verschijnen te Aalst in 1473 van het eerste gedrukte boek in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden*, Aalst, Stedelijk Museum-Oud Hospitaal, 1 september–31 oktober 1973, Aalst.
- Tselikas, A. [et al.] (eds.) (1988), Ὅμηρικὲς ἐκδόσεις στὴ Δημόσια Βιβλιοθήκη Χίου 1539–1955, Chios.
- Van der Valk, M. (1963–1964), *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad*, I–II, Leiden.
- Van der Valk, M. (ed.) (1971) = *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes ad fidem codicis Laurentiani editi. Volumen primum praefationem et commentarios ad libros A-Δ complectens*, Lugduni Batavorum.
- Van Thiel, H. (ed.) (2000a), *Scholia D in Iliadem*, Proecdosis, adiuv. N. Conrad et S. Matthaios, (<http://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/id/eprint/1810>).
- Van Thiel, H. (2000b), “Die D-Scholien der *Ilias* in den Handschriften”, in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 132, 1–62.

- Van Thiel, H. (ed.) (2014), *Scholia D in Iliadem*, Proecdosis aucta et correctior, adiuv. N. Ernst curis iteratis et S. Matthaios. Quae post editionem primam (2000) interpretationes et correctiones affluerunt maxima ex parte Rudolfo Kassel debentur collegae eminentissimo. Errorum numerum permagnum correxit R. Nünlist, Köln (<http://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/5586/>).
- Vassis, I. (1991), *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der sogenannten Psellos-Paraphrase der Ilias*, Hamburg.
- Villoison J.B.C. (ed.) (1788) = *Ὅμηρου Ἰλιάς σὺν τοῖς σχολίοις. Homeri Ilias ad veteris codicis Veneti fidem recensita. Scholia in eam antiquissima*, ex eodem codice aliisque nunc primum edidit cum asteriscis, obeliscis, aliisque signis criticis Joh. Baptista Caspar d'Ansse de Villoison, Venetiis.
- Vitarelli, M.C. (1981), “Sul testo e la tradizione delle *hypotheses* dell’*Iliade*”, in *Studi di letteratura greca*, Pisa, 125–137.
- Wassenbergh, E. (ed.) (1783), *Homeri Iliadis liber I et II cum paraphrasi Graeca hucusque inedita, et Graecorum veterum commentariis magnam partem nunc primum in lucem prodeuntibus*, Franequerae.
- Wilson, N.G. (1983), *Scholars of Byzantium*, London.
- Young, Ph.H. (2003), *The Printed Homer. A 3000 Year Publishing and Translation History of the Iliad and the Odyssey*, Jefferson (North Carolina).

Marta Cardin and Olga Tribulato

Enumerating the Muses: Tzetzes in *Hes. Op. 1* and the parody of catalogic poetry in Epicharmus

(Bloom explains to those near him his schemes for social regeneration. All agree with him. The keeper of the Kildare Street Museum appears, dragging a lorry on which are the shaking statues of several naked goddesses, Venus Callipyge, Venus Pandemos, Venus Metempsychosis, and plaster figures, also naked, representing the new nine muses, Commerce, Operatic Music, Amor, Publicity, Manufacture, Liberty of Speech, Plural Voting, Gastronomy, Private Hygiene, Seaside Concert Entertainments, Painless Obstetrics and Astronomy for the People).

James Joyce, *Ulysses*, ch. 15 (Circe)

Abstract: Tzetzes' long scholium on the first two words of Hesiod's *Erga* preserves precious information on the Muses, their number and names in Hesiod, Eumelus, Epicharmus and Aratus, for the last three of which he is the only source. The first part of this paper re-examines Tzetzes' testimony in the context of his exegetical activity on the great poets of the past and proposes a new reading for the curious name Τιτόπλους. The second part focuses on Epicharmus' catalogue in the context of the comedy *The Wedding of Hebe*, arguing that it represents a unique piece of epic parody characterized by Ionic features.

1 Introduction

John Tzetzes – teacher, grammarian, compulsive writer of the Comnenian age – is famous for his exegetical works on key-authors of antiquity. Among these, his line by line commentary on Hesiod's *Erga* is particularly important in that it summarises and thus preserves a wealth of scholarly information which would otherwise be lost to us. In the long scholium on the first two words of the poem (Μοῦσαι Πιερίθεν, 'Muses from Pieria'), Tzetzes devotes a lengthy digression to the Muses. In what is, *de facto*, a 'meta-catalogue', he introduces other traditions on the number, names, and genealogy of the Muses in Hesiod (*Th.* 76–79) as well as

¹ We wish to thank the editors of the volume for their suggestions and Rebecca Lämmle for her comments on an earlier draft of this paper. Sections 2–3 are by Marta Cardin; sections 4 and 6 are by Olga Tribulato, while sections 1, 5 and 7 have been written jointly by both authors.

in three other poets: Eumelus (fr. 36 Tsagalis = 35 West = 17 Bernabé = dub. 3 Davies), Aratus (*SH* 87), and Epicharmus (fr. 39 K.–A.).

Tzetzes' scholium is the only source for the last three catalogues and were it only for this reason it would deserve to be studied and known in detail: sections 2–3 of this paper re-examine Tzetzes' unique testimony within the framework of his œuvre and methodology, highlighting the centrality of the 'catalogic trend' in his approach to the culture of the past. However, Tzetzes' extraordinary creation of a 'catalogue of ancient catalogues' revolving around the question of the Muses' number has a much wider significance as it confronts interpreters with the core question concerning lists and their characteristic enumerative element, namely the criterion with which the enumeration is organized. Tzetzes uses the catalogic mode as a container which allows him to engage with the tradition of ancient erudite exegesis on the Muses' myths and produce in an exhaustive and consequential manner those mythographic data which he wishes to explain allegorically.

All the catalogues quoted in Tzetzes' passage can be fully appreciated only through an intertextual approach (section 4). The Muses enumerated in Eumelus' and Epicharmus' catalogues share the common feature of having names derived from those of famous rivers, themselves the object of renowned epic catalogues. Through their names, these Muses come across as both original and at the same time connected with other catalogic traditions, which each of their names allows to powerfully resonate. This is especially evident in the case of Epicharmus fr. 39 K.–A. This stripped to the bone fragment laconically transmitted by Tzetzes is challenging both because of its philological difficulties (the name of the sixth Muse, Τιτόπλους, is a *hapax* of suspicious formation) and of its function in the play *The Wedding of Hebe* (section 5). Often mistaken for a merely humorous list of deities which preside over fish and food, Epicharmus' parade of Muses in fact is a subtly construed piece of literary parody which plays with famous Homeric and Hesiodic catalogues (section 6).

2 Tzetzes' Muses: between erudition and allegory

John Tzetzes wrote the scholia to the *Works and Days* for his lectures on the poem (one of the fundamental classical texts at Byzantium) in the early 1140s. After Proclus, he is the first author known to have produced a systematic commentary on the *Erga*. Tzetzes offers ample *prolegomena* which introduce the poem by means of some negative remarks on Proclus (aimed at explaining the correct way of commenting on a text), a short treatise on the ancient poetic genres, a life of

Hesiod, and the explanation of the poem's title, structure and purpose. He then accurately interprets almost every line of the *Erga*, paraphrases its meaning and touches upon a variety of topics (grammar, metre, rhetoric, myth and allegory).²

The length and wealth of its erudition sets the scholium to line 1 apart from the subsequent scholia. After being given some information on the *athetesis* of the proem (ll. 1–4) and the etymology of Μοῦσα from μῶ ‘to search’ (ll. 5–8 = p. 24.24–27 Gaisf.), the reader is faced with a long digression, which is structured like a small, self-contained treatise on the Muses:³

- a) methodological premises and structure of the discussion which is to follow (ll. 8–16 = pp. 24.27–25.7 Gaisf.);
- b) catalogues of Muses and their allegorical meanings (ll. 17–65 = pp. 25.8–27.15 Gaisf.);
- c) offspring of Hesiod's Muses (ll. 66–77 = pp. 27.15–28.7 Gaisf.);
- d) remonstrance against an anonymous person who has compelled Tzetzes to list catalogues (ll. 78–94 = p. 28.7–22 Gaisf.);
- e) second introduction to the Muses, with another allegorical explanation (ll. 95–136 = pp. 28.23–30.13 Gaisf.);
- f) allegorical interpretation of the offspring of Hesiod's Muses (ll. 137–160 = pp. 30.13–31.18 Gaisf.);

² The development of new commentaries on the ancient poets (often circulating in a format closer to that of modern editions, which include introduction, text, and scholia) is a significant scholarly achievement of the Comnenian Age: see Kaldellis 2009, 19–36, and for a thorough account of Classical studies in the 12th c. Pontani 2015, 366–394. Budelmann 2002 is a fundamental reading of the nature of Tzetzes' commentaries and the author's personality, while Luzzatto 1998; 1999; 2000 explain Tzetzes' working method. On the commentary to the *Works and Days*, see Wendel 1948, 1970–1971; West 1978, 69–70; Ponzio 2003 and, recently, Cardin/Pontani 2017, 252–255. On Tzetzes' attitude towards Proclus (whom he, as all Byzantine scholars, considered the sole author of the ancient exegetical material on the *Erga*), see Wilson 1996², 194; Budelmann 2002, 152. Tzetzes' text is here quoted from the new critical edition Marta Cardin is preparing; current editions are those by Gaisford (1823²) and (only for Tzetzes' preface and the *Life of Hesiod*) by Colonna 1953, 34–39; Colonna 1959, 87–92 (see too Colonna 1982² [1968], 46–52).

³ For the ancient *athetesis* of the proem, see Procl. in *Op. Ac.*, p. 2.7–14 Pertusi (= fr. 1.19–24 Marzillo) corresponding to Aristarch. fr. 5 Wäsche and Praxiph. fr. 22a Wehrli (= 28A Matelli). The beginning of Tzetzes' scholium (ll. 1–4) is included in two early modern editions (Basileae 1542, 16; Heinsius 1603, 6), but is missing from Gaisford's; it has been reconsidered by Abel 1889, 92 and Dahlén 1933, 19–20 (see also Calderone 1948, 371) and edited as Praxiph. fr. 22b Wehrli (= 28B Matelli). The derivation of Μοῦσα from μῶσθαι had already been discussed by Plato (*Cra.* 406a); Tzetzes defends the etymology that he found in the ancient scholia (see *proll. vet.* Hes. *Op. Fb.*, p. 5.4–6 Pertusi) on the basis of the common interpretation of the Muse as γνῶσις, 'knowledge' (see e.g. *scholl. Hom. Od.* 1.1j and 1.11a Pontani and *schol. vet.* Hes. *Op.* 1b Pertusi), as in *Suda* μ 1291.

- g) allegorical meaning of Pieria and Helicon: resolution of the controversy between the Muses from Helicon and those from Pieria (ll. 161–231 = pp. 31.18–34.22 Gaisf.).

The precious catalogues of the Muses (*b*) and their offspring (*c*), which are followed by Tzetzes' defence against the accusation that he indulges in erudite minutiae (*d*), constitute a 61-line self-contained piece characterised by the catalogic theme and set within a digression devoted to the explanation of the Muses' allegorical meaning (*e–g*), as Tzetzes points out in the opening paragraph (*a*):

ἐπεὶ δέ τις ἤρετο ἀπορών, τίνος ἔνεκα ἑννέα φησὶν εἶναι τὰς Μούσας καὶ οὐ πλείονας ἢ ἐλάττωνας, φέρε ὡς οἶον ἡμῖν πρῶτον τοῦτο ἐπιλυσώμεθα, εἴτα δεῖξωμεν μηδὲ ἑννέα μόνας εἶναι τὰς Μούσας. μετὰ δὲ τὰς τούτων μυθικὰς ἱστορίας, ἰσχνῶς καὶ σαφειστάτως καὶ λεπτοτάτως ἀλληγορήσωμεν τίς τε ὁ Ζεὺς, καὶ Μοῦσαι, καὶ Πιερία, καὶ Ἑλικῶν· καὶ ἐπιλυσώμεθα ἔπειτα τίνος ἔνεκα ἐν τῇ Θεογονίᾳ ἐξ Ἑλικῶνος τὰς Μούσας καλεῖ, ἀπὸ δὲ Πιερίας ἐνταῦθα.

Since someone has asked, raising an aporia, why he [sc. Hes. *Th.* 60, 76] says that the Muses are nine, and not fewer or more, let us solve this first as best as we can; we shall then show that the Muses are not only nine [= *b*]. After the mythological tales which concern them [= *c*], we shall explain with a simple style and as clearly and accurately as possible the allegorical meaning of Zeus, the Muses, Pieria and Helicon [= *e–f*]; we shall then explain the reason why in the *Theogony* Hesiod says that the Muses come from Helicon while here [sc. in the *Erga*] he says that they come from Pieria [= *g*].

Tzetzes' catalogues originate from the need of discussing the Muses' number and their myths (see section 3). His focus on allegory is easy to understand. For him, the μῦθος ἀλληγορικός is the most important of the four defining features of epic poetry: by explaining myths as allegories, he was able to free ancient texts from the accusation of paganism, while at the same time highlighting the mastery of the ancient poets (Homer *in primis*) who used such a refined rhetorical means.⁴ In his commentaries the Byzantine scholar usually proceeds from the exposition of mythical facts, which he reconstructs from literary sources, to their allegorical interpretation. In scholium 1 the latter takes up considerable space, because it involves the delicate issue of (alleged) inconsistencies within Hesiod's œuvre: the divergence between the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* as regards the Muses' birthplace (cf. Μουσῶν Ἑλικωνιάδων in *Th.* 1 vs. Μοῦσαι Πιερίηθεν in *Op.* 1). This was, in fact, one of the arguments adduced by ancient critics to question the

⁴ See Kaldellis 2007, 245–247, 306–307; Braccini 2011, 43–45, and, on Tzetzes' allegorical interpretations, Hunger 1954, 44–52 and 1955, 4–5; Cesaretti 1991 (particularly 147–160, 166).

authenticity of the proem of the *Erga*, and the issue was usually solved by applying ethical or philosophical interpretations.⁵

Here Tzetzes provides his own very personal and novel solution (in opposition to Proclus' astronomical allegory, in particular): the Muses represent the knowledge acquired by Hesiod through education and study; Zeus, their father, is the generating mind; Mnemosyne, their mother, is memory, the prerequisite for the mental re-elaboration of what is read; Pieria, the Muses' birthplace, is the mind's seat; Helicon, the place where they dance and celebrate their father with hymns, is nothing other than books, where knowledge is displayed and the mind is exalted. Thus, in the *Theogony* Hesiod is able to speak on the difficult topic of the origin of the cosmos thanks to the knowledge he has acquired through books (i.e. Helicon). But when in the *Works and Days* he has to introduce his brother to agriculture, a simple theme, he appeals to his own mind (i.e. Pieria).⁶

Tzetzes claims to be aware that this section of his commentary is lengthy, but justifies this by pointing out the necessity to clarify a crucial point in Hesiodic exegesis which was misunderstood by ancient commentators, namely, the true meaning of the Hesiodic Muses: ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πρόκλος· ἡμεῖς δὲ μικρόν τι μακρολογήσαντες διαλευκάνωμεν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ('those are Proclus' arguments; but we shall elucidate the truth by speaking at length for a little while').⁷

By contrast, the long catalogues of the preceding section do not have a hermeneutical justification: they are not immediately useful for the explanation of the poem. After producing these catalogues, Tzetzes goes on to acknowledge that he has indulged in erudite minutiae, and he is quick to blame someone else for this: as he declares, he has been 'corrupted' by the anonymous τις who questioned him about the Muses' number. Tzetzes then addresses this anonymous person directly:

ἀλλὰ τί μακρολογεῖν ἀκαίρως ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζεις καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν νέων θολοῦν ἀπεραντολογίαν εἰκαίαν – καὶ Μουσῶν κατάλογον – γράφοντας; καθάπερ εἰ μὴ Τζέτζης ἐτύγχανον, οἰκονομίαν εἰδῶς καὶ σαφήνειαν ἀσπαζόμενος, καὶ χρήζων πλεῖστα γράφειν καὶ καίρια βραχέσι συγγράμμασιν, ἀλλ' οὐ βραχέα καὶ φαῦλα περινενοημένοις ἐκφέρειν καὶ μακροτάτοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν, ὥσπερ τινὲς οἰηματῖαι καὶ κραύγασοι. ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ σοι πειθόμενος

5 See Procl. *proll. in Hes. Op. Ac.*, pp. 2.15–4.3 Pertusi (= fr. 1.25–35 Marzillo) and *proll.vett. Hes. Op. Fa.*, pp. 4.18–5.2 Pertusi, with West 1978, 65–66; Montanari 2009, 316–319; Matelli 2009.

6 Ll. 102–133, 180–209, 213–224 (= pp. 29.5–30.11, 32.14–34.2, 6–16 Gaisf.), partially translated in Pontani 2015, 380–381; cf. also Tz. *Hist.* 6.916–926, 927–940; *schol. Carm. Il.* 2.465a, p. 208.8–9 Leone; *All. Od.* 5.104–105 Hunger. Proclus' Neoplatonic allegory is openly ridiculed by Tzetzes in the second epigram of his commentary (*epigr.* 2 = *proll.* ll. 15–26 Colonna).

7 Ll. 175–177 = p. 32.10–12 Gaisf.; see also 89–91 = p. 28.18–20 Gaisf. (περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀληθῶς καὶ ὄντως οὐσῶν γράφων Μουσῶν, τότε δικαίως τὸν λόγον παρεκτείναιμι).

ἐξημάρτηκα, καὶ τὸν λόγον τοῖς λήροις Μουσῶν καταλόγοις ἐκτέτακα [...] τὸ δὲ νῦν ἀκαίριον πολυλόγημα σὸν λογιζέσθω ἁμάρτημα.

But why do you force me to go on in an inappropriate manner and to annoy the youths' ears by writing an interminable and useless lecture, that is the Muses' catalogue? As if I were not Tzetzes, who knows eloquence and loves clarity, and who feels the need to write most appropriate things in short works and to avoid publishing a few stupid concepts in the shape of convoluted and verbose arguments, as some noisy conceited scholars do. But now, persuaded by you, I have stumbled: I have lengthened my exposition with silly catalogues of Muses [...] You are the one to blame for such useless wordiness!⁸ (ll. 78–92 = p. 28.7–21 Gaisf.)

Tzetzes clearly wishes to defend himself against the accusation of giving too much room to mythographic intricacies, and to catalogues in particular.⁹ His *gusto* for detailed writing and showing-off erudite information is well-known, so much so that at the beginning of his own *Theogony*, which he composed to teach the *sebastokratorissa* Eirene 'the catalogue of gods and the race of heroes' (θεῶν τε τὸν κατάλογον καὶ γένος τῶν ἡρώων, I. 20 Bekker), Tzetzes informs his patron that, should she wish so, he could address the topic in greater depth than in a simple and improvised work such as the one at hand. For, he ventures to say,

ὥς οὐδ' ἂν ἦσαν ἑκατὸν Ὅμηροι καὶ Μουσαῖοι
Ὀρφέες καὶ Ἡσίοδοι Ἀντίμαχοι καὶ Λῖνοι
καὶ πάντες ἄλλοι ποιηταὶ καὶ θεογονογράφοι,
κρεῖττον ἂν ἔγραψαν ἐμοῦ τὰ περὶ τούτων πάντα.
ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ἦσαν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ ἥρωες ἐκεῖνοι,
τὸ γένος ἴσχυσαν αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἐγὼ διδάξαι.

Even if there were a hundred Homers, Musaeuses, Orpheuses, Hesiods, Antimachuses and Linuses and all the other poets and writers of Theogonies, they would not be able to tell all

⁸ Dimitrievič 1899, 18, assumes that in this part of scholium 1 too Tzetzes' addressee and target is Proclus, of whom Tzetzes had allegedly read an ample and now lost scholium on the Muses. Against this hypothesis it may be noted that all references to Proclus cluster in the second part of Tzetzes' scholium and are clearly sign-posted by the use of the third person (ll. 135, 166, 171, 175–176 = pp. 30.13, 32.1–2, 7 and 11 Gaisf.): the only exception is represented by the short epigram in which Tzetzes, drawing towards a conclusion, invites Proclus to pay attention to him (ll. 210–212 = p. 34.3–5 Gaisf.).

⁹ Tzetzes reiterates his self-defence upon illustrating the allegorical meaning of the Muses' offspring, who are presented as the inventors of certain arts (see *f*). In Tzetzes' rhetoric, this is another digression for which the anonymous interlocutor is responsible: since he has compelled Tzetzes to speak about the Muses, and consequently their children, he has forced him to indulge in yet another allegorical interpretation (ll. 156–160 = p. 31.15–18 Gaisf.).

these myths better than myself. Nor, should these gods and heroes really exist, would they be able to illustrate their own line of descent as I can. (Tz. *Th.* 26–32 Bekker)¹⁰

Tzetzes professes to know the catalogues of ancient characters better than the authors themselves, whom he proceeds to challenge by name! By producing yet another list, which contains the names of famous Classical authors, he proves his competence in Classical literature and at the same time casts himself as the heir of a whole tradition of cataloguing. He is so aware of the fact that catalogues were an identifying feature of epic narration that he takes the poetic licence to coin the names of the twenty Amazons killed by the Achaeans, whom he lists in a passage of his hexametric poem *Carmina Iliaca*.¹¹

A poet on a par with those of the past, a scholar more learned than the Classical authors, and also a better exegete than the ancient ones: by dwelling on his catalogues of Muses and their children, Tzetzes shows off all his qualities as a literary scholar.¹² Hesiod's poems were *the* reference works responsible for the canonization of the nine Muses, the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne, and yet the topic of the Muses' number, which was dear to ancient scholarship, has left no trace in the fragments of textual criticism preserved in the Hesiodic scholia (at least those available to both Tzetzes and us).¹³ Despite his (ironic?) protests of innocence, Tzetzes therefore allowed himself to fill an important gap in Hesiodic exegesis.

¹⁰ See M. Jeffreys, 1974, 149; Budelmann 2002, 152.

¹¹ See *Carm. Il.* 3.177–184 and his own *schol.* 3.183a, p. 218.10–13 Leone, where he admits to the forgery.

¹² Tzetzes' display of erudition was clearly a means to certify his competence and obtain work as a teacher and writer. On the dynamics at play in the relationship between scholars and patrons in the 12th century and specifically on Tzetzes' positions, see Grünbart 2005; E. Jeffreys 2009; Agapitos 2014.

¹³ The scholiastic material on the Hesiodic poems contains only laconic and broken information on the Muses' number and genealogy. On Proclus' Neoplatonic allegory, see above (p. 165). *Schol. vet.* Hes. *Th.* 56 interprets the long conception of the Muses (nine nights!), which matches their number, as a symbol either of the slowness with which one acquires love for the Muses or the intrinsic perfection of the number nine. Procl. in Hes. *Op.* 2 Pertusi (= fr. 4 Marzillo) and *schol. vet.* Hes. *Th.* 54 Di Gregorio dwell on the allegorical meaning of Zeus and Mnemosyne. Whether Tzetzes could read richer ancient scholia on Hesiod's *Erga* is a matter of debate: see Usener 1867; Schultz 1910, 30; West 1978, 70 n. 1 (all in favour of this hypothesis) and Scheer 1870, 7–9; Pertusi 1951, 267–273 (against). Marta Cardin has not found evidence that allows this conclusion; see also above n. 8.

3 Tzetzes' catalogues: filling a gap in Hesiodic exegesis

The question on which Tzetzes lingers – ‘why are there nine Muses, and not fewer or more?’ (see above p. 164) – is an ancient one. In book 9 of Plutarch’s *Quaestiones convivales* Ammonius starts the discussion on ‘uncommon opinions on the number of the Muses’ (περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν Μουσῶν ὅσα λέγεται μὴ κοινῶς, Q.C. 9.14 [743c–747a]) by asking the very same question: ὅ τι δ’ ἐννέα καὶ οὐκ ἐλάττους οὐδὲ πλείους ἄρ’ ἂν ἡμῖν φράσειας (‘But could you tell us why nine and neither more nor less?’).¹⁴ Plutarch offers a detailed treatment of the allegorical meaning of the Muses’ number, dwelling on the many interpretations of the two most frequently attested numbers, three and nine. These interpretations are the same as those discussed by Diodorus Siculus (4.7.1–4) in a passage in which he recalls various opinions on the Muses’ genealogy, their virginity, and the meanings of their names. Diodorus states that the number nine prevailed over time because of the authority of its sources, namely Homer and Hesiod, whom he both quotes (*Od.* 24.60; *Hes. Th.* 77–79).¹⁵

Two other sources testify to the ancient interpreters’ engagement in exploring myths about the Muses. Cornutus (*Theol. graec.* 14–18) discusses the traditional genealogy and number of the Muses, and the etymology of their names, which he interprets allegorically. He also offers a close examination of alternative numbers (two, three, four, seven), though he does not identify the respective sources. Arnobius, in his *Adversus nationes* (3.37.2–38.2), interprets the contradictory information concerning the Muses’ genealogy, number and virginity as an example of the uncertainty underlying pagan beliefs. He lists a series of sources for the various numbers of the Muses: three, four, seven and eight.¹⁶

¹⁴ Q.C. 9.14.2 [744a].

¹⁵ Homer’s and Hesiod’s lines quoted by Diodorus are, together with a fragment of Eumelus (fr. 35 Tsagalis = 34 West = 16 Bernabé = fr. dub. 2 Davies, *ap. Clem. Al. Strom.* 6.11.1), the oldest evidence for the nine Muses. Indeed, that *Od.* 24.60 gives the number nine for the Muses was an important reason for Aristarchus’ athetesis of the ‘second Nekyia’ (*Od.* 24.1–204); see *schol. Hom. Od.* 24.1 Dindorf and Lehrs 1882³, 184; Erbse 1972, 194–7. For an overview of the traditions concerning the number of the Muses, see Mayer 1933, 687–94 and 724–30, and the recent discussion in Fowler 2013, 79–80.

¹⁶ Ephor. *FGrHist* 70 F 222; Mnaseas *FGH* III 154, fr. 25a = fr. 13 Cappelletto; Myrsil. *FGrHist* 477 F 7; Crates fr. 128 Broggiato respectively. The number four, which Arnobius attributes to Mnaseas, is corrected to three by Maass 1892, 212–213, based on another fragment which attributes knowledge of three Muses to Mnaseas: Μοῦσα, Θεά, Ὑμνῶ (*FGH* III 153, fr. 25a = fr. 15

A rich scholarly tradition therefore stands behind Tzetzes' catalogues. Urged by his anonymous interlocutor – be he a contemporary (a pupil? a rival scholar?), an ancient author (perhaps Plutarch himself?) or just an *ad hoc*-invention to justify his indulging in mythographical detail – the Byzantine exegete enters the ancient debate on the Muses. He first offers an allegorical explanation of the traditional nine Muses which originally combines the common arithmological interpretations of Pythagorean inspiration with an understanding of the Muses as γνώσεις.¹⁷ He then adds:

ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ ἑννέα μόνον εἰσὶν αἱ μυθικαὶ λεγόμεναι Μοῦσαι, καθὼς σύ τε καὶ ἕτεροι τοῦτο δοξάζετε, ἀλλ' Εὐμηλος μὲν ὁ Κορίνθιος τρεῖς φησιν εἶναι Μούσας, θυγατέρας Ἀπόλλωνος· Κηφισοῦν, Ἀπολλωνίδα, Βορυσθενίδα. Ἄρατος δ' ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Ἀστρικῶν τέσσαρας λέγει, Διὸς τοῦ αἰθέρος καὶ Πλουσίας νύμφης· Ἀρχήν, Μελέτην, Θελξινόην, καὶ Ἀοιδήν. τινὲς δὲ πέντε αὐτὰς εἶναι φασιν καὶ ὀνόματα ἔχειν τῶν πέντε αἰσθήσεων. Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἥβης γάμῳ ἑπτὰ λέγει θυγατέρας Πιέρου καὶ Πιμπληιάδος νύμφης· Νειλοῦν, Τριτώνην, Ἀσωποῦν, Ἐπταπόρην, Ἀχελωίδα, Τιτόπλου, καὶ Ῥοδιαν. παρὰ δὲ Ἡσιόδῳ ἐν Θεογονίᾳ ἑννέα λέγονται εἶναι· Κλειώ, Θάλεια, Εὐτέρπη, Τερψιχόρη, Ἐρατώ, Πολύμνια, Μελομένη, Οὐρανία καὶ Καλλιόπη.

Moreover, the so-called mythical Muses are not even nine only, as you and others believe, but Eumelus of Corinth [fr. 36 Tsagalis = 35 West] says that they were three and that they were Apollo's daughters: Kephiso, Apollonis, and Borysthenis. Aratus, in book 5 of the *Astrika* [SH 87], states that they were four, the daughters of Zeus (the ether) and of the nymph Plousia: Arche, Melete, Thelxinoe, and Aoide. Some report that they were five and were named after the five senses. Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* [fr. 39 K.-A.] tells that they were seven, the daughters of Pieros and the nymph Pimpleias: Neilo, Tritone, Asopo, Heptapore, Achelois, Titoplous (?), and Rhodia. In Hesiod however, in the *Theogony* [76–79], it is stated that they are nine: Kleio, Thaleia, Euterpe, Terpsichore, Erato, Polymnia, Melpomene, Ourania, and Kalliope. (ll. 21–35 = pp. 25.12–26.2 Gaisf.)

Cappelletto, *ap.* Epim.Hom. μ 65 Dyck; see Cappelletto *ad loc.*, pp. 183–184. The genealogy, number and names of the Muses are also discussed by Cic. *ND* 3.54 (on which see below); Paus. 9.29.2–4 and Serv. *in Verg.* A. 1.8.

17 Ll. 17–21 = p. 25.8–12 Gaisf. Just as the number nine is τετράγωνος 'square', because it is not only the first square odd number but also the square number of three – which is the perfect odd number and is also the source of plurality – so knowledge is squared (i.e. equal in every respect), immeasurable and multiple. Tzetzes is the only one to apply this quality of the number three (i.e., its being the source of plurality: cf. e.g. Nicom. *ap.* Iambl. *Th.Ar.* 18.11–12 De Falco and *schol.* A Hom. *Il.* 14.38c Erbse; *schol.* D.T. p. 229.32–36 Hilgard) to the Muses' allegorical interpretation and to derive from this the idea that knowledge is multipliable *ad infinitum*. See, however, the interpretation of the number nine in relation to the Muses in Plu. *Q.C.* 9.14.2 [743e–744b]; Corn. *Theol. graec.* 14.10. Traces of Pythagoric arithmology in the Hesiodic scholia are analysed by De Falco 1923a; on the number nine in particular, see *ibid.* 30, 32, 49–50.

Tzetzes' is a detailed and well-structured catalogue, which enumerates the individual catalogues of Muses in ascending order and transmits precious information as concerns literary references, genealogical data and the Muses' names. References to Hesiod aside, this passage is unique.¹⁸

As already mentioned, triads of Muses are attested elsewhere, albeit with varying names;¹⁹ we have evidence also of groups of four and seven Muses, though less frequently.²⁰ The four names that Tzetzes attributes to Aratus are also known through Cicero (*ND* 3.54), who calls them *Musae primae*. A group of seven Muses features on an early sixth-century Corinthian *aryballos*, which depicts the marriage of Heracles and Hebe and which will be discussed below (section 6).²¹ The five Muses who correspond to the five senses (ὄψις, ἀκοή, ὄσφρησις, γεῦσις, ἀφή) are not mentioned elsewhere and there is no parallel source for the number five.²²

18 It may be useful to the reader to know that, due to its structure and precious information, Tzetzes' catalogue of Muses was extracted from the scholium 1 and transmitted on its own in some manuscripts, and so edited separately in *An.Ox.* IV 424–425 (from cod. *Baroccianus* 133, 13th–14th c.); Iriarte 1769, 320 (see de Andrés 1987, 122; from cod. *Matritensis* 4615, f. 107, *ante* 1485); Ruhnken 1827, 258–259 (*Epist. crit.* II, *ad* A.R. 3.1372, from cod. *Parisinus* gr. 2720, f. 86v, end of the 15th c.: see Vitelli 1892, 112). In the 16th century Constantine Palaeocappa used it, together with the passage from Cornutus mentioned above p. 168, to write the short chapter Περὶ τῶν Μουσῶν in his *Violarium* of Pseudo-Eudocia (§ 655, pp. 483–489 Flach). Therefore, these later extracts should be used and quoted with all due caution.

19 Plu. *Q.C.* 9.14.3 [744c-f] and 7 [746e] mentions that two different triads were known at Delphi and Sicyon and he recognises the antiquity of the number three (εἶπεν οὖν ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὅτι τρεῖς ἦδεσαν οἱ παλαιοὶ Μούσας); Paus. 9.29.1 mentions the Muses Μελέτη, Μνήμη and Ἀοιδή, worshipped by Otus and Ephialtes on Mount Helicon. Cf. also Antip.Sid. *APL* 220 = Antip.Thess. 90 Gow–Page and Varr. *Ant.rer.div.* fr. 212 Cardauns (*ap. Serv. in Verg. Ecl.* 7.21). Eumelus' fragment transmitted by Tzetzes differs from Eum. fr. 35 Tsagalis = 34 West mentioned above (n. 15): see Wilish 1875, 38–39; West 2002, 128 n. 98; Debiasi 2004, 60; Tsagalis 2014.

20 See Cornutus and Arnobius mentioned above.

21 Serv. in *Verg. A.* 1.8 notes that the number seven was as widespread as nine (*sane Musas multi novem, multi septem dixerunt*); cf. also Polyzel. fr. 9 K.–A. (*ap. Zen.* 6.50, p. 175 L.–Sch.) with Meineke *ad loc.* (fr. 3), pp. 870–871. Roscher 1904, 35–36, 60, deems probable that the tradition of seven Muses was more ancient than the mainstream one.

22 This tradition is clearly connected to Pythagorean arithmology: see De Falco 1923a, 49 and e.g. Anat. p. 33.19 Heiberg. The five Muses could have been invented by Tzetzes, but the others are genuine: analogies with other ancient scholarly discussions, and parallels for Aratus' and Epicharmus' Muses in other extant sources suggest that Tzetzes is transmitting veritable information, which he perhaps derived from a sole, lost ancient source. Since he usually draws from a very vast basin of erudite material, it is impossible to determine what source might have inspired him. Maass 1892, 214 suggested Apollodorus of Athens; see also Henrichs 1975, 14 n. 50; Merro 2008, 202–203; Tsagalis 2014. See below n. 29. The question of Tzetzes' trustworthiness has recently been carefully re-assessed by Cannatà Fera 2012, 705–706.

After listing these valuable catalogues, Tzetzes goes on to allegorise the Muses' numbers (three, four, five, seven and nine respectively).²³ Once again, the explanations he offers for each number – i.e. fields of knowledge, as for instance the discovery of the four dialects on the part of the four Muses – differ from what one finds in other sources (e.g. Corn. *Theol. graec.* 15).²⁴ The same holds true of his list of discoveries attributed to the traditional nine Muses;²⁵ it is e.g. unique in its handling of the sphere of agriculture (ll. 48, 50 = pp. 26.14–27.1 Gaisf.), which is shared by two Muses (perhaps as a homage to Hesiod): Thaleia is the inventor of *φντουργία*,²⁶ while Polymnia is the inventor of *γεωργία*.²⁷ Some considerations on the allegory of the Muses as knowledge, and then Tzetzes relates yet another catalogue of nine Muses: *τινὲς δ' ἔτεροι ταύτας τὰς ἑννέα πρώτας φασι Μούσας γεγονέναι· Καλλιχόρην, Ἑλικήν, Εὐνίκην, Θελξινόην, Τερψιχόρην, Εὐτέρπην, Εὐκελάδην, Δίαν, Ἐνόπην* ('However, others say that to begin with there were the following nine Muses: Kallichore, Helike, Eunike, Thelxinoe, Terpsichore, Euterpe, Eukelade, Dia, Enope', ll. 58–61 = p. 27.8–11 Gaisf.). As a whole, this list is unique: while some of the speaking names (Θελξινόη, Τερψιχόρη, Εὐτέρπη) are already attributed to the Muses in other sources (see Hesiod's and Aratus' Muses), two (Εὐκελάδη, Ἐνόπη) are not attested elsewhere, and the remaining names are attested for various nymphs and heroines, though not for Muses.²⁸

Tzetzes' catalogues, however, do not end with those of the Muses' numbers, names and allegorical meanings. He subsequently deals with the issue of the Muses' maidenhood, and then provides yet another detailed and 'unparalleled' catalogue: that of the Hesiodic Muses' offspring (ll. 66–77 = pp. 27.15–28.7 Gaisf.).²⁹

²³ Ll. 36–51 = pp. 26.2–27.1 Gaisf.

²⁴ Here, too, Pythagorean arithmology is relevant: see De Falco 1923a, 50.

²⁵ The closest parallel is the scholium to A.R. 3.1–5a Wendel.

²⁶ Cf. *schol.* A.R. cit.; Plu. *Q.C.* 9.14.4 [745a].

²⁷ This unprecedented connection is drawn because of Polymnia's son, Triptolemos, who sowed Demeter's crops (cf. e.g. Apollod. 1.5.2). Lists of the Muses' discoveries are also transmitted in *schol.vet.* Hes. *Th.* 76 Di Gregorio; *schol.* Luc. *Im.* 16–17 Rabe; *AP* 9.504, 505.

²⁸ Καλλιχόρη is one of the Bassarids in Nonn. *D.* 14.221; Εὐνίκη is a Nereid in Hes. *Th.* 246 and a fountain nymph in Theoc. 13.45; Ἑλική and Δία feature as names of various nymphs and heroines: the former in particular is connected to the origin of the *Ursa Major* (see e.g. Arat. 30–37). Cicero (*ND* 3.54) and Pausanias (9.29.3–4) recall the myth of the nine daughters of the hero Pieros, who however have the same names as Hesiod's Muses; Nicander, in the *Metamorphoses* (*ap.* Ant.Lib. 9.1), gives them different names, connected to their transformation into birds.

²⁹ The closest parallel is Apollod.Ath. *FGrHist* 244 F 146 (*ap. schol.* Eur. *Rh.* 346.14–20 Merro), who confirms the widespread consensus on the Muses' virginity and gives a complete list of the nine Muses' children. Cf. also Phld. *Mus.* 4, coll. 62.42–63.4 Delattre, which may perhaps depend

These long mythographical catalogues, abounding in literary and erudite detail, may well bring about the charge of pedantry and verbosity. But Tzetzes feels that he has to dwell on mythographical data if readers of Hesiod are to understand the allegorical meaning of the poem, and of the Muses themselves. Before allegorising this mythographical information Tzetzes proceeds to ‘rewrite’ it in a way that is highly revealing: he acknowledges the bookish embroiderings for which, as we have seen (*d*), the anonymous interlocutor is to be blamed, and then re-introduces the Muses in a very different light (*e*). The mythographical traditions he so accurately reconstructed in the first part of his argument are now disposed of in a few lines in which Hesiod’s version acquires absolute predominance, as befits Tzetzes’ exegetical aims:

πολλὰς μὲν πολλοὶ καὶ διαφόρους ἔφασαν εἶναι τὰς Μούσας τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι. καὶ τὰς μὲν εἶναι παρθένους φασίν, τὰς δὲ παρ’ Ἡσιόδῳ ἑννέα καὶ παῖδας τεκεῖν, ἃς καὶ Διὸς λέγουσι θυγατέρας, ἕκ Μνημοσύνης αὐτῷ γεννηθείσας ἐν Πιερίᾳ ἑννέα ἡμέρας αὐτῇ συγκαθευδήσαντος, αἶ, γεννηθεῖσαι μὲν ἐν τῇ Πιερίᾳ, περὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα χορεύουσι καὶ τὸν αὐτῶν πατέρα γεραίρουσι.

Many say that the Muses were many, and different regarding their deeds and names. And these people say that some of the Muses were virgins, but that those in Hesiod are nine, and mothers of children; and these Muses are said to be Zeus’ daughters, whom he begot from Mnemosyne in Pieria, after he had lain with her for nine days. These Muses, originating in Pieria, dance on the Helicon and honour their father. (Il. 95–101 = pp. 28.23–29.5 Gaisf.)

Through the desire to showcase his erudition Tzetzes unveils details ignored by the uninitiated, thus preserving information which has not come down to us through other channels.³⁰ Other Byzantine works deal with the topic without mentioning much mythographical and literary information and focussing on the allegorical meaning of the nine traditional Muses only. These are the commentary on the *Theogony* by the mysterious John Diaconus Galenus, who perhaps was Tzetzes’ contemporary;³¹ another anonymous commentary on the *Theogony*, again

on the same source as Apollodorus (Henrichs 1975, 15), and Delattre *ad loc.*, pp. 383–384; Apollod. 1.3.3–4; *schol.* D Hom. Il. 10.435 van Thiel (quoted by Eust. *ad loc.*, III 107.20–24 van der Valk); Tz. in *Lyc.* 831 Scheer.

³⁰ Of course, there is always the possibility that some of these data (e.g. the five Muses representing the senses) are Tzetzes’ invention: see notes 22 and above.

³¹ John Diaconus Galenus devotes a long scholium to the Muses (pp. 296.8–305.25 Flach), which also contains the allegorical explanation of the nine Hesiodic Muses’ names (pp. 303.26–305.1 Flach); it focuses on the allegorical meaning of the number nine. Galenus’ complex philosophical discussion also includes an etymological digression on all the names of numbers up to ten; he does, however, not discuss alternative numbers of the Muses. On his commentary on the

of uncertain date (pp. 369–375.9 Flach);³² the commentary on the *Works and Days* by John Protospatharius;³³ and John Pediasimos Pothos' pamphlet *Περὶ Θ Μουσῶν* (13th c.).³⁴

For his part, Eustathius – the other great commentator of the Classics in the Comnenian age – in the ample commentary devoted to l. 1 of the *Iliad* openly declines to engage with the various opinions on the Muses:

ὅτι δὲ ἑννέα αἱ Μοῦσαι καὶ διὰ τί καὶ ὅτι Μνημοσύνης καὶ Διὸς θυγατέρες καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα περὶ τούτων λέγονται, πολλοῖς καὶ πολλοαχοῦ εἴρηται. διὸ περιέργον διαληφθῆναι νῦν ταῦτα. εἴ που δὲ παρεμπέσῃ τόπος, οὐ σιγηθήσεται τὸ καίριον.

That the Muses are nine, and why, that they are the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne, and all the other stories that are narrated about them, this has been already discussed by many in many other works. Therefore it would be useless to go through this topic now. Should the occasion arise, I will not pass over in silence what it is necessary to say.³⁵ (Eust. in *Il.* 1.1, I 16.26–29 van der Valk)

The words with which Eustathius dismisses the mythographical traditions concerning the Muses may well be a polemic remark against Tzetzes, who, as we have

Theogony, 'perhaps the first attempt towards a thorough Platonising Christianisation of an ancient epic poem', see Pontani 2015, 376–377 and West 1966, 70–71. Since Galenus depends on Tzetzes for the list of the five allegorical meanings of θεός (pp. 364.7–365.3 Flach: see Cullhed 2014, 66–67 with notes 220–221), it is possible that the long scholium on the Muses relies on Tzetzes too: further evidence for the influence of Tzetzes' approach on his contemporaries.

³² On this work, see Flach 1876, 23–28; West 1966, 71–72.

³³ See pp. 452.10–19, 457.20–28 Gaisf., where Protospatharius states that the ancients loved the number nine because it was the Muses' number. He probably lived in the Palaeologan Age. On the commentary, see West 1978, 70–71.

³⁴ Pediasimos' pamphlet on the Muses is edited in De Falco 1923b, 14–16. All the numerological observations of these Byzantine authors, including those of Tzetzes, are discussed in De Falco 1923a, 46–51. Mullett 2012, 209–218, offers a brilliant survey of the presence of the Muses in Byzantine literature, esp. during the Comnenian Age. A short catalogue of the nine Muses, the arts over which they preside and their inventors was relatively popular in the Byzantine age: see Ercoles 2013, 135; 558, and *schol. Opp. Hal.* 1.78, p. 266 Bussemaker, the authorship of which may actually belong to Tzetzes. On the debated question of Tzetzes' paternity of the scholia to Oppian's *Halieutica* see Colonna 1963 and Zumbo 1996.

³⁵ A line of investigation in Homeric criticism is in fact concerned with Homer's predilection for the number nine: it is connected to the analysis of the adverb ἑννῆμαρ (see e.g. *scholl.* A (Arison,) Hom. *Il.* 6.174a and T (ex.) Hom. *Il.* 12.25 Erbse; Ps.-Plut. *Vit.Hom.* 2.145.11, ll. 1791–1794 Kindstrand). Eust. in *Il.* 2.96–97, I 276.27–277.9 van der Valk follows this tradition but introduces a telling addition: he states that Homer was fond of the number because of the nine Muses (see also in *Il.* 6.174, II 279.19–21 van der Valk).

seen, was too keen on displaying his erudition out of context.³⁶ Nevertheless, Tzetzes' approach to the Muses stands out for his erudite effort to retrace the many Muses of Classical literature: by listing their names, numbers, offspring, and the ancient authors who talked about them, he thus perpetuates the ancient practice of mythographic research.

4 Re-naming the Muses in Eumelus and Epicharmus

The Muses' catalogues which Tzetzes attributes to Eumelus and Epicharmus share a number of extraordinary features: they are not known through other sources; the Muses' numbers point towards alternative traditions; and, more importantly, their names are derived from those of rivers, whereas the names of the nine Hesiodic Muses, as well as others which circulated in antiquity, are mostly descriptive and not connected to masculine beings. The morphological processes adopted to coin the names identify these Muses not simply as aquatic creatures of some sort, but probably as the spouses of famous rivers, many of which are celebrated in renowned catalogues of Homer and Hesiod (*Il.* 12.19–21, *Hes. Th.* 337–345).³⁷ Eumelus' and Epicharmus' pieces on the Muses therefore may have been intended to establish intertextual connections with other catalogues: for this reason, the naming criterion presiding over the organization of these catalogues should be analysed in its own right, as it is likely to convey information on the processes behind the creation of lists and catalogues in ancient poetry.³⁸

Eumelus' and Epicharmus' names follow three well-known derivational paths. The first employs the suffix *-is, -idos*, a *Motionssuffix* used to create feminine nouns (e.g. *Λεσβίς* < *Λέσβος*, *Ἀχαιίδες* < *Ἀχαιοί*), often within a genealogical frame (e.g. *Νηρηίδες* < *Νηρεύς*, *Βρισηίς* < *Βρισεύς*). This suffix features in two of Eumelus' names, *Ἀπολλωνίς* (often emended to *Ἀχελωίς*; see below) and *Βορυσθενίς* < *Βορυσθένης*, and in Epicharmus' *Ἀχελωίς* < *Ἀχελῷος* / *Ἀχελῷος*.

³⁶ For parallels, see Holwerda 1960; Cullhed 2014, 21–24.

³⁷ The Muses cannot be the rivers' daughters since Eumelus and Epicharmus identify their fathers as Apollo and Pieros respectively. For their interpretation as spouses, see below.

³⁸ In spite of their interest, however, these names and their catalogues have not received much attention: the most notable exception is the study by G. Hermann entitled *De Musis fluvialibus Epicharmi et Eumeli* (1819). Shorter studies, which do not attempt an onomastic analysis, are Palutan 2003, on Epicharmus, and Tsagalis 2014, on Eumelus (see too Tsagalis 2017, 169). On the former study, see below p. 181.

The second derivational process selects the feminine suffix *-ῶ*, which in Greek is especially productive in *Kurznamen* derived from compounds (e.g. Καλυψῶ < Καλυψι-; Δωτώ < *Δωτι-, cf. Skt. *dāti-vāra*- ‘she who gives riches’), as well as in feminine forms from simple names (e.g. Ἀργῶ < Ἀργός). The Muses’ names Κηφισῶ (Eumelus), Νειλῶ and Ἄσωπῶ (Epicharmus) belong to this second type (for the shape of their accusative in *-οῦν*, see section 6 below). These three names are *hapax legomena*, but their formation is likely to have been influenced by the literary tradition, since two of Hesiod’s Muses (Κλειῶ and Ἑρατώ), as well as three of the Ne-reids in *Il.* 18.39–49 (Σπειῶ, Δωτώ, and Πρωτώ) have names ending in *-ῶ*.

At the same time, however, Eumelus’ and Epicharmus’ names are much more specific than those in Homer and Hesiod and the use of the suffix *-ῶ* may be more pregnant than elsewhere. Ulla Remmer (2007) has suggested that in the proto-language the suffix behind both *-ῶ* and Indo-Iranian *-āyī-* was specific to the derivation of wives’ names from those of their husbands. This derivational process is still quite transparent in Indo-Iranian, but has become obscure in Greek, where *-ῶ* does not seem to be restricted to spouses’ names. Should the hypothesis that Eumelus’ and Epicharmus’ Muses are the wives of rivers be correct, it would therefore provide intriguing evidence for the continuation of this specialisation of the suffix also in Greek.

Epicharmus’ catalogue continues with three names formed with the common feminine suffixes *-η* and *-ια* (Τριτώνη, Ἑπταπόρη and Ῥοδία: on the last of these, see also section 6). The remaining one (transmitted as Τιτόπλουιν) is morphologically and semantically mysterious and should probably be amended (see section 5).

The aquatic character of Eumelus’ and Epicharmus’ Muses also brings about a geographical characterisation, perhaps not devoid of local significance: for the rivers evoked by the Muses provide a ‘map’ of the most famous watercourses in Greece and beyond, some of which played a role in those commercial and political contacts between cities which are alluded to in many mythographical traditions of the Archaic age. Two of Eumelus’ Muses, Κηφισῶ and Βορυσθενίς, thus take us to continental Greece and to the eastern colonial context, both of which inspire much of his poetry. Κηφισός (Kephisos) is the name of more than one Greek river, the most famous of which streamed through Boeotia; the Βορυσθένης (the modern Dniepr) – the most important river in the east of the Greek world and famous for its abundance of fish (cf. *Hdt.* 4.53) – runs into the Black Sea, an area which evokes the Argonautic tales: the eastern colony of Sinope and its eponymous nymph are the object of Eumelus’ fr. 31 Tsagalis = 29 West (= 10 Bernabé =

Cor. 7 Davies).³⁹ While Βορυσθενίς occurs once as the by-name of Pontic Olbia (Ptol. *Geog.* 8.10.3), the name Κηφισώ is a *hapax*: since the form Κηφισίς is the name of Lake Copais and of the nymph connected to it, one is led to wonder whether Eumelus coined the name Κηφισώ in order to distinguish his Muse from the nymph.

The first name on Eumelus' list is transmitted as Ἀπολλωνίς, which has been treated with suspicion because of its unspecific character. Following Hermann 1819, 14 most editors correct it into Ἀχελωίς, which would complete the trio with another pregnant mythological and geographic allusion: the Achelous river was considered to be the father of the Peirene fountain at Corinth, Eumelus' birth-place.⁴⁰ Hermann advanced his conjecture also on account of the presence of an Ἀχελωίς Muse in Epicharmus' list. In opposition to this, Debiasi defends the transmitted Ἀπολλωνίς and suggests that it refers to Apollonia, the Corinthian colony on the southern Illyrian coast.⁴¹ In search of a similar Corinthian connection, West prefers to correct Ἀπολλωνίς to Ἀσωπίς, on account of the importance of myths concerning Asopus and his many daughters in continental Greece (Ἀσωπώ also figures in Epicharmus' list).⁴²

Interpreters have also assumed that Eumelus' Corinthian echoes were picked up by Epicharmus, who was active in Syracuse, a Corinthian colony.⁴³ However, if there is more than one hint that Eumelus' list may have been concerned not only with presenting famed rivers, but also with alluding to specific Corinthian

³⁹ According to *sch.* Pi. *O.* 14.2, the Kephisos at Orchomenos was a site where the Charites were worshipped: this could provide a parallel for Eumelus' invention of a Muse linked to that river. On Eumelus' interest in the Black Sea, see West 2002, 126–128, 132; Debiasi 2004, 28–32; Fowler 2013, 80.

⁴⁰ Beyond Epicharmus' list transmitted by Tzetzes, Ἀχελωίς is attested only once: in Panyassis (fr. 2 Bernabé = 15 Davies = 2 West, by Paus. 10.8.9) it occurs as the epithet of Castalia, another nymph connected to a famous fountain, see Tsagalis 2014 and Tsagalis 2017, 170–172. Interestingly, the plural Ἀχελωίδες is used by A.R. 4.893 as a collective epithet of the Sirens: according to some traditions, the Sirens were born from the blood dripping from Achelous wounded by Heracles; in other tales they are the daughters of the river and Melpomene or Terpsichore. Different still is the use of the plural in Aesch. *Pers.* 869, where it refers to the cities on the coast between the Bosphorus and the Strymon river (on this passage and relative scholium, cf. Tosi in this volume).

⁴¹ Debiasi 2004, 61.

⁴² West 2002, 127–128. Eumelus mentions the Asopids Sinope (see above) and Antiope: see fr. 18 Tsagalis = 17 West = 3 Bernabé = *Cor.* 2 Davies with West 2002, 120 and Debiasi 2004, 24. Debiasi 2004, 54–56 speculatively suggests that Eumelus' list of Asopides included Kerkyra as well (see too Debiasi 2015, 18–19). On the Asopus river and Eumelus, see also Olivieri 2007.

⁴³ See, e.g. Wilisch 1875, 39–40, according to whom Eumelus' fragment contains clear references to sagas originating in a Corinthian milieu.

or continental sagas, the ultimate goal of Epicharmus' list is probably more nuanced. Ἀχελώϊς and Ἄσωπώ may certainly be a homage to these traditions, but the rivers themselves were famous enough to be of universal significance.

The impression that the Sicilian playwright was more interested in providing a geographical *summa* of famous watercourses rather than mythological references tied to a specific local context (whether Corinthian or Syracusan) becomes stronger once one considers his Muses Νειλώ, Τριτώνη, Ἑπταπόρη and Ῥοδία. There is no trace elsewhere of a nymph Νειλώ (a *hapax*: the adjective Νειλωΐς has the generic meaning of 'situated on the Nile'), who seems to be included in Epicharmus' list more for the importance of the Nile (whose fame in antiquity is well-known) than for the river's role in any given saga. Τριτώνη derives from Τρίτων, and thus perhaps alludes to the sea-god son of Poseidon and Amphitrite rather than to the more obscure Libyan river which connected the sea to a lake named Τριτωνίς (cf. Aesch. *Eu.* 293; Hdt. 4.179), or to the Boeotian river Τρίτων which ran into Lake Copais (cf. Str. 9.2.18; Paus. 9.33.7).⁴⁴

However, the most important reason for not associating Epicharmus' Muses with any closed reference context is the fact that four of their names echo famous epic catalogues of rivers. The first of these catalogues is Hom. *Il.* 12.19–22, which mentions the rivers Heptaporos and Rhodios among those which descend from Mount Ida to Troy. The second catalogue, which lists the rivers born of Oceanus and Tethys and the nymphs who are these rivers' children, occurs in Hes. *Th.* 337–345 and mentions the Nile, the Achelous, the Rhodios and the Heptaporos.

The hypothesis that these renowned catalogues of rivers provided inspiration for Epicharmus' Muses, indeed being their intended reference point, will be discussed with further evidence in section 7, where we will also claim that the Sicilian playwright not only alluded to, but also parodied these epic models. For the time being, it is worth stressing that the rivers kindred to Epicharmus' Muses Νειλώ, Ἄσωπώ, Ἑπταπόρη, Ἀχελώϊς and Ῥοδία, while important for some areas of Greece and their folklore at some stages in antiquity, were also sufficiently well-known for Epicharmus' audience to interpret the feminine creatures connected to them as universal, transparent aquatic beings.

⁴⁴ Kaibel *ad* Epich. fr. 41 (= 39 K.-A.) took this parallel seriously and corrected Τριτώνην into Τριτωνίδα. Early Hellenistic sources (A.R. 4.269; Lyc. *Al.* 576) use Τρίτων to refer to the Nile.

5 The mysterious sixth Muse: reinstating the logic of the list

The only obscure reference in the list transmitted by Tzetzes is the name of Epicharmus' sixth Muse, which in the accusative takes the form Τιτόπλουv. At first glance, this *hapax* looks like the accusative singular of a compound ending in -πλοος. Such a form would of course be appropriate for the name of a Muse connected to a river which could be navigated. There is, however, quite a serious semantic counter-argument, namely the fact that all the known compounds in -πλοος refer to beings *which navigate* rather than *are navigated*.⁴⁵ Therefore, one would have to suppose that the agent performing the action of navigation is the Muse herself: 'she who navigates on the Τιτο-'.

The first obvious problem with this interpretation is that this name would be formed in a completely different way from the other six, which are all derived from attested masculine names of rivers. The second problem is even more pressing as it is not possible to identify the first member Τιτο- with any known river: the name of this Muse, therefore, would function in a different way from all the others included in the list. This strongly encourages us to look for another explanation: in order to function, the list has to obey an internal logic which cannot be broken.

Τιτόπλουv has usually been regarded with suspicion and variously emended – albeit without consensus.⁴⁶ Hermann's suggestion to correct into Πακτωλοῦv, for instance, is palaeographically not satisfactory.⁴⁷ Marta Cardin's new examination of the manuscript tradition of Tzetzes' commentary on the *Erga* now allows a new interpretation. Some manuscripts of the *Erga* and Tzetzes' commentary belonging to the Φ family suggest that in Tzetzes' textual tradition there existed the variant Τιτώνην: we take this to be the original name of Epicharmus' sixth Muse.⁴⁸ Just

⁴⁵ E.g. ἀκρόπλοος 'swimming at the top', ἀλίπλοος 'sailing on the sea', ἀνάπλοος 'sailing upstream', εὐθύπλοος 'sailing straight', etc.

⁴⁶ Apart from Kaibel (see below), other suggestions include Ἀλιακμοῦv (Maass 1892, 212: from the Ἀλιακμων river, cf. Hes. *Th.* 341); Ἐνιποῦv (Lobeck 1829, 544 n. d: from Ἐνιπεύς river, cf. Hom. *Od.* 11.238); Τιτωποῦv (Bergk 1860, 306 n. 26: 'von einem mythischen Flusse, der so benannt war nach der Morgenröthe Τιτώ').

⁴⁷ Hermann 1819, 4.

⁴⁸ In the complex textual tradition of Tzetzes' commentary it is possible to identify a branch corresponding to the Φ family of the manuscripts transmitting the *Works and Days*, on which see West 1974, 176–181. Some manuscripts belonging to the Φ family seem to support the existence of the variant Τιτώνην, which goes in the direction of the conjecture advanced by Kaibel. Codd.

like Τριτώνη derives from Τρίτων, Τιτώνη would derive from the masculine river-name Τίτων. A similar conjecture was advanced by Georg Kaibel (Epich. fr. 41), who proposed Τιτωνοῦν, accusative of Τιτωνώ.

The Τίτων river is first mentioned in Lyc. *Al.* 1276–1277 as one of the wonders of Latium: in the environs of Lake Fucino (Lycophron's Φόρκη) this river disappeared underground and resurfaced near the modern city of Subiaco.⁴⁹ The evidence we have for this river therefore postdates Epicharmus by two centuries and the name itself is not attested before Lycophron. However, the crucial point here is that the existence of this river provides a model on which the name of the sixth Muse could be formed, thus preserving the organizational criterion which informs Epicharmus' list. Moreover, it cannot be ruled out that this Italian river was known to Epicharmus, a poet steeped in a context where exchanges with the Italian peninsula were normal: the fact that the Τίτων river was characterised by karstic phenomena could explain why it was known beyond Latium. It may even be argued that the denomination of a Muse from a river in Italy would be in keeping with the fact that Epicharmus' Sicilian Greek resonates with Italic words.⁵⁰

Vaticanus graecus 1332, f. 127v (13th–14th c.) and *Cantabrigiensis* O.9.27, f. 4r (14th c.) have the meaningless *supra lineam* correction ὠννν; in cod. *Parisinus graecus* 2773, f. 5r (second half of the 13th c.) this correction is transferred to the main text, where it follows Τιτόπλου (Τιτόπλου ὠννν). Codd. *Messanensis* F.V. 11, f. 4v (end of the 12th c.) and *Ambrosianus* I 15 sup., f. 12v (second half of 13th c.), which derive from the same manuscript, have a similarly meaningless Τιτοπλώνην, which clearly replaces the ending of Τιτόπλου with the *supra lineam* correction or variant ὠννν or ὠνν. Parallels can be found for this behaviour of the common antigraphon of the Messina and Milan manuscripts. Again in scholium 1 (l. 57 = p. 27.7 Gaisf.), these manuscripts (ff. 5r and 13r respectively) have the *lectio* αὐλητρίδαιες, a *vox nihili* which merges the correct and more common reading αὐλητρίδες with the variant αὐλήτριάι, attested in cod. *Vaticanus Ottobonianus graecus* 210, f. 4v (ff. 1–64r anno 1363), another manuscript belonging to the Φ family.

49 Cf. sch. Lyc. *Al.* 1276 Leone: Τίτων ποταμός Ἰταλίας ἐγγὺς Κιρκαίου πόλεως, οὗτος δὲ ὁ ποταμός οὐκ εἰς θάλασσαν ῥέει, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς καταπίνεται, ὡς φησι καὶ Φιλοστέφανος (fr. 23 *FHG* = fr. 27 Capel Badino). The phenomenon is also commented upon in Pliny, *NH* 2.224. The river is known under the name *Pitoni* in Latin (Vib. Seq. 1.117); Pliny, *NH* 31.41, mentions a spring named *Pitonia*. For more information and the context of Lycophron's passage, see Hornblower 2017, 451.

50 E.g. fr. 8, 37, 138, 220 K.-A. On this Italic layer in Sicilian Greek, see Conway/Whatmough/Johnson 1933, 449–477; Cassio 2002, 67–70; Willi 2008, 141–144; Poccetti 2012, 65–70; Cassio 2012, 254–256.

6 Epicharmus' catalogic bravura in *The Wedding of Hebe*

The preceding sections have shown how, in creating his list of Muses, Epicharmus did not content himself with using whatever names came to his mind, but construed a coherent group of names linked to famous rivers and yet mostly unknown to other traditions. Yet, the role of this catalogue within the play *The Wedding of Hebe* and its significance in Epicharmus' œuvre escapes modern interpreters. Several factors may account for this. On the one hand, Tzetzes' testimony does not look like a direct quotation, which may explain why it is not treated as a poetic fragment in current editions (this is ironic, though, since Lloyd-Jones and Parsons took Aratus' identically elusive list seriously and, by providing the necessary connectors, edited it as a hexametric fragment in *SH* 87: see above). On the other hand, Epicharmus' comedies have generally received little and only highly specialised critical attention until very recently. The new interpretative approaches to Sicilian comedy advanced in the last fifteen years, however, have contributed to highlight how Epicharmus' poetry engages in a continuous dialogue with other poetic traditions. This framework can be fruitfully applied to the interpretation of the Muses' catalogue which, we argue, must have had a central role in *The Wedding of Hebe*, one of the best known Epicharmian mythological comedies.⁵¹

The twenty-six fragments of this comedy – with the exception of fr. 39 containing Tzetzes' rendering of its list of Muses, fr. 63 (from Pollux) and fr. 64 (from Aelian) – are all transmitted by Athenaeus and suggest a context in which food, and fish in particular, has a prominent role. The distorting effect caused by the particular interests and criteria for selection of our sources of comic fragments is well-known, as is the fact that Athenaeus is a source heavily interested in food and related matters. Nevertheless, the structure of the longer fragments from *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 40, 41) indeed lends plausibility to the impression that this comedy – or at least a significant section of it – pivoted around fish and sea themes. It has been suggested that the play's focus was the wedding banquet, and that it used the theme of Heracles' proverbial hunger (which Epicharmus also explored in the *Busiris*) to portray the invited gods as insatiable gluttons.⁵²

⁵¹ On the difference between 'mythological' and 'everyday' comedies, see Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén 1996, xv–xvi.

⁵² For this common interpretation, see Kerkhof 2002, 118–119, with earlier references. On the wedding of Heracles and Hebe in general, see Palutan 2003, 244–245.

The Muses' role in the comedy is unknown, but it is almost certain that they played an important part since Athenaeus 3.110b (*test.* ii K.–A.) bears witness to a remake (διασκευή), probably by Epicharmus himself, entitled Μοῦσαι. According to Palutan 2003 – one of the few studies to have dealt extensively with Epicharmus' Muses since Hermann 1819 – the seven Muses accompanied Hebe's wedding procession, as they did in the more famous marriages of Peleus and Thetis and Cadmus and Harmonia. Palutan 2003 must particularly be credited with having identified a parallel for Epicharmus' seven Muses on the Corinthian *aryballos* found at Vulci and dated to the early 6th century BC mentioned above (p. 170).⁵³ The vase depicts Heracles and Hebe in a chariot who are greeted by Athena, Aphrodite and two Charites in the presence of Zeus, Hera and Hermes: behind the chariot stand Apollo (holding his lyre), Calliope and two pairs of three figures labelled ΜΟΥΣΑΙ. According to Palutan, the total number of seven Muses (counting Calliope), which cannot be explained by the spatial limitations of the vase, provides evidence for a Corinthian tradition of seven Muses which inspired both the painter of the *aryballos* and Epicharmus.⁵⁴

Epicharmus seems to have recast this (Corinthian?) tradition of seven Muses in a comic light. The Muses do not have traditional names (as is the case with Calliope on the *aryballos*) but, as we have seen, they are named after famous rivers: they are not the patrons of the arts but, in Hermann's words, '*unice rei piscariae*'.⁵⁵ These 'patron saints' of fish (which, as we argued above, seems to have been a main ingredient of the wedding menu) are the daughters of Πίερος and Πιμπληίς. Although these names seem serious and dignified at first (Πίερος is the name of the eponymous hero of Περία while Πιμπληίς evokes Πίμπλεια, another dwelling-place of the Muses), they also have a comic resonance: Πίερος evokes the adjective πιερός, while Πιμπληίς contains the root of πίμπλημι. On second reading, therefore, the Muses' parents are revealed to be 'Mr. Fat' and 'Mrs. Full'.⁵⁶

The comic intention of this Epicharmian rendering of myth is universally recognised. This should, however, not distract us from the fact that the catalogue of

⁵³ LIMC V.1 163–164, *Herakles* no. 3331 = VI.1 671, *Mousa*, *Mousai* no. 122bis.

⁵⁴ Palutan 2003, 246.

⁵⁵ Hermann 1819, 11.

⁵⁶ Πιμπληΐδος is the *lectio* in the printed *vulgata* (see, beside Gaisford, Trincavelli 1537, 3v; Basileae 1542, 17; Heinsius 1603, 6). Πιμπληΐδος is the prevailing *lectio* in the manuscripts of Tzetzes' commentary: for this reason, Πιμπληΐδος is here kept in the text of the scholium (see also Πιμπληΐας in Orph. fr. 771b Bernabé [= 342 Kern] = Maxim. 1a, from Tz. *in Lyc.* 1275, p. 118.25–26 Scheer, which has Πιμπλειας from Lyc. l.c. and Call. *Hymn.* 4.7, and Tz. *De metr.* p. 302.18 Cramer). However, this does by no means exclude the possibility that in Epicharmus the original name of the Muses' mother was Πιμπληίς.

Muses provides important information on Epicharmus' engagement with the literary tradition. Recent scholarship on Epicharmus has highlighted his use of linguistic variation for comic and parodic purposes.⁵⁷ It is now generally acknowledged that far from representing a kind of simple local farce, inferior to great Attic comedy, Epicharmus' dramatic art occupied a central place in late-archaic Greek culture: even the short fragments which have reached us point to a constant dialogue with epic poetry and contemporary philosophical thought.⁵⁸ Parody of epic language and style is an integral part of this dialogue with the literary tradition, as can perhaps be best appreciated in the comedies *Odysseus the Deserter* (Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτόμολος, fr. 97, 99 K.–A.) and *Sirens* (Σειρήνες, *fr. 121 K.–A., a hexameter), but is also apparent in the fragments of many other plays.⁵⁹

The Wedding of Hebe too must have had a good share of literary parody and allusion. The various descriptions of fish feature a series of high-sounding yet mundane epithets, most of which are *hapax legomena*: consider for instance the compounds μακρογόγγυλος 'cylindrical' (fr. 40.7), φιλοκονεῖμων 'loving dust' (fr. 42.2), τραχυδέρμων 'rough-skinned' (fr. 52.2), ἐκτραπελόγαστρος 'with an enormous pouch' and μεγαλοχάσμων 'wide gaping' (both in fr. 60), μακροκαμπυλαύχην 'with a long bending neck' (fr. 85.1).⁶⁰ Poseidon's 'parade' in fr. 48 may hint at epic poetry, particularly if one accepts the insertion of a non-Doric dative plural in -οισιν (γαύλοισιν ἐν Φοινικικοῖς, fr. 48.1 K.–A.).⁶¹ All these are examples of what Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén calls 'parodic combinations of elevated style and trivial themes'.⁶²

Moreover, a large number of fragments of the play display a 'catalogic quality' – and this cannot be a coincidence. It is evident not only in the long paratactic lists of fish in, e.g., fr. 40 and 41, but also in the choice of connectors. Thus, τε and τε καί, which are otherwise sparingly used in Epicharmus, recur forty-five

57 Willi 2008, 162–192.

58 For an appraisal, see Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén 2012. One may disagree with some of her interpretations, e.g. those which posit a direct relationship between Epicharmus and Pindaric poetry. Yet, the picture that Epicharmus' fragments give us is unmistakably that of a poet fully steeped in the poetic tradition.

59 On epic parody in *Odysseus the Deserter*, see Cassio 2002, 73–83; Willi 2008, 177–191; Willi 2012, 63–73; Revermann 2013, 106–110. Likely epic or lyric echoes in Epicharmus are discussed in Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén 1994, 387–388; Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén 1996, xxiv–xxvi; Willi 2008, 176–177; Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén 2012, 84–85; Favi (forthcoming). For mythological parody, see Reinhardt 1996; Casolari 2003, 55–59.

60 Palutan 2003, 246–247. On these and other epithets, see Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén 2012, 84.

61 A similarly epicising non-Doric dative, Ἀχαιοῖσιν, occurs in fr. 99.4, from *Odysseus the Deserter*.

62 Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén 2012, 78.

times in the forty-eight remaining lines of *The Wedding of Hebe* as well as ten times in nine full lines of the remake Μοῦσαι (fr. 84–92 K.–A.).⁶³

Epicharmus' list of Muses is not only perfectly coherent with the 'catalogic feel' of the other fragments from *The Wedding of Hebe*, but itself might have been the *pièce de résistance* of the play's literary allusions, a part in which Epicharmus imitated and parodied the three key-features of traditional catalogues: mythological genealogy, Ionic dialect, and the paratactic succession of feminine names found e.g. in Hes. *Th.* 349–361. The first feature, as already noted, is mocked with the choice of Πίερος and Πιμπληΐς ('Mr. Fat' and 'Mrs. Full') as the Muses' parents, which are a tongue-in-cheek allusion to Πιερία and Πιμπλεια, the dwelling places of the 'serious' Muses.

In imitation of the language of epic catalogues, Epicharmus' piece employs Ionic phonology in the names Ἑπταπόρη and Τριτώνη, where /e:/ (η) replaces Doric /a:/ (ᾱ). Such a manipulation of language is an integral part of Epicharmus' parody. Of course, one might object that the Ionic colouring might be due to trivialisation at some stage in the transmission of the text or even to Tzetzes himself.⁶⁴ Two counter-arguments, however, counterweigh these objections. First, in ancient linguistic thought Epicharmus is considered a representative model of Doric: trivialisations of his language usually go in the direction of making it 'more Doric' by replacing elements of *Doris mitior* with elements of *Doris severior*, rather than introducing Ionic phonology.⁶⁵ When Ionic elements do appear in Epicharmus, they are usually quite transparently borrowings, often metrically guaranteed.⁶⁶ Second, the hypothesis of a post-Epicharmian mechanical trivialisation of ᾱ into the non-dialectal η could work for Τριτώνη but not for Ἑπταπόρη, since in the *koine* (which is based on Attic) this name would have exactly the same form as in Doric, Ἑπταπόρᾱ (with '*alpha purum*'). The idea that Tzetzes might have

⁶³ The exact figures are: thirty-five instances of τε in *The Wedding of Hebe* and nine in *Muses*, ten of τε καὶ in *The Wedding of Hebe* and one in *Muses*. In fr. 1–38, preceding those from *The Wedding of Hebe*, there are four instances of τε and two of τε καὶ in about forty-five lines (some of which in fact consisting of a few words); in fr. 65–80 and 97–112 there are eight instances of τε and two of τε καὶ in about fifty-five lines.

⁶⁴ See for instance Maass 1892, 211 (also quoted by K.–A. *ad* Epich. fr. 39), according to whom the Ionic phonology of these names was introduced by the anonymous source which inspired Tzetzes' erudite note on the Muses (see n. 22).

⁶⁵ *Doris severior* for *Doris mitior* features are common in Athenaeus' Epicharmian quotations: see e.g. fr. 32.12 μαστιγῶντι 'they whip' for μαστιγοῦντι (< μαστιγο-οντι) and fr. 50.2 τῶνυμα for τοῦνυμα (< τὸ ὄνυμα), both from *The Wedding of Hebe*.

⁶⁶ E.g. the imperfect 3rd plural ἦσαν vs. the Doric ἦεν or ἦν in fr. 275 K.–A. (which may well be authentic: see Cassio 2002, 56–57) or οὐδ' ἄν for οὐδέ κα in fr. 115 K.–A.

consciously altered these names to make them more Ionic is also odd: why should he have done so?

The same reasoning could apply to the accusatives Νειλοῦν, Ἀσωποῦν (as well as Κηφισοῦν in Eumelus), though their situation is more complex. In ancient Greek names in -ῶ have accusatives in -όα or -ώ: the former is the norm in epic poetry. Accusatives in -οῦν, which are analogical on the genitive in -οῦς, are associated with post-Classical Greek: they are attested in inscriptions and continue into later Greek, with some relics in Modern Greek.⁶⁷ For these reasons, at first sight it would seem unlikely that such accusatives belong to the original poetry of Eumelus and Epicharmus. Yet, at least in Epicharmus' case it is not possible to entirely rule out this hypothesis. Accusatives in -οῦν belong to Herodotus' language and Herodas, whose imitation of literary Ionic is well-known, uses up to three such accusatives.⁶⁸ The Ionic character of these forms was recognised by the ancient grammarians too (Choer. in *Th. Alex. can.* 311.7 Hilgard, and *schol. D.T.* 467.27). On balance, therefore, the hypothesis that the accusatives in -οῦν belong to the ancient layer of the list as Ionic elements is perhaps more intriguing than the hypothesis that they were introduced by Tzetzes himself, who should instead have used the accusatives in -όα which are common in epic diction.

It may be objected that the name of the last Muse, Ῥοδία, provides evidence against the idea that Epicharmus applied Ionic colouring to his list, since its /a:/ is not changed into /e:/, as one would expect in Ionic (but not in Attic or *koinē*). This problem may be easily solved by correcting Ῥοδία into Ῥόδεια, the name of one of the Oceanids in Hes. *Th.* 351 and *H.Dem.* 419. Although in principle Ῥοδία and Ῥόδεια are different names with a different formation, it is very likely that they were perceived as variants of one another: Ῥόδεια (whose original meaning is 'the rosy one') could well replace Ῥοδία (which is the feminine version of Ῥόδιος, 'Rhodian').⁶⁹ Moreover, Ῥόδεια would have the advantage of providing a clear reference to Hesiod's famous catalogue of Oceanids and would thus be consistent with the allusivity of the whole list.

⁶⁷ For this new declension in -οῦ, -οῦς see Schwyzler 1939, 479; Hatzidakis 1982, 25–26.

⁶⁸ For a comprehensive list of literary occurrences, see Headlam 1922, 106.

⁶⁹ Ῥόδεια is a *Stoffadjektivum* formed with the suffix -εῖος, -εῖα, whereas Ῥοδία, which derives directly from Ῥόδιος, takes -ᾱ to mark its feminine gender. The original feminine form of the suffix -εῖος should be -εῖα (e.g. χαλκείη), but there are frequent cases of -εῖα which derive from analogy with s-stems nouns of the type Ἰφινήδεια < Ἰφινήδης: these names end up influencing names which are not s-stems, such as Ἰπποδάμεια < Ἰπποδάμας. It is likely that because of these analogical adjustments Ῥόδεια and Ῥοδία came to be perceived as variants of one another: see West's note *ad* Hes. *Th.* 351, where he also discusses the occurrence of ΡΟΔΙΑ as the name of a fountain on the François Vase.

The name of the Muses' father, Πίερος, provides definitive evidence that the piece was constructed around a careful use of Ionic phonological features. As already noted, Πίερος works as a funny name only if it can be perceived to evoke both Πιερία and πειρός, the latter of which associates the Muses with fatness and plenty, the play's key-themes. But this echo is possible only if the audience is ready to recognise the adjective in its Ionic shape (πειρός), and *not* the Doric form πιαρός, which would not echo Πιερία. The Ionic colouring of many names on the list thus provides strong support to the hypothesis that the Muses' genealogy was part of a section endowed with an epic and catalogic flavour in which Epicharmus momentarily forsook his Doric dialect to indulge in a virtuoso piece of literary parody.

It is unfortunate that Tzetzes just lists the Muses' names without quoting Epicharmus' lines *verbatim*, since the metre would have provided relevant information for the contextualisation of this piece in the frame of Epicharmus' dramatic art. Elsewhere prosody compatible with hexameters is invariably associated with epic morphology and vocabulary: see e.g. fr. 113.415 K.–A. ἀφρ]άτωρ ἀθέμ[ιστος ἀ]νίστιος· α[– in all likelihood the beginning of a hexameter which 'translates' *Il.* 9.63 into Doric; or *fr. 121 K.–A. λαοὶ τοξοχ[ίτωνες, ἀκούετε Σειρη-νάων, with the epithet τοξοχ[ίτωνες and para-epic genitive Σειρηνάων; and perhaps also inc. fr. 224 K.–A. γυναικάνδρεσσι ποθεινοί.⁷⁰ It would be reasonable to infer from this practice that in the Muses' catalogue, conversely, the choice of catalogic mode and Ionic phonology was accompanied by a metre evocative of epic and didactic poetry.

This can safely be guessed on the basis of the fact that many of the Muses' names have a prosodic structure suitable or indeed ideal for dactylic or anapaestic meters. All the other fragments of *The Wedding of Hebe* are in catalectic trochaic tetrameters, the metre found most frequently in the remains of Epicharmus' comedies, but the fragments of other plays provide satisfactory evidence for his use of the iambic trimeter, the anapaestic dimeter and the catalectic anapaestic tetrameter (as well as a few hexameters, with a parodic function).⁷¹ Moreover, there is evidence that Epicharmus mixed metres in some plays: fr. 100 K.–A., attributed to *Odysseus the Deserter*, is in anapaestic dimeters whereas the other fragments of this play are in catalectic trochaic tetrameters; *The Sphinx* (Σφίγξ, frs. 125 and 126 K.–A.) may have used catalectic trochaic tetrameters and iambic trimeters.⁷²

⁷⁰ On these fragments, see Cassio 2012, 71–73; Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén 2012, 78.

⁷¹ Hephaestion 25.10–12 informs us that two plays, Χορεύοντες and Ἐπίνικος, were entirely written in catalectic anapaestic tetrameters: Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén 1996, xxvii wrongly states that Hephaestion's testimony concerns the catalectic trochaic tetrameter.

⁷² Other evidence for metrical mixing is uncertain, in spite of the optimism of Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén 1996, xxvii. She states that the Περίαλλος mixed catalectic trochaic tetrameters (as in fr. 108 K.–A.) with iambic trimeters: however, this is based on the supposition that what she

It is not impossible, therefore, that in *The Wedding of Hebe* too Epicharmus adopted another metre to parody the dactylic sequences of famous epic catalogues. It is worth noting that the combination of epicising language and a possibly anapaestic or dactylic structure was a tool which Epicharmus selected to humorously imitate traditional poetry. Just as in Attic comedy, an anapaestic structure could have characterised a *recitativo* part which described the Muses or in which they made an entrance (perhaps a sort of *parodos*?).⁷³

7 Conclusions

When it comes to the big question of whether Epicharmus might have used the chorus of course we are bound to remain in the darkness, unless new papyrus fragments throw further light on Epicharmus' dramatic art. The fresh investigation of already known yet largely neglected sources, however, is always a useful means to connect distant authors and periods. By looking at the catalogues devoted to the Muses, we have suggested that from Eumelus down to Tzetzes the 'alternative' traditions of the Muses' catalogues have functioned not as merely decorative lists, but as powerful intellectual containers, in which the individual items (i.e., the Muses' names) reverberate with broad cultural implications. This, we have argued, is particularly evident in Epicharmus: he adopts the catalogic mode to comically allude to (and thus seriously reflect on) didactic poetry, the genre which embodies the old literary tradition and which the new comic genre may parody (and thus criticise) by using its very identifying features.

For Tzetzes, the catalogue is the key-element of literary and mythographical knowledge: casting himself as the heir of ancient authors and critics, he recurs to the catalogic mode to reflect on the methodological implications of commenting on ancient texts. His 'meta-catalogue' is thus a way to overcome his inner struggle

edits as fr. 115 belongs to this comedy, which is far from certain (see fr. 109 K.-A.). She also positively assigns an alternation between iambic trimeters and trochaic tetrameters to *Pots* (Χύτραι), because she edits as two different fragments from this play (207 and 208 in her edition) the information given by Poll. 9.79, which is edited as one fragment (134) in K.-A. It may well be that Pollux is actually juxtaposing two different quotations from the play, and hence that Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén 1996 is correct in positing a change of meter; but the issue remains uncertain. That *Pyrroha* and *Promatheus* may have mixed meters is possible, but far from certain: the fragments (113–120 K.-A.) are very lacunose.

⁷³ As already mentioned (p. 179), it has been suggested that fr. 100 K.-A., in anapaestic dimeters, may have been performed chorally: see Kerkhof 2002, 151–155, with references.

between his desire to clearly explain the true meaning of Hesiod's words and his tendency to outpour his immense erudition.

This journey through the uses and re-uses of ancient catalogues, and their significance for different audiences, would thus not have been possible without the contribution of a Byzantine scholar, who spent his life reading, interpreting and teaching Classical literature with the aid of high-level exegesis which he programmatically forged in the manner of the ancient scholiographic tradition.

Bibliography

Editions

- Bekker = Bekker, I. (ed.), "Die *Theogonie* des Johannes Tzetzes, aus der Bibliotheca Casanattensis (Ms. J. II. 10) herausgegeben", *APAW*, 1840, 147–169 (= Id., *Opuscula academica Berolinensia. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft Byzantinistik und Romanischen Philologie 1826–1871*, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1974, 443–465).
- Bernabé = Bernabé, A. (ed.), *Poetarum epicorum Graecorum Testimonia et fragmenta*, vol. 1, Stuttgart/Leipzig, 1996².
- Broggiato = Broggiato, M. (ed.), *Cratete di Mallo. I frammenti*, La Spezia, 2001.
- Capel Badino = Capel Badino, R. (ed.), *Filostefano di Cirene. Testimonianze e frammenti*, Milano, 2010.
- Cappelletto = Cappelletto, P. (ed.), *I frammenti di Mnasea*, Milano, 2003.
- Cardauns = Cardauns, B. (ed.), *M. Terentius Varro. Antiquitates rerum divinarum*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden, 1976.
- Colonna = See Colonna 1953.
- Davies = Davies, M. (ed.), *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, Göttingen, 1988.
- De Falco = De Falco, V. (ed.), *[Iamblichii] Theologoumena arithmeticae*, Leipzig, 1922.
- Delattre = Delattre, D. (ed.), *Philodème de Gadara. Sur la musique. Livre IV*, 2 vols., Paris, 2007.
- Di Gregorio = Di Gregorio, L. (ed.), *Scholia vetera in Hesiodi Theogoniam*, Milano, 1975.
- Dindorf = Dindorf, W. (ed.), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, Oxford, 1855.
- Dyck = Dyck, A.R. (ed.), *Epimerismi Homerici*, vol. 2, Berlin/New York, 1995.
- Erbse = Erbse, H. (ed.), *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem*, 7 vols., Berlin, 1969–1988.
- FGH = Müller, K. (ed.), *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, 5 vols., Paris, 1841–1873.
- FGrHist = Jacoby, F. (ed.), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin/Leiden, 1923–1958; Schepens, G. et al. (eds.), *FGrHist Continued*, Leiden, 1998–.
- Flach = See Flach 1876.
- Flach = Flach, J. (ed.), *Eudociae Augustae Violarium*, Leipzig, 1880.
- Gaisf. = See Gaisford 1823².
- Gentili–Prato² = Gentili, B./Prato, C. (eds.), *Poetarum elegiacorum testimonia et fragmenta. Pars prior*, Leipzig, 1988².
- Gow–Page = Gow, A.S.F./Page, D.L. (eds.), *The Greek Anthology. The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1968.

- Heiberg = Heiberg, J.L. (ed.), "Anatolius. Sur les dix premiers nombres", in *Annales internationales d'histoire. Congrès de Paris 1900. 5^e section. Histoire de sciences*, Paris, 1901, 27–55.
- Hilgard = Hilgard, A. (ed.), *Scholia in Dionysii Thracis Artem grammaticam*, Leipzig, 1901.
- K.-A. = Kassel, R./Austin, C. (eds.), *Poetae comici Graeci*, vol. 1: *Comoedia Dorica, mimi, phlyaces*, Berlin/New York, 2001.
- Kaibel = Kaibel, G. (ed.), *Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, vol. 1: *Doriensium comoedia, mimi, phlyaces*, Berlin, 1899.
- Kern = Kern, O. (ed.), *Orphicorum fragmenta*, Berlin, 1922.
- Kindstrand = Kindstrand, J.F. (ed.), *[Plutarchi] De Homero*, Leipzig, 1990.
- L.-Schn. = Leutsch, E.L. von/Schneidewin, F.W. (eds.), *Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum*, vol. 1: *Zenobius, Diogenianus, Plutarchus, Gregorius Cyprius, cum appendice proverbiorum*, Göttingen, 1839.
- Leone = Leone, P.L.M. (ed.), *Ioannis Tzetzae Carmina Iliaca*, Catania, 1995.
- Leone = Leone, P.L.M. (ed.), *Scholia vetera et paraphrases in Lycophronis Alexandram*, Galatina, 2002.
- LIMC = *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, 18 vols., Zürich/München, 1981–1999.
- Marzillo = Marzillo, P. (ed.) (2010), *Der Kommentar des Proklos zu Hesiods Werken und Tagen*, Tübingen.
- Matelli = Matelli, E. (ed.), *Prassifane. Testimonianze e frammenti. Filosofia e grammatica in età ellenistica*, Milano, 2012.
- Merro = See Merro 2008.
- Papathomopoulos = Papathomopoulos, M. (ed.), *Ἑξηγήσεις Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ τοῦ Τζέτζου εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδα*, Athens, 2007.
- Pertusi = Pertusi, A. (ed.), *Scholia vetera in Hesiodi Opera et Dies*, Milano, 1955.
- PMGF = Davies, M. (ed.), *Poetarum melicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, vol. 1: *Alcman, Stesichorus, Ibycus*, Oxford, 1991.
- Pontani = Pontani, F. (ed.), *Scholia Graeca in Odysseam*, vol. 1: *Scholia ad libros α–β*, Roma, 2007.
- Rabe = Rabe, H. (ed.), *Scholia in Lucianum*, Leipzig, 1906.
- Scheer = Scheer, E. (ed.), *Lycophronis Alexandra*, vol. 2: *Scholia*, Berlin, 1908².
- SH = Lloyd-Jones, H./Parsons, P.J. (eds.), *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berlin, 1983.
- Tsagalis = See Tsagalis 2017.
- van der Valk = van der Valk, M. (ed.), *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes, ad fidem codicis Laurentiani editi*, 4 vols., Leiden, 1971–1989.
- van Thiel = van Thiel, H. (ed.), *Scholia D in Iliadem. Proecdosis aucta et correctior 2014*, Köln, 2014 (<http://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/5586/>).
- Wäschke = Wäschke, H., "De Aristarchi studiis Hesiodiis", in *Commentationes philologiae: scripserunt Seminarium Philologi regii Lipsiensis qui nunc sunt et qui nuper fuerunt sodales G. Curtio dicatae*, Leipzig, 1874, 149–173.
- Wehrli = Wehrli, F., *Die Schule des Aristoteles. Texte und Kommentar*, vol. 9: *Phainias von Eresos, Chamaeleon, Praxiphanes*, Basel/Stuttgart, 1957 (1969²).
- Wendel = Wendel, C. (ed.), *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium vetera*, Berlin, 1935.
- West = West, M.L. (ed.), *Greek Epic Fragments from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC*, Cambridge (Mass.), 2003.
- West² = West, M.L. (ed.), *Iambi et elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati*, vol. 2: *Callinus, Mimnermus, Semonides, Solon, Tyrtaeus, minora adespota*, Oxford, 1992².

References

- Abel, E. (1889), “Zum γένος Ἡσιόδου des Ioannes Tzetzes”, in *WSt* 11, 88–93.
- Agapitos, P.A. (2014), “Grammar, Genre and Patronage in the Twelfth Century: A Scientific Paradigm and its Implications”, in *JÖByz* 64, 1–22.
- Andrés, G. de (1987), *Catálogo de los códices Griegos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid.
- Basileae (1542), *Hesiodi Ascraei poetae vetustissimi ac sapientissimi opera, quae quidem extant... Item, Ioannis grammatici cognomento Tzetis, viri longe doctissimi, Scholia Graeca in eadem omnia Hesiodi opera, nunc primum quam emendatissime ex manuscripto exemplari in publicum edita...*, Basel.
- Bergk, Th. (1860), “Die Geburt der Athene”, in *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 81, 289–424 (= Rudolf Peppmüller [ed.], *Kleine Schriften von Theodor Bergk*, vol. II: *Zur griechischen Literatur*, Halle 1886, 635–722).
- Braccini, T. (2011), “Riscrivere l’epica: Giovanni Tzetzes di fronte al ciclo troiano”, in *CentoPagine* 5, 43–57.
- Budelmann, F. (2002), “Classical Commentary in Byzantium: John Tzetzes on Ancient Greek Literature”, in R.K. Gibson/Ch. Shuttleworth Kraus (eds.), *The Classical Commentary: Histories, Practices, Theory*, Leiden, 141–169.
- Calderone, Salvatore. (1948), “L’Exegesis ad «Opera et dies» di Tzetzes ed il codex Messanius”, in *GIF* 1, 363–372.
- Cannatà Fera, M. (2012), “Giovanni Tzetzes e i «giambi» di Archiloco (fr. 215 W. = 20 T.)”, in D. Castaldo/F.G. Giannachi/A. Manieri (eds.), *Poesia, musica e agoni nella grecia antica* (Atti del IV Convegno internazionale MOISA, Lecce, 28–30 ottobre 2010), Galatina, 694–710.
- Cardin, M./Pontani, F. (2017), “Hesiod’s Fragments in Byzantium”, in Ch. Tsagalis (ed.), *Poetry in Fragments: Studies on the Hesiodic Corpus and its Afterlife*, Berlin/Boston, 245–287.
- Casolari, F. (2003), *Die Mythentravestie in der griechischen Komödie*, Münster.
- Cassio, A.C. (2002), “The language of Doric comedy”, in A. Willi (ed.), *The Language of Greek Comedy*, Oxford, 51–83.
- Cassio, A.C. (2012), “Intimations of Koine in Sicilian Doric”, in O. Tribulato (ed.), *Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily*, Cambridge, 251–264.
- Cesaretti, P. (1991), *Allegoristi di Omero a Bisanzio. Ricerche ermeneutiche (11.–12. secolo)*, Milano.
- Colonna, A. (1953), “I Prolegomeni ad Esiodo e la *Vita esiodea* di Giovanni Tzetzes”, in *BPEC* 2, 27–39.
- Colonna, A. (ed.) (1959), *Hesiodi. Opera et dies*, Milano/Varese 1959.
- Colonna, A. (1960), “Note esiodee”, in *Studi in onore di Luigi Castiglioni*, Firenze, 239–244.
- Colonna, A. (1963), “Il commento di Giovanni Tetzte agli *Halieutica* di Oppiano”, in *Lanx saturata N. Terzaghi oblata. Miscellanea filologica*, Genova, 101–104.
- Colonna, A. (ed.) (1982² [1968]), *Esiodo. Le opere e i giorni*, Milano.
- Conway, R.S./Whatmough, J./Johnson, S.E. (1933), *The Prae-Italic dialects of Italy*; Vol. 2: *The Raetic, Lepontic, Gallic, East-Italic, Messapic, Sicel Inscriptions, with the Glosses in Ancient Writers and the Local and Divine Names of Ancient Sicily*, London.
- Cullhed, E. (ed.) (2014), *Eustathios of Thessalonike. Parekbolai on Homer’s Odyssey 1–2*. Proekdosis, Uppsala.
- Dahlén, C. (1933), *Zu Johannes Tzetzes’ Exegesis der hesiodeischen Erga*, Uppsala.
- Debiasi, A. (2004), *L’epica perduta: Eumelo, il Ciclo e l’Occidente*, Roma.

- Debiasi, A. (2015), *Eumelo: Un poeta per Corinto. Con ulteriori divagazioni epiche*, Roma.
- De Falco, V. (1923a), "L'aritmologia pitagorica nei Commenti a Esiodo", in *Rivista indo-greco-italica* 3.2, 25–53.
- De Falco, V. (ed.) (1923b), *In Ioannis Pediasimi libellum de partu septemlestri ac novemlestri nondum editum*, Napoli.
- Dimitrijević, M.R. (1899), *Studia Hesioidea*, Leipzig.
- Erbse, H. (1972), *Beiträge zum Verständnis der Odyssee*, Berlin/New York 1972.
- Ercoles, M. (2013), *Stesicoro: le testimonianze antiche*, Bologna.
- Favi, F. (forthcoming), "Epicharmus and Choral Lyric Poetry: A Reappraisal of Old and New Evidence", in E. Passa/O. Tribulato (eds.), *The Paths of Greek: At the Crossroads Between Literature, Linguistics and Epigraphy*, Berlin/Boston.
- Flach, H. (ed.) (1876), *Glossen und Scholien zur Hesiodischen Theogonie*, Leipzig.
- Fowler, R.L. (2013), *Early Greek Mythography*, Vol. 2: *Commentary*, Oxford.
- Gaisford, T. (ed.) (1823²), *Poetae minores Graeci*, vol. 2, Leipzig.
- Grauert, H.W. (1827), "Ueber die Werke des Dichters Aratus von Soli", in *RhM* 1, 336–348.
- Grünbart, M. (2005), "Byzantinisches Gelehrtenelend – oder: Wie meistert man seinen Alltag?", in L.M. Hoffmann (ed.), *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie. Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*, Wiesbaden, 413–426.
- Hatzidakis, G.N. (1892), *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik*, Leipzig.
- Headlam, W. (1922), *Herodas: The Mimes and Fragments*, Cambridge.
- Heinsius, D. (ed.) (1603), *Hesiodi Ascraei quae extant. Cum Graecis scholiis, Procli, Moschopuli, Tzetzae*, in "Ἐργα καὶ Ἡμέρας. Io. Diaconi & incerti in reliqua", Leiden.
- Henrichs, A. (1975), "Philodems «De pietate» als mythographische Quelle", in *CrErc* 5, 5–38.
- Hermann, G. (1819), *Dissertatio de Musis fluvialibus Epicharmi et Eumeli*, Leipzig (= Id., *Opuscula*, vol. 2, Leipzig, 288–305).
- Holwerda, D. (1960), "De Tzetza in Eustathii reprehensiones incurrenti", in *Mnemosyne* 13, 323–326.
- Hornblower, S. (2017), *Lycophron: Alexandra. Greek text, translation, commentary, and introduction*, Oxford.
- Hunger, H. (1954), "Allegorische Mythendeutung in der Antike und bei Johannes Tzetzes", in *JÖByz* 3, 35–54 (= Id., *Byzantinische Grundlagenforschung*, London, 1973, nr. XIV).
- Hunger, H. (1955), "Johannes Tzetzes, Allegorien aus der Verschronik. Kommentierte Textausgabe", in *JÖByz* 4, 13–49.
- Iriarte, J. (1769), *Regiae bibliothecae Matritensis codices Graeci mss.*, vol. 1, Madrid.
- Jeffreys, E.M. (2009), "Why Produce Verse in Twelfth-Century Constantinople?", in P. Odrojko/P.A. Agapitos/M. Hinterberger (eds.), *«Doux remède...» Poésie et poétique à Byzance*, Actes du IV^e colloque international philologique «EPMHNEIA» (Paris, 23–25 février 2006), Paris, 219–228.
- Jeffreys, M.J. (1974), "The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse", in *DOP* 28, 141–195.
- Kaldellis, A. (2007), *Hellenism in Byzantium. The Transformation of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition*, Cambridge.
- Kaldellis, A. (2009), "Classical Scholarship in Twelfth-Century Byzantium", in C. Barber/D. Jenkins (eds.), *Medieval Greek Commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics*, Leiden/Boston, 1–43.
- Kerkhof, R. (2002), *Dorische Posse, Epicharm und Attische Komödie*, München/Leipzig.
- Lehrs, K. (1882³), *De Aristarchi studiis Homericis*, Leipzig.
- Lobeck, Ch.A. (1829), *Aglaophamus, sive de theologiae mysticae Graecorum causis*, vol. I, Königsberg.

- Luzzatto, M.J. (1998), "Leggere i classici nella biblioteca imperiale: note tzetziene su antichi codici", in *QS* 48, 69–86.
- Luzzatto, M.J. (1999), *Tzetzes lettore di Tucidide. Note autografe sul Codice Heidelberg Palatino Greco* 252, Bari.
- Luzzatto, M.J. (2000), "Note inedite di Giovanni Tzetzes e restauro di antichi codici alla fine del XIII secolo: il problema del Laur. 70, 3 di Erodoto", in G. Prato (ed.), *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito* (Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia greca, Cremona, 4–10 ottobre 1998), Firenze, 633–654.
- Maass, E. (1892), *Aratea*, Berlin.
- Matelli, E. (2009), "Due problemi di epica arcaica comuni a Prassifane e ad Aristarco", in *Aevum* 83, 31–60.
- Mayer, M. (1933), "Musai", in *RE* XVI.1, 680–757.
- Merro, G. (ed.) (2008), *Gli scolii al Reso euripideo*, Messina.
- Montanari, F. (2009), "Ancient Scholarship on Hesiod", in F. Montanari/A. Rengakos/Ch. Tsagalis (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Hesiod*, Leiden/Boston, 313–342.
- Mullett, M. (2012), "Whose Muses? Two Advice Poems Attributed to Alexios I Komnenos", in P. Odorico (éd.), *La face cachée de la littérature Byzantine. Le texte en tant que message immédiat*, Actes du colloque international organisé par le centre d'études byzantines de l'EHESS (Paris, 5–7 juin 2008), Paris, 195–220.
- Olivieri, O. (2007), "Asopo, fiume 'interregionale': le tradizioni locali nell'epica di Eumelo e nella poesia greca arcaica", in P. Angeli Bernardini (ed.), *L'epos minore, le tradizioni locali e la poesia arcaica* (Atti dell'Incontro di Studio, Urbino, 7 giugno 2005), Pisa/Roma, 15–14.
- Palutan, M.G. (2003), "Le Nozze di Ebe o le Muse di Epicarmo (e una pittura vascolare corinzia)", in R. Nicolai (ed.), *ΠΥΣΜΟΣ. Studi di poesia, metrica e musica greca offerti dagli allievi a Luigi Enrico Rossi per i suoi settant'anni*, Roma, 243–250.
- Pertusi, A. (1951), "Intorno alla tradizione manoscritta degli scolii di Proclo ad Esiodo IV. Proclo e non Proclo", in *Aevum* 25, 147–159, 267–278.
- Pontani, F. (2015), "Scholarship in the Byzantine Empire (529–1453)", in F. Montanari/S. Matthaios/A. Rengakos (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship; Vol. 1: History. Disciplinary Profiles*, Leiden/Boston, 297–455.
- Ponzio, O. (2003), "Gli scolii di Tzetze agli Erga di Esiodo. Elementi per la costituzione del testo e rapporto con il commentario plutarco", in P. Volpe Cacciatore (ed.), *L'erudizione scolastico-grammaticale a Bisanzio* (Atti della VII Giornata di studi bizantini, Salerno, aprile 2001), Napoli, 129–147.
- Reinhardt, U. (1996), "Zu den Anfängen der Mythenburleske: griechische Mythen in den Komödien Epicharms und bei Stesichoros, auf Caeretaner Hydrien und anderen westgriechischen Sagenbildern", in *Thetis* 3, 21–42.
- Remmer, U. (2007), "Gamonyms, Internal Derivation and the Greek Suffix -ῶ", in G. Coulter/M. McCullagh/B. Nielsen/A. Ruppel/O. Tribulato (eds.), *Greek and Latin from an Indo-European Perspective*, Cambridge, 121–130.
- Revermann, M. (2013), "Paraepic Comedy: Point(s) and Practices", in E. Bakola/L. Prauscello/M. Telò (eds.), *Greek Comedy and the Discourse of Genres*, Cambridge, 101–127.
- Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén, L. (1994), "La parodia en Epicarmo de Siracusa", in *Actas del VIII Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos*. Madrid, 23–28 septiembre 1991, vol. 2, Madrid, 385–390.
- Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén, L. (ed.) (1996), *Epicarmo de Siracusa: Testimonios y fragmentos*, Oviedo.

- Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén, L. (2012), "On Epicharmus' Literary and Philosophical Background", in K. Boshier (ed.), *Theatre outside Athens: Drama in Greek Sicily and South Italy*, Cambridge, 76–96.
- Roscher, W.H. (1904), "Die Sieben- und Neunzahl im Kultus und Mythos der Griechen, nebst einem Anhang Nachträge zu den Ennadischen und Hebdomadischen Fristen und Wochen enthaltend", in *Abhandlungen der Königlich-Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 53, 1–126 (= Id., *Beiträge zur Zahlensymbolik der Griechen und anderer Völker*, Hildesheim/Zürich/New York, 2003, 337–462).
- Ruhnken, D. (1827), *Homeri Hymnus in Cererem, nunc primus editus. Accedunt duae epistolae criticae, ex editione altera, multis partibus locupletiores*, Leipzig.
- Schultz, H. (1910), Review of Eduard Scheer (ed.), *Lycophronis Alexandra*, vol. 2, Berlin, 1908, in *GGA* 172, 19–35.
- Schwyzer, E. (1939), *Griechische Grammatik*, Band I, München.
- Tsagalís, Ch. (2014), "Placing the Muses: Eumelus Fragments 34–35 (West)", in *CHS Research Bulletin* 2 (http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hinc.essay:TsagalísC.Placing_the_Muses_Eumelus_Fragments_34-35.2014).
- Tsagalís, Ch. (2017), *Early Greek Epic Fragments I: Antiquarian and Genealogical Epic*, Berlin/Boston.
- Usener, H. (1867), "Zu den hesiodeischen Scholien", in *RhM* 22, 587–597 (= Id., *Kleine Schriften* 1. *Arbeiten zur Griechischen Philosophie und Rhetorik. Grammatische und Text-Kritische Beiträge*, Cambridge, 2010, nr. VIII).
- Vitelli, G. (1893), "Le Muse di Giordano Bruno", in *SIFC* 1, 112.
- Wendel, C. (1948), "Tzetzes 1", in *RE* VII A.2, 1959–2010.
- West, M.L. (ed.) (1966), *Hesiod. Theogony*, Oxford.
- West, M.L. (1974), "The Medieval Manuscripts of the *Works and Days*", in *CQ* 24, 161–185.
- West, M.L. (ed.) (1978), *Hesiod. Works and Days*, Oxford.
- West, M.L. (2002), "Eumelos: A Corinthian Epic Cycle?", in *JHS* 122, 109–133.
- Wilish, E.G. (1875), *Ueber die Fragmente des Epikers Eumelos*, Zittau.
- Willi, A. (2008), *Sikelismos: Sprache, Literatur und Gesellschaft im griechischen Sizilien* (8. – 5. Jh. v. Chr.), Basel.
- Willi, A. (2012), "Challenging Authority: Epicharmus between Epic and Rhetoric", in K. Boshier (ed.), *Theatre outside Athens: Drama in Greek Sicily and South Italy*, Cambridge, 56–75.
- Wilson, N.G. (1996?), *Scholars of Byzantium*, London/Cambridge (Mass.).
- Zumbo, A. (1996), "Una misconosciuta ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΤΛΑΝΤΟΣ di Giovanni Tzetzes (Schol. Oppian. *Hal.* 1.622)", in *RSBN* 33, 274–278.

Claudio Meliadò

Aristarchomastix. Dionysius of Sidon between epic and lyric poetry

Abstract: This paper deals with a survey of Dionysius Sidonius' scholarship on epic and lyric poetry, in particular on Homer, Pindar and (perhaps) Alcman. Starting with a new evidence about Dionysius' dissent towards Aristarchus, attested in Homeric scholia and lexica, his interest in Homer (chiefly in atheteses, accentuation, interpretation, textual and linguistic problems, narrative technique) is outlined. Attention has been paid also regarding Dionysius' fragments related to Pindar. Only the scholia on *Pyth.* 1.88 refer to his opinion about the meaning of ἀμφοτέροις, mentioning him expressly by the ethnic Sidonius; elsewhere we can find scholars named Dionysius, and at least in one case our grammarian can be recognized. In the last section the possibility of his interest in Alcman is explored.

A papyrus fragment from the collection of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana contains brief comments about *Il.* 4,¹ with quotations from important *auctoritates* like Aristotle (a new fragment possibly of his *Ἀπορήματα Ὀμηρικά*, whose content can be compared with *schol. Il.* 4.512–513²). The papyrus (*Il.* 6–8) supplies us with a new piece of evidence about the line 512:

οὐ μὰν
οἴδ' Ἀχιλλεύς· ὁ Σιδ[ώ]νιος μέμφεται
Ἀριστάρχει ὅτι οὐχ ὁ μὰν (*scil.* σύνδεσμος).

The *incipit* of the line is unanimously handed down (οὐ μὰν οὐδ' Ἀχιλλεύς) and should have the same *facies* also in the Homeric edition by Aristarchus, if ὁ Σιδ[ώ]νιος blames him because of the presence of the conjunction μὰν. As Haslam plausibly says, this cryptic note must imply that μὰν cannot be accepted in Homer's text, where μὴν is rather expected; in fact μὰν is explicitly intended as a Doric form in *schol. Il.* 15.16a.³ Who the Sidonian quoted here could be is easily

1 *Editio princeps* of PL III /979 in Pinaudi - Canfora 2012. See also Haslam 2013 for some *addenda* and *corrigenda*.

2 (ex.) εἰδότας ὑπομνήσκει θρασυτέρους ποιῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰς ἐπιπόθησιν ἄγει τῆς Ἀχιλλέως ἐξόδου. ἅμα δὲ καὶ αὔξει τὸ πρόσωπον.

3 (ex.) «μὰν» Δωρικῶς. ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ «καὶ μὴν οἱ τότε γ'» εἰς ἀγορὴν ἴσαν» (T 45).

inferred from many Homeric *scholia*, which testify the activity of Dionysius of Sidon on the text of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Even if it is not attested in any source, this grammarian has been included by Sengebusch⁴ into the swarm of Aristarchus' pupils, albeit he is almost exclusively mentioned for his disagreement towards the presumed teacher. This clearly emerges for example in *sch. Hom. Il.* 3.128a (Hrd.) and *Et. M.* 124.9–20 s.v. ἀπὸ ἔθεν (Aristarch. fr. 22 Schironi = 1.299 van Thiel), where we can find the expression ὁ Σιδώνιος μέμφεται Ἀριστάρχῳ as in the Florentine papyrus:

Sch. Il. 3.128a (= Hrd. II 39, 26) οὕς ἔθεν: ἐγκλιτικῶς ἀνεγνώσθη διὰ τὸ μεταλαμβάνοντον, ἐπεὶ εἰς ἀπλὴν ἢ μετάληψιν, οὕς αὐτῆς. τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἔθεν φασὶν ὅτι εἰ μὲν εἰς ἀπλὴν μεταλαμβάνοιτο, ἐγκλιτικῶς ἀναγινώσκειν δεῖ, εἰ δὲ εἰς σύνθετον, ὀρθοτονητέον. διὸ κάκεῖνα οὕτως ἀνεγνώσθη, “ἐπεὶ οὗ ἔθεν ἔστι χερείων” (A 114), “οἱ ἔθεν ἴωτρυνον†” (O 199)· ἐκεῖνο δὲ κατ’ ὀρθὴν τάσιν “ἀπὸ ἔθεν ὥσατο χεῖρ†” (Z 62)· ὅθεν ὁ Σιδώνιος μέμφεται Ἀριστάρχῳ μὴ ἐγκλιτικῶς ἀναγνόντι τὸ “πρόσθεν ἔθεν φεύγοντα” (E 56. 80. Y 402)· ἡ γὰρ διάνοια ἀπλὴν αἰτεῖ τὴν μετάληψιν. **A**

Et. M. 124.9–20 s.v. ἀπὸ ἔθεν (K 465)· ἐπὶ τῆς ἔθεν φασὶν, εἰ μὲν εἰς ἀπλοῦν μεταλαμβάνοιτο, ἐγκλιτικῶς ἀναγινώσκειν δεῖ· εἰ δὲ εἰς σύνθετον, ὀρθοτονητέον· “οὕς ἔθεν εἵνεκ’ ἔπασχον” (Γ 128)· “ἐπεὶ οὗ ἔθεν ἔστι χερείων” (A 114). ὁξύνεται γὰρ ἡ οὐ ἀπόφασις εἰς ἀπλὴν μετάληψιν ἀντωνυμίας. ἐὰν γὰρ ὀρθοτονήσωμεν, ἔσται σύνθετος οὕτως· “οἱ σέθεν εἵνεκα” (Π 539), “ἀπὸ ἔθεν ὥσατο” (Z 62)· ὅθεν ὁ Σιδώνιος μέμφεται Ἀριστάρχῳ, μὴ ἐγκλιτικῶς ἀναγνόντι τὸ “πρόσθεν ἔθεν φεύγοντα” (E 56)· ἡ γὰρ διάνοια ἀπλὴν αἰτεῖ τὴν μετάληψιν· ἐμὲ σέ ἔ, ἀπὸ γοῦν τοῦ ἔ, τρίτου προσώπου, πλεονασμῷ τῆς ΘΕΝ συλλαβῆς, ἔθεν· “ἀπὸ ἔθεν” (Z 62), ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄφ’ ἑαυτοῦ.

In the fifth book of the *Iliad*, during a pitched battle in which the Greeks seem to prevail on the Trojans, Menelaus, fighting against Scamandrius, “struck him with a spear in the back, between the shoulders, as he fled before him, and pierced his chest” (55–57):

ἀλλά μιν Ἀτρεΐδης δουρικλειτὸς Μενέλαος
πρόσθεν ἔθεν φεύγοντα μετάφρενον οὔτασε δουρὶ
ῶμων μεσσηγύς, διὰ δὲ στήθεσφιν ἔλασεν.

⁴ Sengebusch 1855, 30. Similarly already Lehrs 1833, 362 n. * = 1882, 341 n. 245. Beccard 1850, 61–62, starting from the assumption that Didymus quotes Dionysius' textual observations together with those of certain disciples of Aristarchus, has deduced that he should be a contemporary of Ammonius, Dionysius Thrax and Tyrannion *maior*.

Ancient scholars questioned about πρόσθεν ἔθεν of the l. 56, because in Aristarchus' edition the genitive of the pronoun of third person is accented. The accentuation of this kind of pronouns has been much debated in antiquity and Aristarchus himself, as Herodian says (*Schol. Hom. Il.* 1.114a (Hrd.) = Arist. fr. 122 Matthaios),⁵ stated that when personal pronouns were anaphoric, they should be considered without accent, but would be accented if reflexives. Some centuries later, Apollonius Dyscolus explains that the reflexive pronoun is always accented, but the anaphoric is not always unaccented;⁶ actually it can acquire an accent for ἀντιδιαστολή, i.e. when it is used in opposition, when it is emphatic, or at the beginning of a sentence or after a preposition⁷. According to F. Schironi, Dionysius of Sidon, on the base of Aristarchus' rules, blames him for having considered the pronoun ἔθεν as reflexive and for having accented it. It would have been better considering the pronoun as enclitic. The main problem should be in fact in the construction of the sentence: does πρόσθεν ἔθεν refer to Scamandrius, the fugitive, or to Menelaus, the chaser? Evidently Dionysius and, after him, Herodian, who hands down his thought, favoured the first hypothesis and linked πρόσθεν ἔθεν to φεύγοντα; in this way it would have been impossible to see in ἔθεν a reflexive pronoun, because, as Apollonius Discolus says, οὐ [...] πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ τις φεύγει, no one can flee in front of himself. On the contrary, if we refer ἔθεν to the subject of the main sentence, Menelaus, the reflexive value is perfectly justified. However Lehrs, followed by the most part of modern scholars, thinks that Aristarchus accented the pronoun not considering it really as reflexive, but according to the rule prescribing that the anaphoric acquires the accent after a

5 {ἐπεὶ} οὐ ἔθεν: οὕτως ὀξύτονητέον τὴν οὐ ἀπόφασιν, ἵν' εἰς ἀπλὴν μεταληφθῇ ἡ ἀντωνυμία· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος παρήγγειλεν (ἐὰν γὰρ ὀρθοτονήσωμεν, ἔσται τὸ ἑαυτῆς σύνθετον). οὕτως οὖν ὥς τὸ „οἱ ἔθεν ὀτρύνοντος“ (O 199) καὶ „οὓς ἔθεν εἵνεκ' ἔπασχον“ (Γ 128). A. For the equivalence between σύνθετος ἀντωνυμία and αὐτοπαθής see Bécaries Botas 1985, s.v. σύνθετος.
6 Apoll. Dysc. *Pron.* 42.11–22 Ἐξῆς ῥητέον καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ τρίτον πρόσωπον ὀρθοτονουμένων, εἰ πάντοτε ἡ μετὰληψις αὐτῶν τὸ σύνθετον σχῆμα ἀπαιτεῖ, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ “ἡ ὀλίγον οἱ παῖδα” (E 800) καὶ “κάλεόν τέ μιν εἰς ἕκαστος” (Ψ 203), τῶν τε παραπλησίων. τὸν γὰρ Ἀρίσταρχον καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς σχολῆς, ὡσεὶ νόμον θεμένους τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὥς ἀπ' ἀνάγνωσμα δεῖ παραπέμψασθαι τὸ “οἱ τ' αὐτῶ, ἐπεὶ οὐ τι θεῶν ἐκ θέσφατα ἦδη” (E 64) καθὼ ὀρθοτονούμενον τὴν σύνθετον ἀντωνυμίαν ἀπαιτεῖ, τοῦ λόγου οὐ δυναμένου κατὰ τοῦτο συνίστασθαι. [...] 43.24–31 τὸ τε “τίς κ' οἶοίτο / μοῦνον ἐνὶ πλεόνεσσι, καὶ εἰ μάλα καρτερὸς εἶη, / οἱ τεύξειν θάνατον” (χ 10–12) πάντως εἰς ἀπλὴν ἀντωνυμίαν μεταληφθήσεται· ὁ γὰρ Ἀντίνους οὐχ ὑπελάμβανεν, ὡς θάνατον αὐτῷ κατασκευάσειεν ἄν· ἐν πολλοῖς παραγενόμενος, ὁμοίως τῷ “πρόσθεν ἔθεν φεύγοντα” (E 56. 80. Y 402)· οὐ γὰρ πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ τις φεύγει.

7 On this matter see Schironi 2004, 200–201.

preposition, and doing it he has anticipated Apollonius.⁸ Therefore Dionysius would have misunderstood his teacher.

Elsewhere Dionysius dissents from Aristarchus: for example about the accentuation of στενάχων in *Il.* 1.364, paroxytone for Aristarchus, perispomenon for Dionysius (*Sch. Il.* 1.364b²),⁹ and of αἰδῶ in *Il.* 2.262, perispomenon for Aristarchus, oxytone for Dionysius (*Sch. Il.* 2.262b),¹⁰ furthermore on matters of *constitutio textus* (in *Il.* 1.554¹¹ Aristarchus reads ἄσσα, Dionysius ὄττι, and in *Il.* 3.35 they do not agree on the way in which παρειά had to be written).¹²

These are just few instances of disagreement between disciple and διδάσκαλος we can find in scholiastic and grammatical sources, so that Ἀρισταρχομάστιξ¹³ seems to suit Dionysius better than the epithet “Aristarchean”.

8 Lehrs 1837, 120: «In hoc igitur genitivo ita valebat lex apud Homerum, ut Aristarchus eam poneret ipse. Neque tamen ideo verebatur discedere et scribere πρόσθεν ἔθεν φεύγοντα, sine dubio propter adverbium praepositioni simile». La Roche 1866, 236–237, Erbse 1960 349, n. 1, e 364, n. 1, and Matthaios 1999, 478–479 follow this reconstruction. Conversely Schironi 2004, 203, writes that «Apollonio Discolo, Pron. 43, 30, cita proprio il caso di “πρόσθεν ἔθεν φεύγοντα” per dimostrare che un pronome può essere tonico anche se anaforico e non riflessivo; questa nota polemica ha un senso solo se connessa con la critica ad Aristarco e alla sua scuola richiamata poco prima (ibid. 42, 17), a cui evidentemente risaliva la lettura di ἔθεν tonico, perché inteso come riflessivo (ἐαυτοῦ)».

9 (Hrd.) βαρὺ στενάχων: **ὁ Σιδώνιος** περισπᾶ· **b(BCE³)T** περισπᾶσθαι γὰρ καὶ “ἀδινὰ στοναχῆσαι” (Σ 124) φησίν. **T** Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ βαρύνει· τὰ πολλὰ γὰρ κινήματα ὡς ἀπὸ βαρυτόνου γέγονε· “βαρὺ δὲ στενάχοντος ἄκουσα” (θ 95), “ἐπεστενάχοντο δ’ ἑταῖροι” (Δ 154). **b(BCE³)T**

10 (Hrd.) {τά τ'} αἰδῶ {ἀμφικαλύπτει}: Ἀρίσταρχος περισπωμένως ἀναγινώσκει, ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ “ἡῶ διαν ἔμμενε” (I 662). καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτῷ συγκατατιθέμεθα. **Διονύσιος** δὲ **ὁ Σιδώνιος** ὀξύνει. [...] **A**

11 *Sch. Il.* 1.554c (ex.) ἄσσα: Ἀρίσταρχος φησι τρία σημαίνειν τὴν λέξιν, τὸ τινά, τὸ ἄτινα, τὸ ὅσα. καὶ αἰεὶ ψιλοῦται, πλὴν τοῦ ὅτε δηλοῖ τὸ ἄτινα· τότε γὰρ δασύνεται. καὶ ἔστι κατὰ Ἡρωδιανὸν (cfr. 1, 541, 30) δύο μέρη λόγου, τὸ ἃ ἄρθρον καὶ τὸ σά Μεγαρικὸν δηλοῦν τὸ τινά. ἐν δὲ τῷ προκειμένῳ στίχῳ ψιλοῦται τὸ ἄσσα, καὶ φησιν αὐτὸ δηλοῦν τὸ ὅσα. **b(BCE³E⁴)T** καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος οὕτως, **ὁ δὲ Σιδώνιος** “ὅττι”. **T** (Cfr. *EGen.* α 1306 (= Aristarch. fr. 9 Schironi): ἄσσ’ ἐθέλησθα· “ἀλλὰ μάλ’ εὐκλεος τὰ φράζει αἴσσ’ ἐθέλησθα” (A 554). οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος· **ὁ δὲ Σιδώνιος** (p. 47 Blau) “ὅττι”. φησιν Ἀρίσταρχος τρία σημαίνειν τὴν λέξιν, τινά, ἄτινα, ὅσα. καὶ αἰεὶ ψιλοῦται, πλὴν ὅτε δηλοῖ τὸ ἄτινα δασύνεται. καὶ ἔστι κατὰ Ἡρωδιανὸν (I 541, 30) δύο μέρη λόγου, τὸ ἃ ἄρθρον καὶ τὸ σά, ὃ ἔστι Μεγαρικὸν δηλοῦν τὸ τινά, καὶ παραλόγως φησὶ (I 541, 27) δασύνεσθαι. Cfr. Schironi 2004, 107.

12 *Sch. Il.* 3.35d (= Aristarch. fr. 17 Schironi) Did. (?) | Hrd. εἴλε παρειά: Ἀρίσταρχος οὐδετέρως, ἔν τισι δὲ θηλυκῶς. **b(BCE³E⁴)T** **ὁ δὲ Σιδώνιος** διὰ τοῦ η διὰ τὸ “παρήϊον” (Δ 142 al.). **T** τὸ δὲ παρειά ὡς ἀγαθὰ· τὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν τοιοῦτων θηλυκῶν Ἰωνικῶς μεταποιούμενα εἰς οὐδέτερον γένος φυλάσσει τὸν αὐτὸν τόνον, πλευραὶ πλευρά. **b(BE³E⁴)T** οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὸ παρειά παρήκται. **b(BE³)**. See van der Valk 1972 and Schironi 2004, 162–164.

13 So Haslam 2013, 3 n. 12, calls him.

Our grammarian often treated cases of atheteses. As we learn from a Didymean *scholion* to *Il.* 19.365–368a¹, he testifies that Aristarchus athetized these four lines, deeming risible the representation of Achilles gnashing his teeth until they squeak. Afterwards he changed his mind and removed the *obeloi*, persuaded that this particular might be defined ποιητικόν.¹⁴ Unfortunately we cannot reconstruct Dionysius’ position, as also for *Od.* 10.329.¹⁵ The *schol. ad loc.*, handed down only by the codex **H** (*Harl.* 5674), reports that **ὁ Σιδώνιος** φησιν ἀθετεῖσθαι τὸν στίχον; according to Carnuth,¹⁶ the author of the athetesis must be Aristarchus. He athetized also the verse 117 of *Iliad* 4:

Ap. S. pp. 76, 29–77, 3: ἔρματα τὰ ἐρείσματα· “ὑψοῦ ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις, ὑπὸ δ’ ἔρματα μακρὰ τάνυσσαν.” ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐνωπίων “ἐν δ’ ἄρα ἔρματα ἦκεν εὐτρήτοισι λοβοῖσι” καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα “ἔρματα δ’ Ἐρυσάμαντι δύο θεράποντες ἔνεικαν.” ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ “μελαινάων ἔρμ’ ὀδυνάων” (*Il.* 4, 117) ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος ἀθετεῖ τὸν στίχον (γελοῖον γὰρ φησιν ἔρεισμα τῶν ὀδυνῶν λέγεσθαι· ἔπαινον γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει τοῦ δυναμένου ὀδυνῆσαι), ὁ δὲ Σιδώνιος βοηθῶν τῷ λεγομένῳ ἀκούει τὸ ἐρεῖδον πρὸς τὰς ὀδύνας.

schol. Hom. *Il.* 4.117a (Ariston.) ἀβλήτα πτερόεντα, μελαινέων ἔρμ’ ὀδυνάων: ἀθετεῖται, ὅτι νῦν ἀπλῶς ἀβλητον καὶ μηδέποτε βεβλημένον καὶ ἀφειμένον, οὐχ Ὅμηρικῶς· τὸ γὰρ βάλλειν Ὅμηρος οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ ψιλῶς προσέσθαι τίθησιν.¹⁷ καὶ διὰ τοῦ μελαινέων ἔρμ’ ὀδυνάων οὐχ ὁ θέλει λέγει· ἔρμα γὰρ καθ’ Ὅμηρον ἔρεισμα καὶ κώλυμα, οὐ γίνεται δὲ ὀδυνῶν κώλυμα τὸ βέλος.

The *iunctura* ἔρμ’ ὀδυνάων appears particularly obscure, since in Homer ἔρμα usually means *prop*, *support*, which is totally irrelevant in this context, γελοῖον γὰρ φησιν ἔρεισμα τῶν ὀδυνῶν λέγεσθαι. This is Apollonius’ unclear explanation; the *schol. ad loc.* tells us something more and helps us to understand which meaning Aristarchus gave ἔρεισμα, with which the Homeric ἔρμα is explained, in turn equated to κώλυμα in Aristonicus’ text; actually one cannot say that a dart could be an obstacle to the pain, a defense. ἔρμ’ ὀδυνάων should have a different meaning from that requested by the context (the *scholion* says: οὐχ ὁ θέλει λέγει);¹⁸ the expression ἔπαινον γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει τοῦ δυναμένου ὀδυνῆσαι is however somewhat

¹⁴ *Sch. Il.* 19.365–368a¹ (Did.) τοῦ καὶ ὀδόντων μὲν (καναχὴ πέλε τεύχων): ἀθετοῦνται στίχοι τέσσαρες· γελοῖον γὰρ τὸ βρυχᾶσθαι τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα ἢ τε συνέπεια οὐδὲν ζητεῖ διαγραφέντων αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ Σιδώνιος ἡθετηκέναι μὲν τὸ πρῶτον φησιν αὐτοὺς τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον, ὕστερον δὲ περιελεῖν τοὺς ὀβελοὺς, ποιητικὸν νομίσαντα τὸ τοιοῦτο. **A.** Cf. Montanari 1998, 11–13, and West 2001, 64 and 253–254.

¹⁵ Source of this piece of information is Didymus, who quotes Dionysius, cfr. Blass 1904, 117–118.

¹⁶ Carnuth 1869, 97. See also Ludwich 1884–1885, 1, 583.

¹⁷ According to Lehrs 1833, 75–76, the section about ἀβλήτα has been added by Aristonicus.

¹⁸ Cf. Forsman 1883, 33–34.

difficult to understand, and perhaps should be considered a later addition, when the real meaning of ἔρεισμα went astray. Dionysius of Sidon is once again in disagreement with Aristarchus and defends the *paradosis*, interpreting ἔρμα as τὸ ἐρεῖδον πρὸς τὰς ὁδύνας, “what drives towards pain, what causes pain”.

The interest in atheteses led La Roche to infer that our grammarian might have written a work on this topic¹⁹ and to ascribe to him two Homeric *scholia*,²⁰ in which a Dionysius is mentioned, identified with Dionysius Thrax by Dindorf²¹ and Linke²² (frr. *45 e *46 Linke):

schol. Hom. Od. 15.31 ὑποπτεῦει Διονύσιος, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν δισταγμοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἀποφάσεως μετέχει. *H.Q. schol. Hom. Od.* 16.239 ἀθετεῖ Διονύσιος. *H.*

Carnuth ascribes both *scholia* to the Sidonian, Blass²³ and Hoekstra²⁴ only the second one.

Dionysius was interested not only in linguistic and textual problems or atheteses. An adnotation about *Il.* 21.218, from POxy 221, reveals an unusual familiarity with the narrative technique of the Homeric poems:

ἐρατεινὰ ῥέεθρα: ὁ Σιδωνίος φησιν ὅτι [ι] ὁ πο[ι]ητῆς ἐξέ[πε]σεν εἰς τὴν διηγη[μ]ατικὴν κατὰ [υ]τὴν μμητικῶν ὄντων τῶν λόγων. οἱ δὲ τὰ φύσει [κα]ὶ πρὸ τῆς παραποταμίας μάχης ἐρατεινὰ.

According to the Sidonius, Homer would have fallen into the style of the narrator, although there was a direct speech in progress, a typical feature of the mimetic genre.²⁵ This observation originates in the adjective ἐρατεινὰ, used by the river Scamander in reference to its own streams, while it is pleading Achilles to stop fighting along the banks, because the piled corpses prevented it from pouring its

¹⁹ La Roche 1866, 108.

²⁰ La Roche 1866, 71. His suggestion is accepted by Carnuth 1869, 133 n. 1 and 138 n. 1 (cfr. Index).

²¹ Dindorf 1855, 2, 796 (Index).

²² Linke 1977 *ad loc.*

²³ Blass 1904, 158: «Diesmal ist es Dionysios (doch wohl der Sidonier), der athetieren möchte, indes nur weil der Zweifel in οὐκ ὁίω mit der Behauptung πρὶν κτε. sich nicht vertrage; also die Litotes ist verkannt».

²⁴ Hoekstra 1998, 82.

²⁵ Already Platon (*Resp.* 392c–394c), analysing the beginning of the *Iliad*, had dealt with the characteristics of the various genres, narrative, mimetic and mixed (mimetic and narrative at the same time), and Aristotle (*Poet.* 1460a.5–11) had clearly stated the belonging of that poem to the mixed genre, in which the direct speeches of the characters are inserted into poet's narration.

oppositivo di Cresò (azioni buone) e Falaride (azioni cattive) introdotto nei versi seguenti (v. 94 sgg.).²⁹

Ancient scholars questioned about the meaning of ἀμφοτέροις too:

Sch. Pind. *Pyth.* 1.172: DEGQ πολλοὶ μάρτυρες ἀμφοτέροισι: τῷ τε ἀληθεῖ καὶ τῷ ψευδεῖ· ἢ σοὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ. ὁ δὲ **Σιδώνιος**, σοὶ καὶ τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις.

(Witnesses) “for the true and the false”, or “for you and your son” (i.e. Hieron e a Deinomenes). But according to the Sidonius “for you and your subjects”.

As Boeckh already guessed, the first explanation (τῷ τε ἀληθεῖ καὶ τῷ ψευδεῖ) derives from the v. 86, the invitation to Hieron to temper his tongue on a truthful anvil (ἀψευδεῖ... πρὸς ἄκμονι).³⁰ The second interpretation, σοὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ, falls into the praise that runs through the entire poem, written, as we have already seen, in order to celebrate Hieron and the coregency of Deinomenes; following this view Ferrari translates “molti per l’uno e per l’altro i testimoni attendibili”, and adds in the note to this passage “Ierone e Dinomene”.³¹ Also the explanation suggested by Dionysius Sidonius, σοὶ καὶ τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις, seems to arise from the text, when the king is called πολλῶν ταμίας (v. 88). Only Benedictus in 1620 followed our grammarian and wrote “Quidam exponunt τῷ τε ἀληθεῖ καὶ τῷ ψευδεῖ. Alij σοὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ : alij σοὶ καὶ τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις. Haec ultima sententia mihi maxime probatur” (p. 271).³²

This is the only place in which the Sidonian is expressly mentioned, but in other Pindaric *scholia* we can find ancient scholars named Dionysius, sometimes identified with our grammarian. Recounting the foundation of the Olympic Games by Heracles, Pindar says (*Ol.* 10.43–46):

ὁ δ’ ἄρ’ ἐν Πίσῃ ἔλσαις ὄλον τε στρατόν
 λάαν τε πᾶσαν Διὸς ἄλκιμος
 υἱὸς σταθμᾶτο ζάθεον ἄλσος πατρὶ μεγίστω·
 περὶ δὲ πάξαις Ἄλτιν μὲν ὄγ’ ἐν καθαρῷ
 διέκρινε.

45

²⁹ So Cingano *ap.* Gentili 1995, 360.

³⁰ Or to temper on an anvil his truthful tongue, so West 1970, 211, who, following Galen, reads ἀψευδῆ... γλώσσαν.

³¹ Ferrari 2008, 82–83 and n. 40.

³² Slater 1969, 44, s.v. ἀμφοτέρος 2.b, proposes *dubitanter* «your authority and your wealth». A solution of this exegetical *aporia* could be found if we success in identifying what might be behind μάρτυρες. Morgan 2015, 343–344, thinks that poetry could be one of the many testimonies mentioned by Pindar, but this attempt is not entirely decisive.

Thereupon, Zeus' valiant son gathered the entire army and all the booty at Pisa, and measured out a sacred precinct for his father most mighty. He fenced in the Altis and set it apart in the open. (Transl. Race 1997)

So the text is printed in all modern editions, but ancient critics had detected a textual problem at vv. 45–46, in which they read *περὶ δὲ πάξαις Ἄλιν μὲν ὄγ' ἐν καθαρῷ / διέκρινε*; therefore the foundation of the Games was connected to Ἄλις, Elis. Ἄλιν has been emended into Ἄλτιν, the sanctuary of Zeus, by Aristodemus, followed by Leptines and a certain Dionysius:³³

schol. Pind. Ol. 10.55b οἱ περὶ Ἀριστόδημον καὶ Λεπτίνην καὶ Διονύσιον γράφουσιν Ἄλτιν. μὴ γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶ τὴν ἄρτι πεπορθημένην Ἥλιν ἱερὰν γενέσθαι τῷ Δίῃ· καὶ λόγον ἔχει τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἰδρῦσθαι ἐν Πίσῃ. οὐ γὰρ ἐν Ἥλιδι οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν πανήγυριν θοινῶνται, ἀλλὰ ἐν Πίσῃ. τὸ γὰρ ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καταγωγαῖς διείληπτο. διώκισται δὲ ἡ Πίσα τῆς Ὀλυμπίας γ' σταδίου. Ἄλτιν οὖν γραπτέον· οὕτως γὰρ τὸν περὶ Ὀλυμπίαν τόπον ἐκάλουν. BCDEQ.³⁴

The identity of Dionysius is much debated: Lefkowitz suggested Dionysius Thrax,³⁵ J. Irigoin Dionysius ὁ τοῦ Χαρμίδου,³⁶ Boeckh Dionysius of Phaselis,³⁷ Deas Dionysius Sidonius.³⁸ A specific interest in Pindar by Dionysius Thrax is not reflected in sources at our disposal, and what Varro says about him (*Gramm.* fr. 282 Funaioli = *Dion. Thr. test.* 2 Linke), *lyricorum poetarum longe studiosissimus*, according to Pfeiffer, needs «not imply that he wrote monographs or commentaries on [...] lyric poetry; more probably the reference [...] is to his linguistic and prosodic studies».³⁹ Dionysius son of Charmides is mentioned only in *Sch. Pind. Nem.* 7.35a for having suggested a (clumsy) correction to a problematic

³³ See also *schol. Pind. Ol. 10.55c* Ἀριστόδημος γράφει ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἄλιν Ἄλτιν· οὕτω γὰρ τὸν περὶ Ὀλυμπίαν τόπον καλεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸν Δία ἐξ ἐπιθέτου Ἄλτιον (BCDEQ). μὴ γὰρ λόγον ἔχειν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπορθημένην Ἥλιν ἱερὰν καὶ καθαρὰν ποιῆσαι. ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἱερὸν εἶναι Διὸς ἐν Ἥλιδι, ἀλλ' ἐν Πίσῃ. ἀπωκίσθαι δὲ τὴν Πίσαν τῆς Ὀλυμπίας σταδίου ἕξ. Δίδυμος δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἐὼν τὴν γραφὴν τὸν Πίνδαρον τὴν Πίσαν Ἥλιν λέγειν φησίν· οἱ γὰρ Ἥλαιοι ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς ποιησάμενοι τοὺς Πισαιάτας Ἥλιν τὴν Πίσαν μετωνόμασαν. εἰ οὖν ἡ Πίσα μετέβαλε, τί ἂν εἴη ἐμποδὼν γράφειν Ἄλιν; (BCEQ). Didymus (fr. 20 Braswell), since Pindar calls Pisa, i.e. Olympia, “Elis”, accepts Ἄλιν. See Braswell 2013, 165–167.

³⁴ Cfr. Negri 2004, 95 n. 2.

³⁵ Lefkowitz 1985, 270.

³⁶ Irigoin 1952, 60.

³⁷ Boeckh 1819, 248, followed by Cameron 1995, 206.

³⁸ Deas 1931, 17.

³⁹ Pfeiffer 1968, 267. Cfr. also Pagani 2008 and Roemer 2013, 105 «Wie weit dieses Interesse ging, läßt sich nicht feststellen, doch scheint es eher abwegig, von Dionysios Thrax eine Abhandlung über die Lieder des Alkman zu erwarten».

verse.⁴⁰ Finally, Dionysius of Phaselis, more than being a Pindaric scholar, should have especially studied the classification of the odes of the Theban poet, according to their genre,⁴¹ as can be inferred by the *inscriptions* of the *Pyth.* 2⁴² and of the *Nem.* 11.⁴³ That being the case, the identification of the Dionysius quoted in *Ol.* 10 with the Sidonian is a hypothesis not to be underestimated. In its favor it is the fact that Aristodemus, author of the correction Ἄλτιν, despite being a pupil of Aristarchus (he is called ὁ Ἀριστάρχου μαθητής in *schol. Nem.* 7.1a), like the Sidonian, often disagrees with the common διδάσκαλος,⁴⁴ and according to Irigoin the authorship of Ἄλιν, emended by Aristodemus, should be ascribed to Aristarchus.⁴⁵

The name Dionysius occurs in Pindaric *scholia* twice more without further specification and in both cases about mythographic matters a field in which the Sidonian does not seem to have had great interest (Philoctetes in *schol. Pyth.* 1.109⁴⁶

⁴⁰ *schol. Pind. N.* 7.35a εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἐὰν ἀλάθειαν: ἔνιοι μὲν ἀνέγνωσαν ἐὰν δασέως, ἀντὶ τοῦ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· βέλτιον δὲ ψιλῶς, ὡς καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ τοῦ Χαρμίδου. On this issue see Carey 1981, 146–147. For a second likely testimony about Dionysius ὁ τοῦ Χαρμίδου in P.Oxy. 4452, see Meliaddò 2018, 59–60.

⁴¹ Vd. Ascheri 2011.

⁴² The *inscriptio* of this ode registers an emendation of his for the v. 3, in which he suggests to read ἀπ' Ἀθηνᾶν instead of the *paradosis* ἀπὸ Θηβᾶν; the aim of this correction was clearly the classification of the *Pythian* ode as an epinician for a Panathenaic contest: αὐτίκα γοῦν Διονύσιος ὁ Φασηλίτης οὐκ οἶεται δεῖν γράφειν τὰν λιπαρᾶν ἀπὸ Θηβᾶν, ἀλλὰ τὰν λιπαρᾶν ἀπ' Ἀθηνᾶν διὰ τὸ Παναθηναϊκὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπινικὸν καταφέρεισθαι γὰρ πως τὸν Πίνδαρον εἰς τὸ τὰς Ἀθῆνας λιπαρὰς προσαγορεύειν, τὰς δὲ Θήβας χρυσαρμάτους καὶ εὐαρμάτους καὶ λευκίππους καὶ κυανάμπυκας· καὶ λευκίππους καὶ κυανάμπυκας.

⁴³ In the *inscriptio* a of the *Nem.* 11 he suggests, followed by Didymus, to consider the ode not an epinician, but a paroionion, a sympotic *skolion*: συντακτέον οὖν, φησὶν ὁ Δίδυμος, εἰς τὰ Παροίνια (Παρθένια corr. Bergk), καθὰ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Φασηλίτην ἀρέσκει. This *Nemean* probably belonged to the book of the *Encomia*, so D'Alessio 1997, 54–55 (and now D'Alessio 2016, 64 n. 3), and Negri 2004, 200 n. 1. See also Braswell 2013, 243–245.

⁴⁴ Cf. *scholl. Pind. Ol.* 6, 23a; *Nem.* 7, 56a e 70; *Isthm.* 1, 11c.

⁴⁵ Irigoin 1952, 59. On Aristodemus see Novembri 2010.

⁴⁶ *Sch. Pind. Pyth.* 1.109: ΕFGQ οὕτω δ' Ἰέρωνι θεὸς ὀρθωτὴρ πέλοι: οὕτω δὲ, φησὶ, τῷ Ἰέρωνι ὀρθωτὴρ καὶ ἰατρὸς γένοιτο ὁ θεός, ὡς καὶ τῷ Φιλοκτῆτι. φησὶ γὰρ Διονύσιος (*FGrHist* 15 F 13*) χρησιμοῖς Απόλλωνος ἀπολουσάμενον τὸν Φιλοκτῆτην ἀψυπνῶσαι, τὸν δὲ Μαχάονα ἀφελόντα τοῦ ἔλκουσ τὰς διασαπείσας σάρκας καὶ ἐπικλύσαντα οἶνῳ τὸ τραῦμα ἐπιτάσαι βοτάνην, ἣν Ἀσκληπιὸς εἴληφε παρὰ Χείρωνος, καὶ οὕτως ὑγιασθῆναι τὸν ἥρωα. Deas 1931, 17, proposes identifying this Dionysius with the Cyclographer. Boeckh 1819, XVII, suggested the Sidonian, but in 1821, 238, the Scytobrachion: «Dionysius, ad quem in illa re Schol. provocat, non Sidonius est, ut Praef. Schol. T. II. p. XVII. dixi, sed Samius, qui cyclum Dionysiacorum, Argonauticorum ceterarumque fabularum epicum soluta oratione ante Diodorum, Alexandrinorum dubie aevo, pragmatica ratione concinnavit, plane diversus a Dionysio Milesio, qui Persici belli aetate et ipse

and Minyas in *schol. Isthm.* 1.79).⁴⁷ Perfectly reasonable is rather the identification with Dionysius the Cyclographer, tentatively proposed by Jacoby (*FGrHist* 15 F 2). This grammarian is explicitly mentioned in *Sch. Pind. Isthm.* 4.140, speaking of the number of sons Heracles had from Megara.⁴⁸

Dionysius on Alcman?

As already mentioned, Dionysius Sidonius' interest in lyric poetry seems to include also Alcman, if the identification with the Διονύσιος ἐποῖ[οίος], author of a *hypomnema* to books 3 and 4 of Alcman, is correct.⁴⁹ It should be added that the v. 49 of the *Partheneion* handed down by PLouvre E 3320 (τῶν ὑποπετριδίων ὀνειρῶν) was already known thanks to a controversial entry of the *Etymologicum Magnum* and of the Μεγάλη Γραμματική:

1. Et. M. 783, 20–26 ed. Gaisford: ὑποπτέρων ὀνείρων· Διονύσιος ὁ Σιδώνιος πρῶτος ταύτη
τῇ ἐπιβολῇ ἐχρήσατο, ἥπερ χρῶνται οἱ γραμματικοί, ὡς τύμβος τυμβίδιος, παῦρος παυρίδιος, 2
[σχίδος] σχίδιος· πετρὸν πετρίδιον. ἐχρήν οὖν εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν ὑποπτέρων ὀνείρων τῶν
ὑποπετριδίων, ὑπερθέσει τῶν ὑποπετεριδίων. οὕτως Ἑρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν. [M = 4

Μυθικὰ ἐτ κύκλον ἱστορικὸν composuit: qui quum vulgo confunderentur, historia litterarum mire perturbata est».

47 *Sch. Pind. Isthm.* 1.79: τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Μινύαν οἱ μὲν Ὀρχομενοῦ γενεαλογοῦσιν, ὡς Φερεκύδης (fr. 171 Fowler = 178 Dolcetti), ἔνιοι δὲ ἔμπαλιν τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν Μινύου, ἔνιοι δὲ ἀμφοτέρους Ἐτεοκλέους γενεαλογοῦσι, Διονύσιος (*FGrHist* 15 F 14*) δὲ τὸν Μινύαν Ἄρεος ἀναγράφει, Ἀριστόδημος δὲ Ἀλεοῦ τὸν Μινύαν, καὶ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας δὲ Μινύας ἐντεῦθεν γράφει προσηγορεῦσθαι. Irigoin 1952, 60, identifies this Dionysius and the one mentioned in *schol. Ol.* 10.55b with Dionysius of Phaselis, just for the presence of Aristodemus; but it is a very weak clue. Deas 1931, 17, identifies him with the Sidonian, but adds «possibly, however, that note comes from an historian».

48 *Sch. Pind. Isthm.* 4.140: καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ δὲ διαλλάττουσι· Διονύσιος μὲν ἐν πρώτῳ Κύκλων [κύκλω BD] (*FGrHist* 15 F 2) Θηρίμαχον καὶ Δηϊκόωντα, Εὐριπίδης δὲ προστίθηναι αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀριστόδημον· Δεινίας δὲ ὁ Ἀργεῖος Θηρίμαχον Κρεοντιάδην Δηϊκόωντα Δηΐονα· Φερεκύδης [fr. 14 Fowler = 53 Dolcetti] δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀντίμαχον, Κλύμενον, Γλῆνον, Θηρίμαχον, Κρεοντιάδην, λέγων αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐμβεβλήσθαι· Βάτων δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀττικῶν Ἱστοριῶν Πολύδωρον, Ἀνίκητον, Μηκιστόφονον, Πατροκλέα, Τοξόκλειτον, Μενεβρόντην, Χερσίβιον.

49 This piece of evidence is handed down by P.Oxy. 2392 (*PMGF* 18) dated to the 2. century CE. Haslam, *per litt.*, is sceptic about the identification. All the candidates are listed in Roemer 2013, 104–105 (Dionysius Sidonius, Dionysius Thrax, Dionysius ὁ μουσικός, Dionysius Κορίνθιος, ἐποποιός). For a new edition of the papyrus see now Bastianini 2015.

Marc. gr. 530 (XIII)⁵⁰; **O** = *Bodl. auct.* X 1, 1, 2 (XV); **P** = *Paris. gr.* 2654 (1273)⁵¹; **R** = *Haun. reg. Rostg.* 414 (XV); **S** = *Scor. gr.* Ψ III 11 (XIV^{in.})

1 lemma om. **MOPS** | Σιδώνιος Boeckh: Σι cum δ supra ι scr. **MOR** Σίδης **PS** Σίδιος Sylburg | πρωτ() **M** πρώτον **OPS** || **2** ἐχρ() σ() τ() **M** ἐχρ() **O** ἐχρήτο **P** | ἥπερ **S** | τύμβος om. **O** τύμβος τύμβιος τυμβίδιος **M** τύμβιος διος **S** || **3** σχίδος om. **OPRS** | σχίδιος **OPR** μοιχός μοιχίδιος pro σχίδος σχίδιος **M** || **3** πτερίδιος **OPRS Call.** | καὶ om. **R** || **4** ὑπερθέσει **M** ὑπὲρ **OPRS** | ὑποπετριδίων **OR** ὑποπετριδίων **MP** ὑποπετριδίων **S** | ἡρόδοτ(ος) **P** ἡρόδ() **S** | πάθους **S**

2. Μεγάλη Γραμματική s.v. ὑποπετριδίων ὀνείρων· Διονύσιος ὁ Σιδώνιος⁵² πρώτος ταύτη τῇ ἐπιβολῇ ἐχρήσατο, ἥπερ χρῶνται οἱ γραμματικοί, ὡς τύμβος τυμβίδιος, παῦρος παυρίδιος, μοιχός μοιχίδιος, πτερόν πτερίδιον. ἐχρήν οὖν εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν ὑποπτέρων ὀνείρων τῶν ὑποπετριδίων, ὑπερθέσει τῶν ὑποπετριδίων. οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν. [C = *Laur. S. Marci* 303 (XIII^{ex.}); **P** = *Prag.* XXV C 31 (XIV^{in.}); **V** = *Voss. gr.* Q. 20 (XIII^{p.m.})]

1 ὑποπετριδίων cum πετρι s.l. **CV** | lemma om. **P** | Σιδώνιος scripsi: Σι cum δ supra ι scr. **CPV** | πρώτος scripsi: πρωτ() **CPV** || **3** μοιχίδιος **V** μοιχίδιον **CP** || **4** ὑποπετριδίων **P** | Περὶ παθῶν **V** παραπίσθεν **C** παροπίσθεν **P**

3. Et. Gen. AB (ed. Calame) s.v. ὑποπετριδίων· “τῶν ὑποπετριδίων” ὡς τύμβος, τυμβίδιος, παῦρος, παυρίδιος, μοιχός, μοιχίδιος, πτερόν, πτερίδιος [**A** = *Vat. gr.* 1818 (X^{ex.}); **B** = *Laur. S. Marci* 304 (X^{ex.})].

1 lemma ὑποπετριδίων **B** | ὡν **A** | τῶν ὑποπετριδίων **A** || **1–2** ὡς τύμβος, τυμβίδι[] | ιζ[] πτερίδιος· ὑπερθέσει τοῦ τ πετριδίων **A**

These texts contain material drawing from Herodian’s Περὶ παθῶν about the use of the suffix -ίδιος (from ὡς τύμβος onwards), but what remains in the previous section is difficult to understand because of the serious corruptions of the text.

50 For this manuscript Gaisford had at his disposal only the partial collation made for him by Cobet (Gaisford 1848, 4 «*qui mei causa perofficiose lectiones exinde permultas excerpsit*»).

51 New *lectiones* from **P** are reported thanks to a collation of a digital reproduction of the codex, of which Gaisford had only an imperfect acquaintance. Cf. Gaisford 1848, 4 «*Hic codex cum editione principe Veneta mei in gratiam collatus est: vellem diligentius: haud pauca enim a mandatario meo praetermissa esse certior ab amico factus sum, qui locis aliquot codicem meo rogatu iterum inspexit*».

52 The *lectio* Σίδιος, ascribed by Gaisford to **V**, should be an *interpretation* of the abbreviation made by who collationed the manuscript for him. Cf. Gaisford 1848, 5: «*Ex hoc codice (cujus usum ab Henrico Stephano tunc temporis ejus possessore impetrare nequibat Sylburgius, v. praefat. p. v F.) haud pauca protulerunt eruditi Batavi, Hemsterhusius, Valckenaerius, Ruhnkenius, Pierseus, Koenius, et fortasse alii: eum nunc penitus excussum habes diligentia I.T. Bergmani, qui meo rogatu non solum lectiones diversas ad oram exemplaris Sylburgiani adscripsit, sed etiam addita-menta quam plurima peculiaribus libellis illata ad me transmisit*». I would like to thank D. Baldi, who sent me digital images of this section **V**.

Sylburg thought that, according to this entry of the *Etymologica*, Dionysius should be the first to have used the ἐπιβολή, i.e. the insertion of the suffix -ίδιος in order to obtain ὑποπτερίδιος from ὑπόπτερος, as from τύμβος we have τυμβίδιος.⁵³

Lobeck said that, whoever was that Dionysius, he was unlikely to having used «*huius vel typi vel paragoga exemplum*» for the first time, since words like κουρίδιος and παυρίδιος were already in Homer.⁵⁴ Lentz has gone far beyond, and suggested a reconstruction from which one can deduce that Alcman, in the first book, in the *Hymn to Dioskouroi*, employed the suffix -ίδιος, used also by the grammarians:⁵⁵

ὑποπτερίδιων ὀνειρών· Ὑμνου εἰς Διοσκόρους πρώτῳ Ἀλκμάν ταύτῃ τῇ διὰ τοῦ ιδίος παραγωγῇ ἐχρήσατο, ἥπερ χρώνται οἱ γραμματικοὶ ὡς τύμβος τυμβίδιος παῦρος παυρίδιος, μοῖχος μοιχίδιος, οὕτως πτερόν πτερίδιος. ἐχρῆν οὖν εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν ὑποπτέρων ὀνειρών τῶν ὑποπτερίδιων καὶ ὑπερθέσει τῶν ὑποπετριδιών. οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν.

On the other hand, Bergk thought that ὑποπετριδιος attested in the Louvre papyrus was the result of a syncope from ὑποπετερίδιος and proposed the following text:

ὑποπετριδιών ὀνειρών· Διονύσιος ὁ Σιδώνιος· πετερόν, ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπιβολῇ (Ἀλκμάν) ἐχρήσατο ἥπερ χρώνται οἱ Ταραντίνοι,

guessing the existence of an otherwise unattested πετερόν on the basis of Hsch. τ 1176 τορόνος· τόρνος. Ταραντίνοι (gloss. 152 K.–A.).⁵⁶ In his ingenious as daring reconstruction Bergk was probably right at least in putting a high stop after Διονύσιος ὁ Σιδώνιος, a suggestion ignored by later editors; in what follows we

53 Sylburg 1816, c. 1053, «Dionysius Sidius primus specie ιδίος usus».

54 That entry would have had a very different origin: Dionysius - according to Lobeck could be Dionysius of Syracuse «*qui multa in verborum usum novavit*» - was the first to have used the adjective ὑποπτερίδιος, formed with this *adiectio*, and the grammarians following him added similar words as παυρίδιος, τυμβίδιος and μοιχίδιος. Therefore Lobeck 1843, 356–357, proposes to write Διονύσιος ὁ Συρακόσιος πρώτον ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπιβολῇ ἐχρήσατο· οἷς γὰρ χρώνται οἱ γραμματικοὶ ὡς ὁμοίως τύμβος τυμβίδιος, παῦρος παυρίδιος, μοῖχος μοιχίδιος, διαφέρει ἀπὸ μακρᾶς ἀρχόμενα. ἐχρῆν οὖν ὑποπτέρων ἢ ὑποπετρίγων.

55 Lentz 1868, 237–238. The text reconstructed by Marcovigi 1970, 25, is not really different: ὑποπετριδιών· τῶν ὑποπετριδιών ὕμνῳ εἰς Διοσκόρους· α' Ἀλκμάν· ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπιβολῇ ἐχρήσατο, ἥπερ χρώνται οἱ γραμματικοί, ὡς τύμβος τυμβίδιος, παῦρος παυρίδιος, μοῖχος μοιχίδιος· οὕτω· πτερόν πτερίδιον, καὶ ὑπερθέσει τοῦ Τ, πετρίδιος· ἐχρῆν οὖν εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν ὑποπτέρων ὀνειρών τῶν ὑποπετριδιών, «καὶ» ὑπερθέσει «τοῦ Τ» τῶν ὑποπετριδιών. οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν.

56 Bergk 1882, 39–40. On this word see Schulze 1966, 379–380 and Santoro 1973, 50.

can then see an *excerptum* on Alcman language from Dionysius, followed by Herodian's section about the suffix -ιδιος.⁵⁷ In *lexica* and *scholia* exegeses quite commonly begin with the source from which that material come from,⁵⁸ therefore I would write

Διονύσιος ὁ Σιδωνίους· πρῶτος ταύτη τῇ ἐπιβολῇ ἐχρήσατο (scil. ὁ Ἀλκμάν).

We have thus regained the subject of ἐχρήσατο, Alcman, though the real meaning of ἐπιβολή remains still obscure. This word has from time to time different meanings and one can assume that it did not ever reach the status of a technical term univoquely encoded.⁵⁹ Sylburg thought that ἐπιβολή might mean "insertion". If this interpretation were correct, Dionysius of Sidon would say that Alcman was the first to use the insertion of the suffix -ιδιος to obtain ὑποπερίδιος⁶⁰ from

⁵⁷ About this suffix see at least Marzullo 1964, 193.

⁵⁸ Cf. e.g. Hsch. π 2011 Περφίλα (Sosibius [BNJ 595 F 17]); τ 329 τεθήσεται (Heracleon); *Et. Gen.* λ 84 λήδιον (Philemon); *Et. M.* β 309 βρενθία (Diogenianus); *Sch. Ar. Ran.* 850a, 1212a (Timachidas, frs. 23–24 Matijašić); *Eq.* 963a, 1129a, 1150a (Phaenous); *Av.* 17b, 440, 704a, 988c, 1121a, 1296a, 1363a, 1681b, 1705a, *Eq.* 963a, 979a, 1256a, *Th.* 710 (Symmachus); *Ve.* 1283e (Heliodorus); *Av.* 1378, *Ran.* 92b, 222a, 270a (Callistratus); *Schol. Hom. Il.* 4.132a (ex.), 133c (ex.) (Autochthon); 21.262c (ex.) (Parmenon); 325b (ex.) (Heraclides Milesius).

⁵⁹ Hermogenes (*Id.* 1.3, p. 227 Rabe) links it with those additions which tend to clarify a sentence, and help the mind to easily understand the general meaning. Otherwise, according to Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 209.165b) the use of ἐπιβολαί (digressions) makes the understanding difficult; with the same perspective we find the verb ἐπιβάλλεσθαι in Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 1.514, where it denotes a baroque manner of expression. ἐπιβολή has been first used by Rutilius Lupus, who said that it was a syntactical structure in which some sentences were introduced by the same word (it could be employed once or at the beginning of each sentence), or by a *varietas* of synonymous words (1.7, p. 156 Barabino): *Hoc schema dupliciter fieri consuevit, cum pluribus et diversis sententiis aut unum et idem verbum singulis praeponitur, aut varietas verborum, quae tamen eandem vim inter se habent. ab uno verbo saepius quae proficiscuntur, sunt huius modi.* Aquila Romanus had a different opinion (p. 36, 21 Halm): *sin autem haec figura [scil. ὑποζευγμένον, iniunctum in latin] fit ita, ut tum in prostremo sit pars orationis, quae duo aut plura membra coniungat, tum in primo, tum in medio, iniunctionem sive ἐπιβολήν vocemus licet.* According to Quintilianus 9.2.102, source of Rutilius had to be Gorgias the rhetor, teacher of a son of Cicero and almost contemporary of this grammarian, lived at the end of the reign of Augustus. See Barabino 1967, 9. The first kind of ἐπιβολή in Rutilius is similar to that we can find in *Il.* 1.287–289 ἄλλ' ὅδ' ἀνὴρ ἐθέλει περὶ πάντων ἔμμεναι ἄλλων, | πάντων μὲν κρατέειν ἐθέλει, πάντεσσι δ' ἀνάσσειν, | πᾶσι δὲ σημαίνειν, ἅ τιν' οὐ πείσεσθαι ὄϊω; cf. *schol. a* (ex.) *ad. loc.*: ἴδιον τῶν θυμουμένων ἐπανακυκλοῦν τὰ αὐτὰ· οὐδέποτε γὰρ οἶονται ἱκανῶς εἰρηκέναι οἱ θυμούμενοι. καλεῖται δὲ τὸ σχῆμα ἐπιβολή, ἐν μῇ περιόδῳ ἀρχὰς πλείους ἐπιφερόμενον. οὕτως ἔχει καὶ τὸ «ἐν δ' Ἔρις, ἐν δὲ Κυδοιμὸς τῶμίλειοντ, ἐν δ' ὀλοή Κήρ» (Σ 535).

⁶⁰ Unfortunately this is the only occurrence of ὑποπερίδιος.

ὑπόπτερος and that the ἐπιβολή was used by οἱ γραμματικοί <in order to explain the origin of such adjectives (?)>.⁶¹

The *lemma* ὑποπτέρων ὀνείρων of the *Etymologicum Magnum*, printed by Gaisford in his edition, is not reflected in any of the manuscripts on which he established the *recensio*, therefore its origin is probably due to a conjecture; only two manuscripts of the Μεγάλη Γραμματική have ὑποπετριδίων ὀνείρων on the margin near the entry, with πετρι *supra lineam*, thus ὑποπετριδίων ὀνείρων. PLouvre E 3320 agrees with the Μεγάλη Γραμματική, and in a *scholion* of the papyrus we can read that the poets use to attribute wonderful and prodigious things to dreams, called ὑποπετριδίοι by Alcman as living under a rock, in a shady place, to paraphrase Homer who in *Od.* 24.11–12 says “they went beyond the streams of Ocean and the White Rock, the doors of the sun and the people of dreams”:

ὅτι τὰ θαυμαστά καὶ τερατώδη οἱ ποιηταὶ εἰώθα(σι) τοῖς ὀνείροις προσάπτειν καὶ {καὶ} ὁμοιοῦν' διὰ τὸ φαίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ[ν] ὄνειρον τοιαῦτα. ὑ[πο]π[ε]τ[ρι]δίου(ς) εἶρηκε ὡς ὑπὸ πέτρᾳ οἰκοῦντα·ς ἐν ἀν[η]λ[ι]ῳ τόπῳ. παραγράφ(ει) δὲ Ὅμηρ(ον) ὡς ἐν τῇ Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ (24, 11–12)· “πάρ δ' ἴσαν Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοὰς καὶ Λευκάδα πέτρην ἥδ' ἐπ' ἡλίοιο πύλας καὶ δῆμο(ν) ὀνείρων.”⁶²

West follows this interpretation, and according to him dreams would dwell under shady rocks, since people usually sleep there during the heat of midday. Actually the Homeric parallel adduced by the scholiast and his attempt to explain ὑποπετριδῖος may be a pointless and autoschediastic effort, since the adjective seems to have no linguistic connection to the rocks, but as already suggested by

61 Among several other possibilities we find the equivalence ἐπιβολή = ἔννοια “notion, idea”. In this case Dionysius of Sidon would say that Alcman was the first to speak of dreams ὑποπετριδίοι / ὑποπετριδῖοι. Next we read that the same *notion* was used by οἱ γραμματικοί; but it would be a very unlikely remark, perhaps originated when the subject of ἐχρήσατο had gone missing and has been identified with Dionysius. One rather expects that Alcman had been followed not by the grammarians, as we read in our text, but by οἱ ποιηταί. As for the equivalence ἐπιβολή = ἔννοια see Sud. ε 2020 ἐπέβαλεν· ἤρξατο, ἐπεχείρησεν. ἢ ἀντὶ τοῦ συνῆν. ὅς καὶ Ἐκαταίῳ τῷ Μιλησίῳ ἐπέβαλε, γεγονότι κατὰ τὰ Περσικά καὶ μικρῷ πρός. ἐξέτεινε δὲ μέχρι τῶν Περδίκκου χρόνων. ἐπιβολή δὲ λέγεται ἔννοια, ἐπιχείρησις and ε 2238 ἐπιβολή· ἔννοια καὶ ἐπιχείρησις. According to the *ThGL* s.v. ἐπιβολή this meaning is attested for instance in Clem. Al. *Str.* 4, 22 (143) εἰ γοῦν τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐτυμολογεῖν χρὴ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως τὴν ἐπιβολὴν αὐτῆς ληπτέον, “ὅτι ἴσθισιν ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τὴν ψυχὴν”, ἄλλοτε ἄλλως πρότερον φερομένην, ὡσαύτως καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐτυμολογητέον τὴν περὶ τὸ ὄν στάσιν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν; Iambl. *Protr.* p. 22 κοινῇ διήκειν φησὶν ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ὄντα, τὰς τε ἀρχὰς τὰς κοινὰς τῶν ὄλων φησὶν αὐτὴν ἐπισκοπεῖν καὶ κατὰ γένη ταῦτα θεωρεῖν καὶ κατὰ ἀπλουστάτας ἐπιβολάς, ὥσπερ ἡ ὄψις τοῖς ὄρατοῖς ἐπιβάλλει.

62 The text printed here is that of Roemer 2013, 118.

Page, it would mean “winged”, thanks to a metathesis from ὑποπερίδιος; Herodian had already said that.⁶³ Thus Dionysius Sidonius would say that Alcman was the first who called the dreams *winged*. On the basis of what has been said, I propose the following text:

Διονύσιος ὁ Σιδώνιος· πρῶτος ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπιβολῇ ἐχρήσατο (scil. ὁ Ἀλκμάν), ἥπερ χρῶνται οἱ γραμματικοί, [ὡς τύμβος τυμβίδιος, παῦρος παυρίδιος, μοιχὸς μοιχίδιος, πτερόν πετρίδιον. ἐχρῆν οὖν εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν ὑποπτέρων ὀνείρων τῶν ὑποπετρίδιων, ὑπερθέσει τῶν ὑποπετρίδιων. οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν].

With just a different punctuation the entry of the *Etymologica* seems to have found a likely appearance. Many other conjectures might be proposed, mostly about the word ἐπιβολή or οἱ γραμματικοί, but is safer to stop, in order to avoid that these reconstructions, instead of representing winged dreams or rests under the shady coolness of the rocks, become mere hallucinations.

Bibliography

- Ascheri, P. (2011), “Dionysius [3]”, in *Lexicon of Greek Grammarians of Antiquity*, BrillOnline Reference Works (http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2451-9278_lgga_urn:cite:cidocCRM.E21:lgga.Dionysius_3_it).
- Barabino, G. (1967), *P. Rutilii Lupi Schemata dianoëas et lexeos*, saggio introduttivo, testo e traduzione, Genova.
- Bastianini, G. (2015), “Il titolo finale di un commentario ad Alcmane (P.Oxy. XXIV 2392)”, in *Comunicazioni dell'Istituto Papirologico “G. Vitelli”* 12, 93–95.
- Bécares Botas, V. (1985), *Diccionario de la terminología gramatical griega*, Salamanca.
- Beccard, Th. (1850), *De scholiis in Homeri Iliadem Venetis (A) pars prior*, Berolini.
- Beekes, R. (2010), *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Leiden/Boston.

⁶³ Page 1951, 87. Cf. also Campbell 1987, 371, and Tsantsanoglou 2012, 47–48. Marzullo 1964, 194, thinks that the Homeric parallel has been adduced in order to denote dreams which dwell not generically “under the rock”, but near the White Rock, Leucas. According to West 1965, 195, the equivalence ὑποπετρίδιος = ὑποπετρίδιος is «linguistically impossible», but Chantraine 1974, 947, admits the possibility of a metathesis. Recently it has been proposed to see in ὑποπετρίδιος a relic of the i.e. root *petr-, from which πτερόν and related words derive: Beekes 2010, 1536. The image of the winged dream is firstly attested in Aesch. Ag. 425–426, οὐ μεθύστερον | πτεροῖς ὀπαδοῦς ὕπνου κελεύθοις, however it is possible to see in these verses the personification of Hypnos (so Devereux 1976, 137, who suggests writing πτεροῖς ὀπαδοῦς ὕπνου κελεύθοις. The god Hypnos is winged already in Hes. Th. 763), and especially in Euripides (Hec. 71 μελανοπετρίγων μάτερ ὀνείρων). After it has been used by Callimachus (Del. 234 οὐδ’ ὅτε οἱ ληθαῖον ἐπὶ πτερόν ὕπνος ἐρείσει) and eighteen times by Nonnus of Panopolis.

- Benedictus, J. (1620), Πινδάρου Περίοδος. *Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia*, Salmurii.
- Bergk, Th. (1882), *Poetae Lyrici graeci*, III, Lipsiae.
- Blass, Fr. (1904), *Die Interpolationen in der Odyssee*. Eine Untersuchung, Halle a. S.
- Boeckh, A. (1819), *Pindari Opera quae supersunt*, 2, Lipsiae.
- Boeckh, A. (1821), *Pindari Opera quae supersunt*, 2, 2, Lipsiae.
- Braswell, B.K. (2013), *Didymos of Alexandria. Commentary on Pindar*, ed. and transl. with. Intr., Explanatory Notes, and a Critical Catalogue of Didymus' Works, Basel.
- Cameron, A. (1995), *Callimachus and His Critics*, Princeton.
- Campbell, D.A. (1987), *Greek Lyric*, II, Cambridge (MA)/London.
- Carey, Ch. (1981), *A Commentary on Five Odes of Pindar: Pythian 2, Pythian 9, Nemean 1, Nemean 7, Isthmian 8*, New York.
- Carnuth, O. (1869): *Aristonici* Περί σημείων Ὀδυσσεείας *reliquiae emendatiores*, Lipsiae.
- Chantraine, P. (1974), *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*, 2, Paris.
- Chantraine, P. (1963), *Grammaire Homérique*, tome II, Syntaxe, Paris.
- D'Alessio, G.B. (1997), "Pindar's Prosodia and the Classification of Pindaric Papyrus Fragments", in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 118, 23–60.
- D'Alessio, G.B. (2016), "Bacchylides' Banquet Songs", in V. Cazzato/D. Obbink/E.E. Prodi (eds.), *The Cup of Song. Studies on Poetry and the Symposion*, Oxford, 63–84.
- Deas, H.Th. (1931), "The Scholia vetera to Pindar", in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 42, 1–78.
- Devereux, G. (1976), *Dreams in Greek Tragedy. An Ethno-Psycho-Analytic Study*, Berkeley.
- Dindorf, W. (1855), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam ex codicibus aucta et emendata*, 1–2, Oxonii.
- Erbse, H. (1960), *Beiträge zur Überlieferung der Iliasscholien*, München.
- Ferrari, F. (2008), *Pindaro, Pitiche*, intr. trad. e note, Milano.
- Forsman, C. (1883), *De Aristarcho Lexici Apolloniani fonte*, Diss. Helsingforsiae.
- Gaisford, Th. (1848), *Etymologicum Magnum seu verius Lexicon saepissime vocabulorum originis indagans ex pluribus lexicis scholiastis et grammaticis Anonymi cuiusdam opera con-cinnatum*, Oxonii.
- Gentili, B./Angeli Bernardini, P./Cingano, E./Giannini, P. (1995), *Pindaro, Le Pitiche*, Milano/Roma.
- Haslam, M. (2013), "New Readings at *Iliad* 4.511 and 512?", in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 184, 1–3.
- Hoekstra, A. (1998), *Omero, Odissea*, volume IV (libri XIII–XVI), Intr., testo e commento, Milano/Roma.
- Irigoin, J. (1952), *Histoire du texte de Pindare*, Paris.
- La Roche, J. (1866), *Die Homerische Textkritik im Alterthum*, Leipzig.
- Lefkowitz, M.R. (1985), "The Pindar Scholia", in *American Journal of Philology* 106, 269–282.
- Lehrs, K. (1833), *De Aristarchi studiis Homericis*, Lipsiae 1833 (1882³).
- Lehrs, K. (1837), *Quaestiones epicae*, Regimonti Prussorum (rist. Hildesheim/New York 1977).
- Lentz, A. (1868), *Herodiani Technici reliquiae*, 'Grammatici Graeci recogniti et apparatu critico instructi' 3, 2, Leipzig.
- Linke, K. (1977) *Die Fragmente des Grammatikers Dionysios Thrax*, SGLG 3, Berlin.
- Lobeck, C.A. (1843), *Pathologiae sermonis Graeci prolegomena*, Lipsiae.
- Ludwich, A. (1884–1885), *Aristarchs homerische Textkritik: nach den Fragmenten des Didymos*, 1–2, Leipzig (rist. Hildesheim/New York 1971).

- Marcovigi, G. (1970), "Le citazioni dei lirici corali presso l'*Etymologicum genuinum* - Edizione comparata", in *Quaderni triestini per il lessico della lirica corale greca* 1, 11–49.
- Marzullo, B. (1964), "Il primo partenio di Alcmene", in *Philologus* 108, 174–210.
- Matthaios, S. (1999), *Untersuchungen zur Grammatik Aristarchs: Texte und Interpretation zur Wortartenlehre*, Göttingen.
- Meliàdò, C. (2018), "Sul commentario omerico tradito da POxy 4452", in *ZPE* 205, 59–64.
- Montanari, Fr. (1998), "Zenodotus, Aristarchus and the ekdosis of Homer", in G.W. Most (ed.), *Editing texts = Texte edieren*, Göttingen, 1–21.
- Morgan, K.A. (2015), *Pindar and the Construction of Syracusan Monarchy in the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford.
- Negri, M. (2004), *Pindaro ad Alessandria. Le edizioni e gli editori*, Brescia.
- Novembri, V. (2010), "Aristodemus [1]", in *Lexicon of Greek Grammarians of Antiquity*, Brill-Online Reference Works (http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2451-9278_lgga_urn:cite:cidocCRM.E21:lgga.Aristodemus_1_it).
- Nünlist, R. (2009), *The Ancient Critic at Work. Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia*, Cambridge.
- Pagani, L. (2008), "Dionysius [15] Thrax", in *Lexicon of Greek Grammarians of Antiquity*, Brill-Online Reference Works (http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2451-9278_lgga_urn:cite:cidocCRM.E21:lgga.Dionysius_15_Thrax_it).
- Page, D.L. (1951), *Alcman. The Partheneion*, Oxford.
- Pfeiffer, R. (1973), *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age*, Oxford.
- Pintaudi, R./Canfora, L. (2012), "Dionigi Sidonio, Aristarco, Aristotele in un commentario omerico su papiro (PL III/979)", in G. Bastianini/A. Casanova (eds.), *I papiri omerici. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Firenze, 9–10 giugno 2011)*, Firenze, 273–276.
- Race, W.H. (1997), *Pindar. Olympian Odes. Pythian Odes*, Cambridge (Mass.)/London.
- Roemer, C. (2013), *Alcman*, in *Commentaria et Lexica Graeca in Papyris reperta* 1.1.2.1, München/Leipzig.
- Santoro, C. (1973), *Osservazioni fonetiche e lessicali sul dialetto greco di Taranto*, Bari (= Annali della Facoltà di Magistero 12).
- Schironi, F. (2004), *I frammenti di Aristarco di Samotracia negli etimologici bizantini: Etymologicum Genuinum, Magnum, Symeonis, Megale Grammatike, Zonarae Lexicon*, Göttingen.
- Schulze, W. (1966), *Kleine Schriften*, Göttingen.
- Sengebusch, M. (1855), *Homerica dissertatio prior*, Lipsiae.
- Slater, W.J. (1969), *Lexicon to Pindar*, Berlin.
- Sylburg, Fr. (1816), *Etymologicum magnum seu magnum grammaticae penu in quo et originum et analogiae doctrina ex veterum sententia copiosissime proponitur historiae item et antiquitatis monumenta passim attinguntur*, Lipsiae.
- Tsantsanoglou, K. (2012), *Of Golden Manes and Silvery Faces. The Partheneion 1 of Alcman*, Berlin/Boston.
- van der Valk, M. (1972), "Iliad III 35 and the Scholia", in *Mnemosyne* 25, 78–80.
- Wackernagel, J. (1897), *Vermischte Beiträge zur griechischen Sprachkunde*, Basel, 51 (= *Kleine Schriften*, 1, Göttingen 1953, 810).
- West, M.L. (1965), "Alcmanica", in *Classical Quarterly* 15, 188–202.
- West, M.L. (1970), "Melica", in *Classical Quarterly* 20, 205–215.
- West, M.L. (2001), *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad*, München/Leipzig.

Grazia Merro

Theon's Pindaric exegesis: new materials from *marginalia* on papyri

Abstract: The papyri have remarkably contributed to enhance our knowledge of exegetical tradition about Pindar's Epinicians; *inter alia* they help us to better understand the importance of Theon's hypomnema, previously deemed to be an intermediate step between Didymus' commentary and the medieval scholia. Material which can be traced back to Theon may be identified in the bulk of marginal annotations of several Pindar papyri of Paeans and other songs (POxy 841, 2442 and 2450), in view of analogies with some items in various corpora of medieval scholia manifestly derived from Theon. Moreover, these marginalia can well testify the extent at which these commentaries were available and used by teachers and scholars between the first and the second centuries AD.

In 1966 E.G. Turner published POxy 2536 (MP³ 1498.2 = LDAB 4015), a second-century *hypomnema* containing extracts of Theon's commentary on Pindar's Pythian odes. This publication was a turning point for the study of Pindar's exegetical tradition, which had stalled after Irigoin's *Histoire du texte de Pindare* (1952). In his masterly book, Irigoin had considered Didymus' commentary as the result of a centuries-long process of stratification, and devoted very little space to Theon. Building on two *scholia* that clearly mention the grammarian – Sch. O. 5.42a Dr. and Sch. Pae. 2.37 (= 329 McNamee 2007) – Irigoin attributed to him only a generic interest towards Pindar as well as a single work on the Paeans.¹ Before Irigoin, H.T. Deas in his essay on Pindaric scholia had suggested that Theon had not only commented on Pindar, but that he had also edited his text. Furthermore, he might well have reworked Didymus Chalcenterus' commentary, which in Deas' view was the basis for the whole Pindaric exegetical tradition later epitomised in the second century.²

My warmest thanks to M. Cannatà Fera and G. Ucciardello for suggestions and comments on various drafts of this paper. I am also grateful to my audience in Bologna for some insights during the discussion and to V. Cazzato for improving the English style.

¹ Irigoin 1952, 65.

² Deas 1931, 31–32. More recent views on Pindaric exegesis and reception adhere closely to Deas' and Irigoin's assessment: cf. e.g. Dickey 2007, 39, Daude 2009, 20–22, Braswell 2013, 27.

It is unfortunate that the extensive passages found in POxy 2536 are absent in the most recent edition of Theon's works (Guhl 1969).³ Without the contribution of this papyrus, Theon's role in Pindaric studies cannot be correctly evaluated. The papyrus is witness for a Pindaric commentary by Theon still in use over the second century AD; it calls for a reappraisal of the role of the grammarian in the history of Pindaric exegesis, within the larger framework of the recent re-assessment of Theon's activity.⁴

Despite its evident need for revision, Guhl's edition already offers remarkable material pushing in this direction as for the exegesis to the Epinicians.⁵ Theon's contribution to Pindaric exegesis is evident when one compares the Pindar scholia to the corresponding *corpora* on Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, Theocritus, Nicander and Lycophron: these latter derive from Theon's *hypomnemata* and

³ The editor was aware of the forthcoming publication of this papyrus, but it came later than expected. Guhl declares that the *editio princeps* was not yet ready when he published his work (41). Guhl credited to Theon a commentary on Pindar, strongly denied by the former editor, Giese (1867). In general on the grammarian see Wilamowitz 1910, 187, Wendel 1934, 2054–2059, Damschen 2002, 374, Meliadò 2008, Montana 2015, 178–180, Merro 2015, 15–17.

⁴ Theon was thought to be the founding father of the exegetical tradition on the Hellenistic poets, but we now have evidence that more recent poets attracted some scholarly attention already in Aristarchus' day (Montanari 1995, 47–63 and 2002, 59–92, in part. 64–88, Rengakos 2000, 325–335). Moreover, during the last century papyri yielding significant fragments of Theon have allowed us to reconstruct his multifaceted activity, which ranged from Archaic and Classical authors to Hellenistic ones, embracing all the genres of Alexandrian philology. *Ekdosis* is witnessed by POxy 2427 (MP³ 360 = LDAB 836), with fragments from Epicharmus' comedies (Theon is mentioned four times in its margins), and POxy 1174 (MP³ 1473 = LDAB 3929), fragments from Sophocles Ἰχθυεῖνται, with variant readings ascribed to the grammarian. As for *hypomnemata*, a commentary to the *Odyssey* is mentioned s. v. δόρυ in *Etym. Gud.* 376.20 Stef. and s. v. πύελος in *Etym. M.* 696.7 Gai. (another mention of Theon, probably connected with his Homeric commentary, occurs in *Etym. Gen.* α 339 L.–L. s. v. ἄκημνος). POxy 2390 (MP³ 82 = LDAB 184) shows traces of a commentary to Alcman with a variant from Theon, while POxy 2803 (MP³ 1485.5 = LDAB 3974) carries *marginalia* from Theon to Stesichorus; with regard to Pindar see *infra*. As for Hellenistic poetry, Theon worked on Apollonius Rhodius (cf. the *subscriptio* of Laur. 32, 9 = 329 Wendel), Theocritus (cf. *Etym. Gud.* 323.19–21 de Stef.), Callimachus (cf. *Etym. Gen.* α 1316 L.–L., s. v. ἄστυρον), Nicander (cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. Κορόπη [κ 169 = III 98 Billerbeck] and *Sch. Nic. Ther.* 237), Lycophron (cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. Αἴθεια [α 132 = I 96 Billerbeck] and s. v. Κύτινα [κ 300 = III 164 Billerbeck]). Moreover, the commentary on Aratus previously ascribed to Theon the mathematician is probably correctly ascribed to the grammarian (see Martin 1956, 196–204, Schiano 2002, 135–137).

⁵ More than forty passages in Guhl's edition are traced back to Theon. This is remarkable if one considers that Braswell 2013 has found no more than sixty passages by Didymus in the same *corpus*.

thus preserve traces of his erudition, just as do several lemmata in Byzantine Etymologia or lexica.⁶

POxy 2536 confirms these origins: if we compare the scholia to *P.* 12.14–32 (25a–54a = II 267 – 270 Dr.) to the corresponding sections of the commentary preserved on this papyrus we see that the scholia largely depend on the papyrus. They preserve all the lemmata (differently arranged), although, as is to be expected, their exegetical content is less precise than that of the commentary. This fact raises further questions on the extent of Theon's contribution to Pindar's exegesis, on the relationship between Didymus Chalcenterus' and Theon's commentaries, and more generally on the origin and formation of the scholia to the Epinicians.⁷ Moreover, Theon's chronology has been debated: some scholars place him in the late Republican period, while others, holding a more traditional view, place his *floruit* in the Imperial era and in any case later than Didymus'.⁸ All considered, two scholarly views appear to be plausible: according to H. Maehler, the medieval scholia are based on an abbreviated version of Theon's commentary,⁹ while K. McNamee, relying on POxy 2536 and reversing Deas' view, speaks of 'Didymus' strong reliance on Theon', and draws attention to Theon's effort in gathering exegetical material well before Didymus. According to McNamee, 'Theon was the last known prominent scholar before Didymus set to work on Pindar, and his commentary is fundamental to the medieval scholia'.¹⁰ She also attributes to Theon the latest and most sophisticated papyrus containing Pindaric *hypomnemata*, PBerol 13419 (MP³ 1357 = LDAB 3736), dating from the third or fourth century AD, whose verso contains a fragmentary commentary on *Pi.* 2.16–19, similar to schol. 31–36c Dr. In any case it is not possible to establish

6 Guhl 1969, 23–24.

7 Cf. Maehler 1968, Angeli Bernardini 1971, Calvani 1973, Maehler 1994, 117–118, Cadili 2003, McNamee 2007, 95, Ucciardello 2012. A useful and updated review of the issue in Prodi, forthcoming (paper delivered at the International Conference *Commentaries on Greek texts. Problems, methods and trends in ancient and Byzantine scholarship* held in Venice in January 2015; I am grateful to the author for letting me read his paper in advance). The scholar expresses reservations on a "didymus-centric" view in the development of the Pindar scholia by emphasising the co-existence of Didymean stock and 'materiale sicuramente non didimeo né filtrato attraverso Didimo' in the same corpus.

8 Irigoin 1952, 65, Guhl 1969, 2, 15, Damschen 2002, 374, Cadili 2003, 13 n. 2 argued for the Augustan age; Martin 1956, 196–204, Cameron 1995, 191 and n. 33 traced him back towards the middle of the first century BC; see also Bongelli 1998–99, 1–5, *Ead.* 2000, 281 n. 1. On the debate see Calvani/Derenzini 1977, 170–171, Meliadò 2008, Montana 2015, 178 n. 563.

9 Maehler 1994, 118.

10 McNamee 2007, 95–99.

whether it derives from the original commentary or from a re-elaboration by Didymus.¹¹

These papyri allow us to compare some original material (the *excerpta* from ancient *hypomnemata*) with the final stage of the exegetical tradition (the medieval scholia); in assigning a primary role to Theon's contribution, they open up a very productive line of investigation with respect to the revision of the history of Pindar's exegesis.

The *marginalia* on papyrus must also be considered. Overall, these are a different exegetical product and present different sets of problems. In the first place, their contents are not homogeneous: they vary according to the interests of scribes and readers/users of individual papyri, so that in these annotations we can find elements of ancient erudition comparable to what is commonly found in the *hypomnemata* as well as elementary explanations and paraphrases, and even a mixture of heterogeneous observations coming from different sources. Secondly, the particular nature of the annotations is problematic: it is difficult to trace back in each individual case their specific aims, and to recognise in them some traces of compilation, which could show that they are 'ancestors' of the medieval scholia found in codices.¹²

An example concerning Pindaric exegesis is PVindob inv. G 29817 (MPER N. S. I 23 = MP³ 1356 = LDAB 3741), dating from the sixth century AD, which contains numerous *marginalia* to Pythian I: these overlap largely with the corresponding mediaeval scholia, with which they must share a source. According to McNamee, this source can be recognized in Theon's commentary.¹³ It follows that this commentary was certainly exploited for different purposes and was used continuously in the exegesis of the poems read in schools (the Pythians and Olympians are found in school *syllabi* of the Late Antique and Byzantine periods more frequently than the Nemeans and Isthmians).¹⁴ The materials from Theon's commentary certainly went through different and separate processes of transmission, exploitation and modification giving rise to different branches: one of these led to the pool of material from which the medieval scholia drew their contents.

Another area of investigation is represented by the *marginalia* transmitted on papyri containing Pindar's fragmentary poems, whose popularity seems to come

¹¹ McNamee 2007, p. 96; edition of the papyrus in Wilamowitz 1918, 749–50; on this piece see also Irigoin 1952, 118–119, Calvani/Derenzini 1977, 177–180, Maehler 1994, 118–119, Stroppa 2008, 65.

¹² An updated reassessment of the issue in Montana 2011, 128–150.

¹³ McNamee 2007, 98; 308–309.

¹⁴ Irigoin 1952, 106–107, Gentili 1995, LXXXII–LXXXIII.

to an end in the Imperial period.¹⁵ We can only speculate that *ad hoc* commentaries on those texts existed, and, of course, we have no scholia that directly illustrate the final stage of the exegetical tradition: only occasionally is it possible to recognise analogies and correspondences between our *marginalia* and passages of scholia to the Epinicians or to works by other authors.¹⁶

In general, in the *marginalia* of Pindaric papyri elementary explanations and paraphrases are mixed with learned annotations, similar to those found in ancient *hypomnemata* and medieval scholia. Thus, this kind of material provides evidence for the existence and the use of some erudite sources within Pindar's exegesis. In the specific case of the Epinicians, Theon's commentary has been recently suspected to be one of these sources. In what follows I will try to detect in the *marginalia* to fragmentary poems those elements which might derive from comparable learned material.

1 POxy 841 and POxy 2442 (Paeans)

POxy 841 (MP³ 1361 = LDAB 3713), written during the second century AD, is a keystone for reconstructing how the book of Paeans might have taken shape within the Alexandrian edition, since it is widely considered an accurate copy.¹⁷ The order of poems is controversial, but it is clear that this *volumen*, with its broad margins, was produced with a view to accommodating both text and annotations.¹⁸ The *marginalia* are in several hands and can be classified into two main types: brief notes with variant readings or paraphrases, and long explanations. Sometimes they report the grammarian's name in an abbreviated form, whose decryption is not always beyond doubt. Rutherford, who bases his reconstruction chiefly on POxy 841 (Π⁴ in his edition), holds that longer exegetical notes had been cut off from a sort of meta-*hypomnema* which accompanied Pindar's official text. In

¹⁵ In the wake of Wilamowitz, Irigoin argued that the selection of the Pindaric songs took place in all likelihood during the Antonine age (Irigoin 1952, 93–96).

¹⁶ Some case studies in McNamee 2007, 96.

¹⁷ D'Alessio 2001a, 69–86, Rutherford 2001, 137–140.

¹⁸ The papyrus layout, which displays generous upper and lower margins and *intercolumnia*, is suitable for a working copy designed to be annotated by scholars: D'Alessio 2001a, 83–84, McNamee 2007, 22 (cf. also 13 n. 19 and 522).

his opinion this work was compiled by Didymus on the basis of earlier commentaries, and then epitomised by Theon.¹⁹

Sch. *Pae.* 2.37 quotes Theon *expressis verbis*:

Pae. 2.37 ἀλκαί²⁰ δὲ τεῖχος ἀνδρῶν

Sch. b (260 Rutherford, 329 McNamee = fr. 37 Guhl):

-καὶ Θεῶ(ν). ὅμοιον τῷ "πότε-
ρον δίκαι τεῖχος ὕψιστον ἢ σκο-
λιαῖς ἀπάταις" (Pind. fr. 213.1–2 M.)

Theon writes ἀλκαί (ἀλκαῖ). The expression is similar to 'if justice the tallest wall or with twisted tricks...'

The variant reading is in a second hand; a third hand has added in cursive the attribution to Theon and the explanation, with reference to a Pindaric passage. This note is generally taken as referring to a dative, ἀλκαῖ, suggested by Theon instead of ἀλκαί in the text.²¹ The third hand would then come back to the source of the variant reading in order to seek support for it by inserting the name of Theon and the parallel passage. At any rate, the Pindaric passage taken as a parallel, quoted with δίκαι, appears to be unsuitable to support the variant. It follows that fr. 213 M. was not copied properly, as it was witnessed by other sources in a different form – a form embraced by Pindaric editors:

πότερον δίκαι τεῖχος ὕψιον
ἢ σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις ἀναβαίνει
ἐπιχθόνιον γένος ἀνδρῶν,
δίχα μοι νόος ἀτρέκειαν εἰπεῖν.

whether the earthly race of men / scales the higher wall through justice / or by crooked deceit / my mind is divided in telling precisely.²²

¹⁹ Rutherford 2001, 149–150. Marginal notes were overly numerous and detailed for a scroll, so Radt suggested that Π⁴'s direct ancestor was a commented codex, which sounds unlikely for a second-century papyrus; but the same scholar did not rule out that the user of POxy 841 might have copied notes from Pindaric commentaries in his own (Radt 1958, 7).

²⁰ 'Valiant acts': cfr. N. 7.12 (Rutherford 2001, 269 and n. 33).

²¹ Guhl 1969, fr. 37, Rutherford 2001, 262, and McNamee 2007, 329 (with some doubts).

²² Transl. Race 1997.

Hence, δίκαι may be a case of *iota mutum* not signalled by the copyist (previously it was ascribed in ἀλκαί, but here we have different hands at work), or simply an error by the scribe or his source.

Radt holds a different view and casts doubts on the attribution: according to him, Theon would have favoured ἀλκαί, supported by the nominative δίκαι in the parallel. The variant reading (with the dative) in the margin, which clearly derived from another source, would have then been rejected with the help of Theon's arguments (the interpretation should be as follows: 'deleted variant : -καί. Theon says that it is similar to the lines πότερον δίκαι τεῖχος ὕψιστον ἢ σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις ἀναβαίνει...'). If we accept this argument, the reading ἀλκαί could well match the nominative δίκαι attested in the parallel quoted in the marginal note: besides, a variant such as δίκαι must have circulated in antiquity, since it is recorded by Maximus of Tyre.²³

However, several points argue against Radt's position:

- I. In Radt's opinion, only the explanation come from Theon, because the name follows the *lectio* in an allegedly unusual way, but McNamee has proved that this is indeed not unusual: in POxy 841 the grammarian's name precedes the *varia lectio* in one case only; similarly, the variants in other papyri do not always follow the name of the grammarian.²⁴
- II. If Theon argued against the dative, we would expect at least an adversative supporting this reading (e.g. Θέων δὲ ὁμοίον τῷ...).
- III. In Sch. Pae. 4.4 of the same papyrus there is a similar change of writing hand: ἐδνώσεται is in the text, the second hand adds (ἐδνώ)σατο, which the third hand explains as ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑμνήθη (McNamee 2007, 333). In this instance, the

²³ Radt 1958, 45–47. The fragment is quoted by Maxim. Tyr. 12.1a (143 Koniaris = 145.13–16 Hobein); Koniaris comments and translates the quotation as follows: 'si fides codici R (Paris. Gr. 1962), sic Maximus construxisse videtur: ...δίκαι (scil. ἐστίν) τεῖχος ὕψιον (scil. ἀναβῆναι), ἢ (scil. οὐχ ὕψιον, καὶ) γένος ... ἀναβαίνει = my mind is divided in answering this question correctly: is justice a wall sufficiently tall, or [is it not, and instead] does the race of earthly men scale it by means of crooked stratagems? Si ἀναβαίνει<ν> legeris, constructio erit: ὕψιον (= taller) ἢ (ὥστε) ἀναβαίνειν (subauditio ἢ οὐ vel ἢ μή post ἀναβαίνειν)'. We can rule out the latter construction, because the text had ὕψιστον, while Maximus' mss show ὕψιον. The Rhetor, having quoted these lines, interprets them as containing a nominative case (cf. 12.1d = 144 Koniaris: ἀλλ' οὕτως φαίη ἂν μεταλαβὼν τὸ ἄσμα τὸ σὸν (scil. τοῦ Πινδάρου), ὅτι "καὶ δίκαι τεῖχος ὕψιον, / καὶ σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις ἀναβαίνειν / ἐπιχθόνιον γένος ἀνθρώπων").

²⁴ McNamee 2007, 38 n. 125, 329. Other occurrences considered by Radt concern allegedly Zenodotean variants, but the following sign ζη- is not an abbreviation for Ζηνόδοτος, but rather means ζητεῖται or another form of ζητέω, a *terminus technicus* to signal a remarkable point (see Ferrari 1992, 273–276, McNamee 2007, 40).

third hand did actually comment upon the marginal variant and not on the reading in the text itself.

- IV. In the same Sch. *Pae.* 2.37. we find also σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις, which in fact gives support to a construction in the dative.

On these grounds, the first option, i.e., Theon's support of the dative, should be preferred.

It remains undecided whether the variant reading ἀλκῆ came from another copy of Paeon 2 or was a conjecture put forward by Theon and based on a parallel passage similar both in content and construction, with the same metaphorical use of τεῖχος.²⁵

Because of this *varia lectio*, Deas believed that Theon also edited a text of Pindar's works, but in POxy 841's *marginalia* there are more grammarians' variants²⁶ signalled in the same way, yet we have no evidence for editions other than Aristophanes'.²⁷

The scribes of POxy 841 collected notes and explanations from many sources, whether mediated by other exegetical materials (extracts vel sim.), and Theon's commentary was among these. His contributions can be detected with a certain degree of likelihood in two more places.

The first is *Pae.* 2.5:

Δη]ρηνόν

Sch. (260 Rutherford, 327 McNamee):

τόπος ἐν Ἀ[βδήροις οὕτω καλού-
μενος [ᾧ]που [<15?]

3 [ᾧ]που [ἱερὸν (ἐστὶ) το(ῦ) Ἀπόλλωνος Grenfell-Hunt

near Abdera there is a place called thus, where...

Again, the note was written by the third hand. Apollo is called Derenòs, and the note explains that there was a place with the same name nearby Abdera. Grenfell

²⁵ On the metaphorical use of τεῖχος and πύργος cf. Alc. fr. 112.10 V. (see Longo 1974).

²⁶ Chrysippus, Ar[istophanes/istarchus/istodemus?], Theon, Aristonicus (see Rutherford 2001, 149, McNamee 2007, 36–40, 97 n. 264).

²⁷ See Irigoin 1952, 35–52, Negri 2004, 16–43, D'Alessio 1997, 55. Rutherford 2001, 146–148 does not rule out the existence of pre-Aristophanean (Callimachus?) or post-Aristophanean (Didymus?) editions. Pfeiffer 1968, 221 hypothesised a somewhat editorial work by Aristarchus on Aristophanes' previous text.

and Hunt, the *editores principes*, suggested supplying the relative clause on the basis of a comparison with Sch. vet. Lyc. 440a Leone: Δήραινός τ'όπος οὔτω καλούμενος ἐν Ἀβδήροις, ἔνθα Δηραινὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστιν, οὗ μνημονεύει Πίνδαρος ἐν Παιᾷσι.

This scholium is referring precisely to *Pae.* 2.5, as has long been acknowledged.²⁸ The note, which is our only extant parallel for this toponym, supports the supplement in the margin²⁹ and also suggests where it came from. We can grasp Theon's doctrine from the ancient scholia to Lycophron because they were mainly derived from his *hypomnema*. He was the first to produce a systematic commentary on the *Alexandra*,³⁰ and the only scholar known beyond any doubt to have worked on Pindar's Paeans, the second in particular (sch. 37). Theon was in the habit of mentioning other authors on whom he wrote commentaries, and employed the same content and language in his different works:³¹ cross-references between commentaries are fairly common among his fragments,³² and his interest in geography and toponomastic is easy to spot.³³

A second case in point is a note to *Pae.* 8.143 and 144. Pindar's text is lost, but the comment can be reconstructed from POxy 2442 (MP³ 1360 = *LDAB* 3747), a papyrus carrying plenty of marginal annotations: it transmits a longer note (B) that overlaps with, and partially supplements, the notes previously known from POxy 841 (A1–A2).

A1) Sch. *Pae.* 8.143ff. POxy 841, fr. 82 col. I (213 Rutherford, 322 McNamee):

[τῷ δὲ Ἐργίνῳ ὁ θεὸς ἔχρ]ησεν μαντευσ(έν)ῳ·

ἔῚ Ἐργίῃνε Κλυμένοιο πᾶσι Πρεσβωνιάδαο,
ἐξ ἡλθε γιγνέην διζήμενος, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν
ἰστοβοῆι γέροντι νέην ποτίβαλλε κορώνην·

²⁸ A sanctuary of Apollo Derenos and Aphrodite might have been the place to which the chorus moved, or where the performance took place: see Rutherford 2001, 265–267 for previous bibliography.

²⁹ The space appears shorter than necessary (McNamee), but the name of the god might have been abbreviated or replaced with θεοῦ.

³⁰ See n. 4 and Leone 2008, xvii–xviii, Hurst/Kolde 2008, xlv, Hornblower 2015, 102.

³¹ Bongelli 2000, 283–284.

³² Compare for instance Sch. Ap. Rh. 3.409–410 = fr. 84a Guhl e Sch. Pind. P. 4.398d = fr. 84b Guhl: both quote Antimachus' Lyde with regard to the use of ἡφαιστότευκτος about bulls; the Pindaric scholium quotes Apollonius' passage. Theonian materials also appear in Sch. Pind. O. 2.96 and P. 1.5.1a, which refer to Call. *Hym. Io.* 95 and Sapph. fr. 80 V., as well as in Sch. Call. *Hym. Io.* 95 where the same Sappho passage is quoted (those fragments have been overlooked by Guhl and Bongelli 1998–99). On the multifaceted dissemination of Theon's commentaries see Pontani 2011, 107–109.

³³ Frr. 43a–b, 44 a–b, 72a, 83a–b, 93a–d, 94a–b, 95a–c, 96a–b Guhl.

ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος λέγει ὅτι ἔχρησε ταῦτα α]ὐτῷ ὁ θεός, ἡνίκ[α] π[α]ρ[ι]δὰς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι ἐπεθύμησεν
[~?] ἐλκόμενον· τὸν ποτε ἐλκυισάμενον]μοι()

suppl. Grenfell - Hunt, Snell conl. Paus. 9.37.4, Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 5.30.2.

3 ὅψ' ἤλθες Paus. Eus.

to Herginus, who consulted the oracle, the god answered:

O Herginus, son of Clymenus Presbonides,

You came here longing for an offspring; but again, now too,

You put a new drill on an old plough tiller.

Pindar tells that the god gave this answer to Herginus, when he was seized by the desire of having a son [~?] 'drawing' (the sword against Thebes): he who once drew...

A2) Sch. *Pae.* 8.144 POxy 841 (213 Rutherford = 323 McNamee):

[δασμόν ἀ]πῆται ἀναιρε-
[θέντος το]ῦ πατρὸς Κλυ-
[μένου <3] . . . καὶ ὁ χρη-
[σμός προὔ]τρ[εψε] στρατεύ-
[εσθαι ἐπὶ Θή]βας

suppl. Grenfell - Hunt, Snell

(Herginus) asked for a tribute after the killing of his father Clymenus ... and the oracle pushed him to declare war against Thebes.

B) Sch. *Pae.* 8.143ff. POxy 2442 fr. 29 (213 Rutherford; 310 McNamee):

[. . .] ἐκπεσόντος χρησμοῦ Ἐργίνῳ στρατευο(έν)ῳ ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐτέρου[
λέγει] γάρ· "ἀλλ' οὕτως τῷ Ἐργίνῳ ἔπεμψας χρησμοὺς τῷ ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας[
ἐκ]κ[υ]σμένῳ τὸ ζῆρος," ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) στρατεύσαντι· τὸ γ(άρ) ἐλκόμε(εν)ον ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) ἐκ[κ]υσ[σ]άμενον [εἰρή]ται.
Κλύμ[ε]ν(ον) ἀναιρεθῆ(ναί) [Εὐφορί]ων μ(έν) ὑπὸ Περιήρου,³⁴ Ἑλλάνι(κος)³⁵ δ[ὲ]
ὑπ[ὸ] τινος Καδ[μ]είων] κ[α]τ[α] (ατ') Ὀ[χ]χηστὸν(?) μαχόμε(εν)ον, Ἐπιμενίδης 5
δ' ἐν ξ Γε[ν]εαλογ[ι]ῶν³⁶ ὑπὸ Γλαύκου ἐρίσαντα τῷ ζεύγει τ[.]
δύο δὲ πόλ[ι]εμοι ἐγένον(ν)το, ὁ μ(έν) Κλυμένου ἀναιρεθέντος(ς),
ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ δασμό(ν) π[α]ρ[ι]δ[α]ς ὄντ(ας) Ἡρακλέο(υς) ἀκρωτηριά[σαντος]

suppl. Lobel (ll.1–6), Mette 1978 (ll. 7–8) [Εὐφορί]ων Fowler 1996, 15

34 Euphor. fr. 183 Lightfoot.

35 4 F 133bis Mette 1978 (p. 7) = 101A Fowler.

36 457 F 2bis Mette 1978 (p. 29) = *BNJ* 457 F 12b.

...another oracle having been given to Herginus during the Theban war [...] (Pindar) says indeed: 'but in this way you sent oracles to Herginus who drew the sword against Thebes', i.e. 'having fought (against Thebes)', ἐλκόμενον meaning ἐλκυσάμενον. Euphorion says that Clymenus was killed by Perieres, Hellanicus that he was killed by one of the Cadmeans (...) while he was fighting in Onchestos; Epimenides in the sixtieth book of his *Genealogies* reports that he was murdered by Glaucus in a chariot race... There were two wars: one after Clymenus' death, another one after Heracles mutilated all who came to claim the tribute.

In the final part of Paean 8, while recalling the reconstruction of the fourth Delphic temple by the architects Trophonius and Agamedes,³⁷ Pindar mentioned an oracle received by their father, Herginus king of Orchomenus.

We know the background of this story from Paus. 9.37: Herginus, king of Orchomenus and a former Argonaut, after the murder of his father Clymenus in Onchestus by Theban hands, declared war to Thebes. He won the war and imposed a yearly tribute on the city. Then Heracles freed the city from the tribute by mutilating Herginus' collectors and defeating the Minyans of Orchomenus in a second war. As an elderly man, Herginus came to the temple to ask the Pythian priestess whether he could have children. The oracle answered him that he should 'put a new drill on an old tiller';³⁸ thus Herginus married a young woman, who bore him Trophonius and Agamedes.

Only the first part of the story about the tribute and Heracles' intervention is told in [Apollod.], *Bibl.* 2.67–69 and Diod. Sic. 4.10.3–6. The *marginalia* add plenty of information about the double war between Thebes and Orchomenus³⁹ and the questioning of the oracle, with information and reference to sources.

From A1 and B we notice that the commentator's interest was focused on ἐλκόμενον (τὸ ξίφος), 'drawing the sword', which concerns Herginus and the oracle he received at the time of his attack on Thebes. He thought that ἐλκόμενον was equivalent to τὸν ποτε ἐλκ[υσ]άμενον (A1) because he knew that Herginus consulted the oracle as an old man, after the Theban war. Pindar may have followed a less common version in his Paean 8. Perhaps the annotator mentioned the poet or another *auctoritas* who told a variant of the story, according to which the Minyan king received another oracle (before that about his children) suggesting that he attack Thebes after his father was killed (sch. B, l.1: ἐκπεσόντος

³⁷ This Paean, entirely devoted to praise Apollo's temple, is unique within Greek literature for being a poem composed in honour of a shrine; the ode might have been kept in the Delphic sanctuary 'as a permanent panegyric of it, and a source of edification for visitors': Rutherford 2001, 214ff.

³⁸ On the oracle's saying see Parke/Wormell 1956, 301–302, Schmitz 1994, 209–217.

³⁹ Probably a memory of the Mycenaean age: Breglia 2005, 15–16.

χρησμοῦ Ἐργίνῳ στρατευομένῳ ἐπὶ Θήβας ἑτέρου, Sch. A2, ll. 3–5: καὶ ὁ χρη[σμὸς προὔτρ]εψε στρατεύ[εσθαι ἐπὶ Θή]βας).

Regarding Clymenus' murder, scholium B quotes Euphorion (?),⁴⁰ Hellanicus, and Epimenides of Crete, all of whom disagreed about the killer's identity. It follows the acknowledgement of two conflicts between Thebes and Orchomenus.

The reference to Epimenides might lead us to Theon. According to Lobon of Argos (*BNJ* 457 T 1), Epimenides wrote a long poem about the Argonauts, which circulated widely, even in a prose version, as a mythological source.⁴¹ It was used by Theon in his commentary to Apollonius Rhodius, which has survived in some medieval scholia to the *Argonautica*.⁴² Epimenides is mentioned in Sch. Ap. Rh. 2.1122a (*BNJ* 457 F12a = 15 Fowler) as a witness for the fact that Clymenus' father Presbon was descended from Phrixus, a detail commonly overlooked by other sources in the same scholion.⁴³

Pausanias drew from Epimenides too.⁴⁴ That might perhaps explain why the notes to Pind. *Pae.* 8.143–144 and Paus. 9.37 are lone witnesses for Herginus' story told in its entirety: both Pindar's commentator (Theon?) and Pausanias were familiar with the works that circulated under the name of the Cretan poet. Information about Herginus also occurs in Pindaric and Theocritean scholia (Pind. *O.* 14, inscr. b–c and sch. 2 Dr.; Theocr. 16.104/5 W.), and Theon is in fact the link: if compared, the two sets of notes show details clearly pointing to a common source:

⁴⁰ According to Rutherford and McNamee, who adopted a supplement by Fowler 1993, 15–16. But this suggestion does not fit the traces on the papyrus surface according to D'Alessio 2006 (see also *Id.* ap. Magnelli 2002, 129 n. 8).

⁴¹ The poem, about 6500 lines of length, was titled Ἀργοῦς ναυπηγία or Ἰάσονος εἰς Κόλχους ἀπόπλους (for Lobon, see Garulli 2004, in particular 64–66). On prose versions of Epimenides' poem, see Fowler 2013, 649–651.

⁴² Scholl. Ap. Rh. 3.240 = fr. 54a Guhl and 4.57–58 = fr. 76a Guhl.

⁴³ More about Herginus in Pindaric and Apollonian scholia: Sch. Ap. Rh. 1.185–88a: descentance from Clymenus, even if he is said to be son of Poseidon by Apollonius (according to Guhl this note may be related to Theon: see Lachenaud 2010, 42 n. 86 and fr. 41a Guhl); Sch. Ap. Rh. 2.896: he steered Argus after Tiphys' death according to Herodorus (*FGRHist* 31 F55); Sch. Pind. *O.* 4.29 d–e, 31 bc, 32 abc: Lemnian women mocked Herginus during the funeral games in honour of Thoas (32a quotes Callim. fr. 668 Pf.).

⁴⁴ Paus. 8.18.1–2 (*BNJ* 457 F5 = 7 Fowler).

Scholl. Pind. O. 14

Scholl. Theocr. 16

Inscr. b

[...] ταῖς Χάρισι δὲ προσφωνεῖ ὁ ποιητὴς ταῖς
τιμωμέναις κατὰ τὴν Ὀρχομενόν. ὁ δὲ Κηφισὸς
τῆς Ὀρχομενοῦ ἐστὶ ποταμὸς, ἔνθα καὶ αἱ
Χάριτες τιμῶνται

104/105a

Ἐτεοκλείους θυγατέρας ἔφη τὰς Χάριτας διὰ τὸ
Ἐτεοκλέα τὸν Κηφισοῦ πρῶτον ἀποθῆναι Χάρισιν ἐν
Ὀρχομενῷ τῷ Μινυεῖῳ.

Inscr. c

ταύταις δὲ Ἐτέοκλος ὁ Κηφισοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
πρῶτος ἔθυσεν, ὥς φησιν Ἡσίοδος (fr. 71 M.–
W.). διὰ δὲ τοῦ Ὀρχομενοῦ ὁ Κηφισὸς ρεῖ. δύο
δὲ Ὀρχομενοί, ὁ μὲν Μινύειος ὁ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ, ὁ
δὲ πολύμηλος ὁ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ.

104/105c

δύο Ὀρχομενοί, ὁ μὲν Μινύειος ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ, ὁ δὲ
πολύμηλος ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ.

Sch. 2

104/105b

ἱππικοὶ λέγονται οἱ Ὀρχομενιοί. Ἐργίνος γὰρ
ἵππῳ νικήσας Θηβαίους φόρου ὑποτελεῖς ἔσχεν,
ἄχρις οὗ Ἡρακλῆς αὐτοὺς ἠλευθέρωσεν

ἀπεχθόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφη ταῖς Θήβαις διὰ τὰ
τεθρυλλημένα ἐπὶ Ἐργίνῳ τῷ Ὀρχομενίῳ. οὗτος γὰρ
ἀναιρεθέντος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Κλυμένου ὑπὸ
Θηβαίων εἶλε τὰς Θήβας καὶ φόρους ἔταξεν, ἕως οὗ
Ἡρακλῆς τοῦ δασμοῦ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀπέλυσε μάχῃ
νικήσας τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους.

Remarkably, descriptions of Orchomenus' war against Thebes echo what we know from the papyrus *marginalia*.⁴⁵

POxy 2442 – late second century – displays a layout similar to that of POxy 841, with same wide margins for notes. Rutherford hints that also the notes on POxy 2442 were derived from the same alleged meta-*hypomnema*. It is certainly possible that they share one or more sources.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Sch. Pind. O. 14.2: ἱππικοὶ λέγονται οἱ Ὀρχομενιοί. Ἐργίνος γὰρ ἵππῳ νικήσας Θηβαίους φόρου ὑποτελεῖς ἔσχεν, ἄχρις οὗ Ἡρακλῆς αὐτοὺς ἠλευθέρωσεν, sch. Theocr. 16.104–105b: οὗτος γὰρ ἀναιρεθέντος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Κλυμένου ὑπὸ Θηβαίων εἶλε τὰς Θήβας καὶ φόρους ἔταξεν, ἕως οὗ Ἡρακλῆς τοῦ δασμοῦ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀπέλυσε μάχῃ νικήσας τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους, sch. Pind. Pae. 8.144 (POxy 841): [δασμὸν ἀ]πῆται ἀναιρε[θέντος το]ῦ πατρὸς Κλυ[μένου, sch. Pind. Pae. 8.143ss. (POxy 2442): [δύο δὲ πόλ]εμοι ἐγένοντο, ὁ μὲν Κλυμένου ἀναιρεθέντος, [ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ] δασμὸν π[αρ]όντας Ἡρακλέους ἀκρωτηριά[σαντος.

⁴⁶ The two papyri also display other marginal annotations arguably similar in content, even if the overlaps are not so compelling as for sch. Pae. 8, 143 ff. See sch. Pae. 8a, 15 from POxy 841 and Sch. Pae. 8a, 7–17 from POxy 2442 (311 McNamee).

2 POxy 2450 (Dithyrambs)

This papyrus (MP³ 1369 = LDAB 3705), written in the late first/early second century, contains several fragments of uncertain genre. Lobel proposed that fragment 1 belonged to the Dithyrambs; this suggestion was followed by Snell and Maehler.⁴⁷

Dith. fr. 169a.11 M. (POxy 2450, fr. 1.11): Βιστονίδι λίμνῃ

Sch. (346 McNamee):

Βίστον[ε]ς Θρακῶν ἔθνος καὶ Βιστονὶς λίμνη ἐν Θράκῃ

Θράκη Lobel φακὴ pap.

Bistones are a Thracian population and a Bistonid swamp is located in Thrace.

The same toponomastic data inserted within a larger framework can be read in Sch. Ap. Rh. 2.704: Βιστονίη· Θρακικῇ. Βίστονες γὰρ ἔθνος Θρακῶν· ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ Βιστόνος τοῦ Κίκονος, ὡς Φιλοστέφανος. καὶ Βιστονὶς λίμνη Θρακικῇ (fr. 24 Capel Badino). The scholium contains a reference to Philostephanus of Cyrene, a pupil of Callimachus who wrote a work entitled *On Asian cities* and other periegetic and antiquarian texts. According to Capel Badino this is likely to be the ultimate source from which the scholium derived its etymological and genealogical details through the mediation of Theon.⁴⁸ On the eponymous here mentioned see also Sch. Lyc. 418b L., where we have a different patronymic for Biston: Βίστονες δὲ ἀπὸ Βίστονος τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἄρεος; even more divergent is the version offered by Steph. Byz. β 106: Biston is son of Ares or Paeon.⁴⁹

Apollonius is directly quoted by the *Etymologicum Genuinum* in explaining Βιστονίη as Θρακική: *Etym. Gen.* β 123 L.–L. (= *Etym. Sym.* 106–107 ~ *Etym. Magn.* 146): † Βιστονίης φόρμιγγος (Ap. Rh. 2.704)· Θρακικῆς· ἀπὸ † Βίστωνος τοῦ † Τερψιχώρας, οἶον (l. c.)· “Βιστονίη φόρμιγγι λιγείης ἤρχεν αἰοιδῆς”. Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ τὰ Ἀργοναυτικά.⁵⁰ Such materials may have been excerpted from Theon’s commentary to Apollonius; Theon’s doctrine was passed down to the *Etymologicum Genuinum*,⁵¹ as well as to

⁴⁷ Lobel 1961, 141 (cf. 149 as well). Differently Ferrari 1991, 396–407; see also D’Alessio 2001b, 36.

⁴⁸ Capel Badino 2010, 37.

⁴⁹ Βιστονία, πόλις Θράκης, ἀπὸ Βιστόνος τοῦ Ἄρεος καὶ Καλλιπρόης τῆς Νέστου. ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἦν Ὀδόμεντος καὶ Ἡδωνοῦ. ἔνιοι δὲ Παίονος τοῦ Ἄρεος παιδός (I 352 Billerbeck).

⁵⁰ See also Hesych. β 634 Latte-Cunningham: Βιστονίς· Θρακίς.

⁵¹ Guhl 1969, 23–24.

the *scholia vetera* to Lycophron, another source which shares the same explanation of the name Βίστορες.

Information on the Bistones, their eponymous and the swamp appear as a common stock of material in different scholiastic sources which are likely to be derived from Theon's commentaries. A common origin can conceivably be envisaged also for our marginal note, on the assumption that the *trait d'union* between Pindar's and Hellenistic poets' exegesis is Theon.

On the other hand, however, we should remember that similar pieces of information – given in the form 'X is a river/mountain/people of Y' need not necessarily have one and the same origin, i.e. commentaries written specifically *ad hoc* for one text: they might have stemmed from encyclopaedic works or commentaries devoted to other kinds of texts.⁵²

3 Conclusions

Theon's contribution to Pindaric exegesis is present in marginal notes to fragments on papyri as well as in the medieval scholia to the Epinician odes, and it can be identified thanks to parallel details in other scholia and lexica stemming from his *hypomnemata*; besides, it can be recognised also in view of his aptitude towards geographical, toponomastic and mythological problems. Theon emerges as an open-minded scholar with broad interests and knowledge, originating from an Alexandrian background, with a specific interest in subjects like geography, which were mainly studied in Pergamum.⁵³

Theon's role in the exegesis of Hellenistic poets is commonly acknowledged, but his work on classical and archaic poets has been overshadowed by other famous scholars such as, in the case of Pindar, Aristarchus and Didymus. The latter wrote a magnificent commentary credited to be a turning point in the process of collection and selection of the earlier exegetical tradition. The fact that it included older *hypomnemata* is likely to have affected their chances of survival. On the other hand, Deas thought that Theon enlarged Didymus' oeuvre with original contributions, but still awarded him a secondary place.

⁵² As argued by McNamee, papyri transmitting authors commented on by Theon contain many annotations of this kind: he or his sources can reasonably be the ultimate sources of such material, which was soon used for compiling encyclopaedic works and later more sophisticated texts as the *Ethnika* by Stephanus. According to McNamee 2007, 19, n. 51 topographic and ethnographic annotations in papyri as POxy 2442 and POxy 841 may well derive from Theon.

⁵³ Pfeiffer 1968, 241, Broggiato 2001, xx–xxv.

The evidence of POxy 2536 leads us to challenge Deas' stance and indicates that medieval scholia adhered closely to Theon's explanations, whose lemmata are all still preserved in the Byzantine corpora.

This commentary on the Epinicians was a key work between the first and the second century AD, and was reused several times. It still remains uncertain, however, whether or not there was an intermediate source. The papyri are far too early to come from an all-encompassing Pindaric commentary from which the notes could be copied on the page.⁵⁴ POxy 2536 and PBerol inv. 13419⁵⁵ demonstrate that several versions more or less akin to authorial *hypomnemata* still existed separately, at least as regards the Epinicians.⁵⁶

POxy 841, 2442 and 2450 may suggest that Theon wrote on the Paeans and perhaps on the Dithyrambs too. The reading of and commenting on Pindaric Odes other than the Epinicians seems to have ceased during the second century AD: thus the task of collecting ancient exegeses and merging them into an "overarching commentary" will not have taken place, unlike with the scholia to the Epinicians. Those papyri were study copies written for scholars from Oxyrhynchus, where the so-called 'Pindar's scribe' worked in the second half of the second century and was responsible for copying other papyri such as POxy 2442. This clearly shows a strong interest in the Theban poet.⁵⁷ Our *marginalia* can be a first-hand work made by scholars to fulfil different needs: teaching and studying activities were intense at Oxyrhynchus.⁵⁸ Perhaps these notes might represent isolated attempts by teachers or scholars to select worthwhile material from available commentaries. However that may be, Theon played an important role in this story.

⁵⁴ We should surmise that the *reductio ad unum* of the exegetic materials had already started. Zuntz places this phenomenon in the ninth century (simultaneously to the *metacharacterismos*), while Wilson-McNamee traces it back to a period before the fifth century (at the same time the book format changed from scroll to codex): see Montana 2011, 108–161 for a summary of this debated issue.

⁵⁵ See p. 217 and n. 11.

⁵⁶ A list in Del Fabbro 1979, 129; an updated list with discussion of exegetical papyri on Pindar in Ucciardello 2012; as Giuseppe Ucciardello points out to me, a new item published since then is POxy 5201 (paraphrases and elementary notes on *Ol.* 1).

⁵⁷ Scribe A20 in Krüger – Johnson's list. On the identification of this hand see Funghi/Messeri Savorelli 1992, 101–104 and 1994, 43–62 (the papyri belonged to a single library of a rich family in Oxyrhynchus). On Pindaric studies in Egypt see Lavecchia 1997, 578–585, Otranto 2000, 11–12, Ucciardello 2012.

⁵⁸ See Cribiore 2001 and Parsons 2007, 137–158.

Bibliography

- Bernardini Angeli, P. (1971), "Il banchetto di Polidette in Pindaro, Pyth. 12, 14 e il nuovo scolio papiraceo di Teone", in *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 11, 99–101.
- Bongelli, P. (1998–99), *Il commento di Teone a Callimaco*, Tesi di dottorato, Università degli Studi di Milano.
- Bongelli, P. (2000), "Frammenti del commento di Teone a Callimaco", in G. Arrighetti/M. Tulli (eds.), *Letteratura e riflessione sulla letteratura nella cultura classica*, Atti del convegno di Pisa, 7–9 Giugno 1999, Pisa/Roma, 281–290.
- Braswell, B.K. (2013), *Didymos of Alexandria. Commentary on Pindar, Edited and Translated with Introduction, Explanatory Notes, and a Critical Catalogue of Didymos' Works*, Basel (SBA 41).
- Breglia, L. (2005), "The Amphictiony of Calauria", in *The Ancient World* 36, 18–33.
- Broggiato, M. (ed.) (2001), *Cratete di Mallo. I frammenti*, La Spezia.
- Cadili, L. (2003), "Teone e un'antica lezione pindarica [POxy 2536, col. i, ll. 4–5]", in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 145, 13–18.
- Calvani, G. (1973), "Nota al P. Oxy 2536 (Hypomnema a Pind. Pyth. XII, vv. 14–32), ll. 5–14", in *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 16, 142–145.
- Calvani, G./Derenzini, G. (1977), "Commenti agli Epinici di Pindaro", in *Studi classici e orientali* 26, 157–186.
- Cameron, A. (1995), *Callimachus and his Critics*, Princeton.
- Capel Badino, R. (2010), *Filostefano di Cirene. Testimonianze e frammenti*, Milano.
- Criboire, R. (2001), *Gymnastics of the Mind. Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, Princeton/Oxford.
- D'Alessio, G.B. (1997), "Pindar's *Prosodia* and the Classification of Pindaric Fragments", in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 118, 23–60.
- D'Alessio, G.B. (2001a), "Sulla struttura del libro dei *Peani* di Pindaro", in M. Cannatà Fera/G.B. D'Alessio (eds.), *I lirici greci. Forme della comunicazione e storia del testo*, Atti dell'Incontro di Studi, Messina 5–6 Novembre 1999, Messina, 69–86.
- D'Alessio, G.B. (2001b), "Danni materiali e ricostruzione di rotoli papiracei: le *Elleniche di Ossirinco* (POxy 842) e altri esempi", in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 134, 23–41.
- D'Alessio, G.B. (2006), rec. a *Supplementum Supplementi Hellenistici. Texte und Kommentare* 26, Berlin 2005, BMCR 2006. 12. 26 (<http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2006/2006-12-26.html>)
- Damschen, G. (2002), *Theon* [4], in *NP* 12, 1, col. 374.
- Daude, C. (2009), "Problèmes de traduction liés à la reformulation du texte pindarique par les scholiastes", in S. David/C. Daude/E. Geny/C. Muckensturm-Poulle (eds.) *Traduire les scholies de Pindare...I. De la traduction au commentaire: problèmes de méthode*, Besançon, 19–57.
- Daude, C. (2013), *Scholies à Pindare*, Volume I, *Vies de Pindare et scholies à la première Olympique*, « *Un chemin de paroles* » (O. I, 110). Texte, traduction et commentaire par C. Daude/ S. David/M. Fartzoff/C. Muckensturm-Poulle, Besançon.
- Deas, H.T. (1931), "The Scholia Vetera to Pindar", in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 42, 1–78.
- Del Fabbro, M. (1979), "Il commentario nella tradizione papiracea", in *Studia papirologica* 18, 69–132.

- Dickey, E. (2007), *Ancient Greek Scholarship*, London/New York.
- Ferrari, F. (1991), "Tre papiri pindarici. In margine ai frammenti 52 (a), 94a, 94b, 169a Maehler", in *Rivista di filologia e istruzione classica* 119, 385–407.
- Ferrari, F. (1992), "La sigla ζη / ζ nei papiri pindarici", in *Studi classici e orientali* 42, 273–276.
- Fowler, R. (1993), "POxy 26 2442 fr. 29: a Citation from Euphorion?", in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 96, 15–16.
- Fowler, R. (2000–2013), *Early Greek Mythography*, I (Text and Introduction), II (Commentary), Oxford.
- Funghi, M.S./Messori Savorelli, G. (1992), "Considerazioni paleografiche e papirologiche su POxy 2438a", in *Studi classici e orientali* 41, 101–104.
- Funghi, M.S./Messori Savorelli, G. (1994), "Lo scriba di Pindaro e le biblioteche di Ossirinco", in *Studi classici e orientali* 42, 43–62.
- Garulli, V. (2004), *Il Περί ποιητῶν di Lobone di Argo*, Bologna.
- Gentili, B./Bernardini Angeli, P./Cingano, E./Giannini, P. (1995), *Pindaro. Le Pitiche*, Milano.
- Giese, C. (1867), *De Theone grammatico eiusque reliquiis*, Monasterii.
- Guhl, C. (1969), *Die Fragmente des Alexandrinischen Grammatikers Theon*, Diss. Hamburg.
- Hornblower, S. (2015), *Lycophron, Alexandra. Greek Text, Translation, Commentary and Introduction*, Oxford.
- Hurst, A./Kolde, A. (eds.) (2008), *Lycophron. Alexandra*, Paris.
- Irigoin, J. (1952), *Histoire du texte de Pindare*, Paris.
- Lachenaud, G. (ed.) (2010), *Scholies à Apollonios de Rhodes*, Paris.
- Lavecchia, S. (1997), "PSI XIV 1391. Esegesi pindarica ad Ossirinco nel II sec. d. C.", in B. Kramer/W. Luppe/H. Maehler/G. Poethke (eds.), *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*. Berlin 13–19.8.1995, Bd. I, Stuttgart/Leipzig, 578–585.
- Leone, P.A.M. (ed.) (2008), *Scholia vetera et paraphrases in Lycophronis Alexandram*, Galatina (Lecce).
- Lobel, E. (ed.) (1961), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. XXVI, London.
- Longo, O. (1974), "Ad Alc. 112.10 L. P.: per la storia di un topos", in *Bollettino dell'Istituto di filologia greca dell'Università di Padova* 1, 212–228.
- Maehler, H. (1968), "Notes on Theon's hypomnema to Pindar's Pythian (Pap. Oxy. 2536)", in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 3, 100.
- Maehler, H. (1994), "Die Scholien der Papyri in ihrem Verhältnis zu den Scholiencorpora der Handschriften", in *La philologie grecque à l'époque hellénistique et romaine* (ed. par F. Montanari), *Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* 40, Vandœuvres/Genève, 95–127.
- Magnelli, E. (2002), *Studi su Euforione*, Roma.
- Martin, J. (1956), *Histoire du texte des Phénomènes d'Aratos*, Paris.
- McNamee, K. (2007), *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt*, Oxford (ASP 45).
- Meliadò, C. (2008), *Theon* (1), in *LGGA* (referenceworks.brillonline.com).
- Merro, G. (2015), "POxy XVII 2085: un 'nuovo' commentario di Teone?", in *Aegyptus* 95, 3–24.
- Mette, L. (1978), "Die 'Kleinen griechischen Historiker' heute", in *Lustrum* 21, 3–34.
- Montana, F. (2011), "The Making of Greek Scholiastic Corpora", in F. Montanari/L. Pagani (eds.), *From Scholars to Scholia. Chapters in the History of Ancient Greek Scholarship*, Berlin/New York, 108–161.
- Montana, F. (2015), "Hellenistic Scholarship", in F. Montanari/S. Matthaïos/A. Rengakos (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*, Leiden/Boston, I, 60–183.
- Montanari, F. (1995), "Filologi alessandrini e poeti alessandrini. La filologia sui 'contemporanei'", in A. Porro/G. Milanese (eds.), *Poeti e filologi, filologi-poeti*.

- Composizione e studio della poesia epica e lirica nel mondo greco e romano*, Atti del Congresso di Brescia, 26–27 Aprile 1995, Milano (*Aevum antiquum* 8), 47–63.
- Montanari, F. (2002), “Callimaco e la filologia”, in F. Montanari/L. Lehnus (eds.), *Callimaque*, (Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique 48), Vandœuvres/Genève, 59–92.
- Negri, M. (2004), *Pindaro ad Alessandria*, Brescia.
- Otranto, R. (2000), *Antiche liste di libri su papiro*, Roma.
- Parke, H.W./Wormell, D.E.W. (1956), *The Delphic Oracle I, (The History)*, Oxford.
- Parsons, P.J. (2007), *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish: Greek Lives in Roman Egypt*, London.
- Pfeiffer, R. (1968), *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of Hellenistic Age*, Oxford.
- Pontani, F. (2011), “Callimachus Cited”, in B. Acosta-Hughes/L. Lehnus/S. Stephens (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Callimachus*, Leiden/Boston, 93–117.
- Prodi, E.E. (forthcoming), “Da *hypomnemata* a *scholia*. L'esegesi pindarica di età ellenistica e il ruolo di Didimo nella sua trasmissione”, in Cingano, E. (ed.), *Commentaries on Greek Texts. Problems, methods and trends of ancient and Byzantine scholarship*, Roma.
- Race, H.W. (ed. and transl.) (1997), *Pindar. Nemean Odes, Isthmian Odes, Fragments*, Cambridge (Mass.)/London.
- Radt, S.L. (1958), *Pindars zweiter und sechster Paian: Text, Scholien und Kommentar*, Amsterdam.
- Rengakos, A. (2000), *Aristarchus and the Hellenistic Poets*, in *Seminari romani di cultura greca* 3, 2, 325–335.
- Rutherford, I. (2001), *Pindar's Paeans. A Reading of the Fragments with a Survey of the Genre*, Oxford.
- Schiano, C. (2002), “Teone e il Museo di Alessandria”, in *Quaderni di Storia* 55, 129–143.
- Schmitz, Th. (1994), “Noch einmal zum Mythos in Pindars vierter olympischer Ode”, in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 137, 209–217.
- Stroppa, M. (2008), “Lista di codici tardoantichi contenenti *hypomnemata*”, in *Aegyptus* 88, 49–69.
- Treu, M. (1974), “Theons Pindarkommentar (Pap. Oxy. 2536)”, in J.L. Heller/J.K. Newman (eds.), *Serta Turyniana. Studies in Greek Literature and Palaeography in Honor of Alexander Turyn*, Urbana/Chicago/London, 62–85.
- Turner, E.G. (ed.) (1966), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XXXI (2531–2616)*, London.
- Ucciardello, G. (2012), “Ancient Readers of Pindar's Epinicians in Egypt: Evidence from Papyri”, in P. Agócs/C. Carey/R. Rawles (eds.), *Receiving the Komos: Ancient and Modern Receptions of the Victory Ode*, London (BICS Supplement), 105–140.
- Wendel, C. (1934), *Theon* (9), in *RE V A*, coll. 2054–2059.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von (1910), *Einleitung in die griechische Tragödie*, Berlin.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von (1918), “Scholien zu Pindar Pyth. 2”, in *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 36, 749–750.

Maria Cannatà Fera

Criticism of Pindar's poetry in the *scholia vetera*

Abstract: The *scholia vetera* reflect aspects of Pindar's reception in view of the taste of different ancient readers and scholars. Judgements on his poetry in term of praise and criticism probably arose during the poet's lifetime and have left substantial traces in the scholiastic material, with a well-explained prevalence of positive evaluations. In this paper I want to analyze the negative judgements: despite being often clumsy, they sometimes reflect crucial issues of the Pindar technique and seem to have ultimately rooted in a wise and perceptive strand of ancient literary criticism.

Criticism of Pindar appears to date back to the poet's lifetime. Although many doubts can be cast on what ancient sources report about controversies with Simonides and Bacchylides, nevertheless an element of rivalry between the poets is conceivable.¹ Schol. *Ol.* 9.74b remarks that the lines αἶνει δὲ παλαιὸν μὲν οἶνον, ἄνθεα δ' ὕμνων | νεωτέρων (48–49 «praise wine that is old, but the blooms of hymns that are newer») sound like an answer to Simonides' verse «New wine does not yet bring to the test last year's gift of the vine» (fr. 310 Poltera), which the poet was deemed to have written after being defeated by Pindar; the reliability of this bit of poetic one-upmanship cannot be excluded.² The evidence relating to Corinna's criticism towards Pindar (about the presence of myths and the use of an Atticism) is very controversial;³ yet it seems certain that Corinna, whether or not she is to be dated to the fifth century, chastised Myrtis, a woman who had

1 Contrary to radical skepticism of e.g. Lefkowitz 1981, 57, still Cozzoli 1996, 8–14 and Catenacci 2013, 50–53 interpret the Pindaric idea that the poet is provided with inborn *sophia* as opposed to acquired knowledge (*Ol.* 2.86–88) as an intimation of poetic rivalry.

2 Recent scholars disagree on this point: Poltera 2008 claims that Simonides' words did not imply an attack on Pindar; according to Giannini 2013 instead the quarrel can be taken for certain. Furthermore, Giannini 2014, 68–72, links the Simonidean defeat referred to by the *scholium* 74a to the report of a victory gained by Pindar in a dithyrambic context in Athens (P.Oxy. 26.2438, 8–10). For previous bibliography, see also Cannatà Fera 2007, 72 n. 11.

3 See respectively Plut. *De glor. Ath.* 347f–348a (Cannatà Fera 1992, 56–59) and schol. *Ar. Ach.* 720 (in view of this last passage Lehnus 1973 places Corinna in the Hellenistic period). Larmour 2005, 25–26 thinks that the anecdotal tradition, though unreliable in its details, conveys nevertheless some kind of hostile attitude between those poets, or at least some significant differences among them.

dared to challenge Pindar (fr. 664 Page).⁴ Alongside these more famous rivalries, we come across an otherwise unknown person, Amphimenes of Cos, in Diog. Laert. 2.5.46 (= Arist. fr. 66a Janko):

τούτω (sc. τῷ Σωκράτει) τις, καθά φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ ποιητικῆς, ἐφιλονεῖκει Ἀντίλοχος Λήμιος καὶ Ἀντιφῶν ὁ τερατοσκόπος, ὡς Πυθαγόρα Κύλων καὶ Ὀνάτας· καὶ Σάαγρος⁵ Ὀμήρῳ ζῶντι, ἀποθανόντι δὲ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος· καὶ Κέρκωψ Ἡσιόδῳ ζῶντι, τελευτήσαντι δὲ ὁ προειρημένος Ξενοφάνης· καὶ Πινδάρῳ Ἀμφιμένης ὁ Κῶος, θάλητι δὲ Φερεκύδης καὶ <***>, Βίαντι †Σάλαρος Πριηνεύς, Πιττακῷ Ἀντιμενίδας καὶ Ἀλκαῖος, Ἀναξαγόρῳ Σωσίβιος καὶ Σιμωνίδῃ Τιμοκρέων.

In this passage, after Antilochus of Lemnos and Antiphon who were opponents of Socrates, there is a list of literary quarrels between famous men, some of them already dead when the criticism took place. As for lyric poets, we know well both Antimenides' and Alcaeus' opposition to Pittacus and Timocreon of Rhodes' rivalry with Simonides;⁶ on the contrary, Amphimenes is a shadowy figure and his quarrel with Pindar overall unknown⁷. Crusius argued that he was more recent than Pindar, on the grounds that Cos «erst mit dem Beginn der Hellenistenzeit in die litterarische Bewegung eintritt», and assumed that «Den Anlass zur Kritik werden gewisse Äusserungen Pindars über koische Sagen und Helden gegeben haben»⁸ (fr. 50–51 Bergk ≈ 33a Maehler). Nonetheless, the text clearly specifies when criticisms were post mortem; thus it is more likely that Amphimenes was in fact a contemporary of Pindar. Besides, a few years after Pindar's death Eupolis complained about the popular lack of good aesthetic judgement (ἀφιλοκαλία) which condemned to silence the works of Pindar (fr. 398 Kass.-Aust.).⁹

⁴ Palumbo Stracca 1993, Gentili/Lomiento 2003, Neri 2004, 247 and Burzacchini 2011, *passim* favour a dating towards the fifth century; Clayman 1993 inclines toward the third, while Berman 2010 suggests the fourth. On Myrtis, see Burzacchini 2011, 127–139.

⁵ So amended by L. Giraldis, *Hist. poet. dial.* (1545), 234 on the basis of Ael. *V.H.* 14. 21, where Syagrus, who lived after Orpheus and Musaeus, is recalled as the first who sang the Trojan war. On the transmitted σάαγρις, see Janko 2011, *ad loc.*

⁶ Attested by a fragment of Timocreon (10 West) and two satiric epigrams (*A.P.* 7. 348–349; the first also in *Ath.* 10. 415f).

⁷ Even the name is rare; it is attested in Leon. *A.P.* 7. 283, 4 (Phyllaeus son of Amphimenes), in two Attic inscriptions and in one from the Cyclades.

⁸ Crusius 1894, 1943. In this case, the passage should not be traced back to Aristotle in its entirety, as instead editors have posited since Rose (fr. 75, obviously to be ascribed to the *On poets*, not to the *Poetics*).

⁹ On this issue, see Olson 2014, 163–165. We find evidence on ancient criticisms in a puzzling fragment of Clearchus (88 Wehrli *ap.* *Athen.* 10. 455c, about asigmatism); it is now discussed by Porter 2007.

The treatise *On the Sublime*, in spite of its superlative judgement of Pindar's poetry, also pointed out a limitation; the author prefers Homer to Apollonius, Archilochus to Eratosthenes, Sophocles to Ion of Chios, and Pindar to Bacchylides,¹⁰ because «Ion and Bacchylides are impeccable, uniformly beautiful writers in the polished manner; but it is Pindar and Sophocles who sometimes set the world on fire with their vehemence, for all that their flame often goes out without reason and they collapse dismally» (33.4–5: transl. Russell). Dionysius of Halicarnassus analyses a dithyramb for Athens (fr. 75 Maehler) in his paragraph about the austere arrangement (αὐστηρὰ ἀρμονία), whose foremost practitioners he supposed to be Pindar and Thucydides;¹¹ together with the many virtues of the passage, he also highlights some shortcomings, especially on phonetic grounds (*Comp.* 22.12 «That these lines are vigorous, weighty and dignified, and possess much austerity; that, though rugged, they are not unpleasantly so, and though harsh to the ear, are but so in due measure; that they are slow in their time-movement, and present broad effects of harmony; and that they exhibit not the showy and decorative prettiness of our day, but the austere beauty of the distant past: this will, I am sure, be attested by all readers whose literary sense has been tolerably developed»: transl. Rhys Roberts).¹² Elsewhere Dionysius praised Stesichorus' ability to bestow «magnificence on actions, with a careful watch over temper and dignity of his characters» (*Imit.* 2= Stesich. Tb47 Ercoles), unlike Pindar and Simonides; the latter, he argues, outdoes Pindar in enhancing the mourning, not by way of solemnity, but of *pathos* (*Imit.* 2 τὸ οἰκτιζεσθαι μὴ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἀλλὰ παθητικῶς).

Naturally, in the *scholia* judgments are for the most part positive towards Pindar, but criticisms are in fact not lacking.¹³

¹⁰ It is worth noting how also Cicero, as the best Greek poets, listed Homer, Archilochus, Sophocles, and Pindar (*Orat.* 4).

¹¹ Cf. 242 and n. 48.

¹² See Gentili 1995, LXVI.

¹³ Drachmann's indexes about *Figurae*, *Iudicia*, *Sermo technicus* are very useful (III 1927, 360–363, 378–396; unfortunately, such lists does not allow one to tell apart opinions about the poet and about his interpreters); the glossary in Nünlist 2009, 368–386 is also valuable. Isetti 2012–2013 is an exhaustive discussion organised alphabetically. Mazzotti 2003 and Daude 2015 deal with ancient judgments on the *Pythians* and the *Olympians* respectively. In what follows I rely on Race's translation.

1 Οἰκονομία and digressions

A mythical tale, when taken as a digression, can be thought to lessen the value of an epinician ode. Out of the two *Pythians* in honour of Arcesilaus of Cyrene, the fifth is considered «more suitable» than the fourth with regard to both content and structure, precisely because the latter features a long mythical digression (schol. *Pyth.* 4, inscr. α οἰκειοτέρα ἐστὶ κατὰ τὰ νοήματα καὶ κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν· ἡ γὰρ δὴ προκειμένη ὥδῃ ἱστορικὴν¹⁴ ἔχει παρέκβασιν). This is the only instance of οἰκονομία in the extant scholiastic corpus.¹⁵

Παρέκβασις, «digression», was indeed a highly debated issue. The word is not negative *per se*.¹⁶ Eustathius, despite saying that a digression can be longer than the ode itself, which consequently appears «pot-bellied», does not cast it as necessarily a flaw of composition. On the contrary, it is a way to bring the action forward while entertaining the reader and demonstrating the poet's doctrine and expressive strength:¹⁷ *Prooem. Pind.* 4.1–2 παρεκβαίνει τὰ πολλὰ εἰς μακρόν, ὥς εἶναι ἔστιν οὗ τὴν παρέκβασιν (τὸ πάρεργον) τοῦ ἔργου (τῆς ὥδης) μείζονα καὶ προκοιλιούσθαι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μέλους τῇ παρεκβάσει δίκην προγαστρος. καὶ ἔστιν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀμάρτημα γραφῆς τῷ Πινδάρῳ, ἀλλὰ τέχνης μέθοδος παρεκβατικὴ χαρτὰ ποιούσης αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τοῦ λόγου ἄρμα ἐλαυνούσης μακρότερον πρὸς ἔνδειξιν πολυμαθείας τε καὶ ἰσχύος γραφικῆς¹⁸. In the following chapter, Eustathius distinguishes two types of digression, more or less linked to the victor (similarly in 19.1, where he notices that sometimes the poet goes «beyond the limit»). The scholia see digression in a varied and multifaceted light.

A harsh judgement is passed by schol. *Pyth.* 10.46b μέχρι δὲ τούτων ὁ Πίνδαρος καλῶς τὸν ἐπίνικον γράφει· ἡστόχησε δὲ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀλόγῳ¹⁹

¹⁴ Here, the adjective corresponds to μυθικὴν, which is often the case (Calvani Mariotti/Derenzini 1977, 163; Nünlist 2009, 178, 259 and n. 10).

¹⁵ On its usage in other scholiastic *corpora*, see Nünlist 2009, 24–28.

¹⁶ Nünlist 2009, 64; Bitto 2012, 124–126.

¹⁷ See Kambylis 1991, 80–88 (on a different evaluation in the *scholia*, see 100 and n. 360); Gianini 2007, 96–97.

¹⁸ Note the Pindaric metaphor of the chariot (τὸ τοῦ λόγου ἄρμα ἐλαυνούσης), on which cf. Simpson 1969 and Nünlist 1998, 255–264.

¹⁹ The adverb ἀλόγως occurs in a *scholium* to *Nem.* 6.42, where Pindar seems to call the Nemean arrium «lion herb». Accordingly schol. 71 remarks: βοτάνη λέοντος τὸ σέλινον δεκτέον. σέλινον γὰρ ὁ αὐτόθι στέφανος [...] ὅτι ὁ Ἡρακλῆς καταγωνισάμενος τὸν λέοντα τοῦτο ἐνομοθέτησεν εἶναι τὸ στέμμα; schol. 71c replies: ἀλλ' ἀλόγως· φαίνεται γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρχεμόρῳ ὃ τε ἀγὼν τεθεὶς καὶ τὸ σέλινον τοῖς νικῶσι διδόμενον (whilst in the first case Heracles is the founder of the Nemean games, in the second one it is Adrastus, because of the death of Melicertes, called Archemorus);

παρεκβάσει χρησάμενος. The part of the ode concerned with the present, and the gnomic segment that follows, meet with the scholiast's appreciation, but the myth of Perseus is marked out as an «unmotivated digression» which results in the poet «missing the mark».²⁰ Another *scholium* hints that Pindar blames himself for the digression and urges himself to follow the correct course of the ode (79b: *ἐπιτιμᾷ ἑαυτῷ ὁ Πίνδαρος ὡς πολλῇ χρησαμένῳ τῇ παρεκβάσει, καὶ τροπικῶς προάγεται τὸν λόγον ὡς ἐπὶ νεώς*) the simile echoes lines 51–52 of the poem, «Hold the oar, quickly plant the anchor in the earth from the prow». It is this kind of Pindaric expressions that gave rise to criticisms about the structure of the odes.²¹

Likewise *Pythian* 11: the scholiast appreciates the part which deals with the praise, but judges the following myth inadequate (23b *ἄριστα ὁ Πίνδαρος τὸ ἐγκώμιον εἰργάσατο· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐξῆς σφόδρα ἀκαίρῳ παρεκβάσει ἐχρήσατο*). Here too it is the poet who sharpens his critics' weapons, with his suggestion that he was «confused where the way forked» or went off track, like a ship in the sea, due to the wind (vv. 38–40):²² scholl. 58a *συνήσθηται καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκαίρῳ παρεκβάσει κεχρημένος*, 58b *ὥσπερ ἐπιπλήττει ἑαυτῷ ὁ Πίνδαρος ἀκαίρῳ παρεκβάσει χρησάμενος*.

And again with the third *Nemean* for Aristoclide of Aegina: at the inception of the mythical narrative on Heracles, schol. 38b cautiously remarks that the poet «speaks as if it were a digression» » (*ὡς ἐν παρεκβάσει δὲ λέγει*); but when Pindar addresses his θυμός at vv. 26–28 («My heart, to what alien headland are you turning aside my ship's course?»), schol. 45b notices how Pindar, «having praised Heracles beyond convenience, stops: it was necessary to recall the victor's ancestors, Aeacus and Telamon [...] who were more suitable than Heracles, being from Aegina just like Aristoclide. Indeed, whilst the former is from Thebes, just like Aeacus, the latter is from Aegina. Pindar speaks allegorically, by saying that he is navigating towards a promontory, just like captains who having to berth at a port do not keep to the immediately available foreland, that is, he should not

both traditions are well known, but the latter prevailed). I assume a different meaning for ἄλογον in schol. *Isthm.* 4.63a δύναται γὰρ μένειν τὸ αὐτὸ ἄλογον («undetermined»).

²⁰ The verb ἀστοχέω is associated with the frequent image of the poet as an archer (*infra*, p. 239f.); literary criticism features εὔστοχος in schol. Pind. *Ol.* 2.161b

²¹ Maslov 2015, 247 considers them as an «eloquent textual testimony to the dominant conflict of Pindar's poetics [...] between the communal mode of authorization, inherent in cult song and expressed in myth, and individuated authorship, signalling the uniqueness of the poetic commission».

²² See Finglass 2007, 109. As argued by Instone 1986, Pindar takes his patron's viewpoint when he says that he went off course with the mythical narration.

divert his thought from the goal, but praise the winner»: ἐπιλαμβάνεται ἑαυτοῦ²³ ὡς περαιτέρω ἢ προσῆκεν εἰς τοὺς περὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐπαίνους τραπέντος, δέον λέγειν περὶ τῶν προγόνων τοῦ νενικηκότος, Αἰακοῦ καὶ Τελαμῶνος· προσεχέστεροι γὰρ οὗτοι Ἡρακλέους τοῦ ἐπαινουμένου ἔνεκεν Ἀριστοκλείδα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Αἰγινήτης ἐστὶν ὥσπερ Αἰακός, ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς Θηβαῖος. ἀλληγορεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκραν ἀπευθύνειν λέγων τὸν πλοῦν, ἀπὸ τῶν κυβερνητῶν τῶν ἐχομένων ἄλλων ἀκρωτηρίων ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν προκειμένων, δέον εὐθυπλοεῖν κατὰ λιμένα. τουτέστι, μὴ καὶ τὸν νοῦν περιφέρειν ἔξω τοῦ σκοποῦ τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἄγοντα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἐπαινούμενον τρέπειν (cfr. 45c ἀποστρέφει τὸν λόγον πρὸς ἑαυτόν· ἦσθετο γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ παρεκβάντος, καὶ φησι· τίνα πρὸς ἄκραν ἀλλοτρίαν ἐκπλέεις, ὧ θυμέ; ἀντὶ τοῦ διατὶ τὰ Ἡρακλέους νῦν διηγῇ θαύματα ἐάσας τὰ τῶν Αἰακιδῶν;).²⁴ The commentators are doing nothing but taking seriously the reproaches the poet addresses to himself, or rather, which he pretends to address to himself.²⁵

Heracles is again the target of criticism in the first *Nemean*, where the poet narrates how the newborn child choked two snakes sent by Hera to kill him. The myth «appears inappropriate» (49b) and «unrelated to the subject», the celebration of a victory gained by Chromius of Syracuse-Aetna (schol. 49c, 8–9 διαπορεῖται τίνι ἀφορμῇ εἰς τοὺς περὶ Ἡρακλέους λόγους παρῆλθε· μηδεμίαν γὰρ ἔχειν εἰς τὰ παρόντα Ἡρακλέα οἰκείωσιν); the explanations – and the respective objections – given for justifying the presence of this myth fill three pages in Drachmann's edition.²⁶

Surprisingly, among so many disapproving remarks about Pindar's digressions, a scholium to *Nem.* 4.60b interprets the obscure ἀντίτειν' ἐπιβουλίας (37 'resist its treachery') as if the poet was here boasting of his superiority 'by avoiding digressions'. The alleged target of this taunt was deemed to be Simonides, 'who employed plenty of digressions' (σφόδρα γὰρ τῶν πολεμούντων ἡμᾶς

²³ This expression occurs again in schol. *Nem.* 8.32a on line 19 ἴσταμαι δὲ ποσὶ κούφοις, ἀναπνέων, which was deemed to be an interruption of a mythological παρέκβασις.

²⁴ Note how the following myth of the Herakleidae is also interpreted as a «digression» by schol. 114b, where the phrase marking the return to the praise of the athlete (65 «Zeus, yours is the blood») is seen as «not unsuitable» (οὐκ ἀπρόσλογον ἀπόσπασμα). Likewise on *Pyth.* 1.81–82 «If you should speak to the point by combining the strands of many things in brief, less criticism follows from men», in schol. rec. 157–160 we find Καίρῳ εἰ φθέγξαιο· αἰσθόμενος ἑαυτόν ὁ Πίνδαρος ἀκαίρως ἐκβεβηκότα, φησὶν· εἰ φθέγξαιο, ὧ θυμέ, καίρῳ τὸν πρέποντα [...].

²⁵ See Lefkowitz 1985, 273–274; Race 1989, pp. 189–209; Scodel 1996, 59–79; Bonifazi 2000; Morrison 2007, 68–70; Nünlist 2009, 64–65 (on 'apologies' used to introduce a digression in prose writing and rhetorical treatises, see Race 1980).

²⁶ Fraenkel 1994, 15–16 mocks those clarifications that more rightly, in Wilson's opinion (1980, 108), are «suggestions of many shades between idiocy and common sense». As regards the function of the myth in that ode, see more recently Cannatà Fera 2010; Privitera 2018, 93–101.

ἀντιδιδασκάλων καὶ ἀντιτέχνων φανησόμεθα καταβαίνοντες καὶ διοδεύοντες λαμπρῶς, ἐὰν μὴ παρεκβαίνωμεν. δοκεῖ δὲ ταῦτα τείνειν εἰς Σιμωνίδην, ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνος παρεκβάσει χρῆσθαι εἴωθε).²⁷

2 Harshness and dithyrambicity

Σκληρότης²⁸ is another common accusation. In *Nem.* 1.68 Tiresias prophesies Heracles' victory against the Giants with a painterly touch: his opponents' glossy hair will get dirty with dust owing to his arrows. Schol. 104b (γαῖα πεφυρήσεσθαι κόμαν: διὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Γίγαντας. σκληρότερον²⁹ δὲ ἐξενήνεκται· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῦ ἐλκομένου τάσσεται τὸ τοιοῦτο. Ὅμηρος· ὥς τοῦ μὲν κεκόνιστο κάρη ἅπαν) conveniently recalls an Iliadic verse (22.405), which describes Achilles dragging Hector with his chariot (401–405: «from Hector as he was dragged the dust rose up, and on either side his dark hair flowed outspread, and all in the dust lay the head that was before so fair [...] So was his head all befouled with dust»: transl. A. T. Murray). However, the scholiast misunderstands the prophecy: he thinks the hair is Heracles', and accordingly states «the expression is harsh, because something of this sort is rather said of a dead body being dragged away».

Accusations of 'harshness' occur again with reference to the sixth *Olympian*. At vv. 45–47 Pindar tells of Iamus who, immediately after birth, was fed by two snakes «with the blameless venom of bees» according to the gods' will. Schol. 78a judges this expression rather harsh, because 'venom' has negative connotations (ἀμεμφεῖ: ἀμεμφῇ ἰὸν προσηγόρευσε τὸ μέλι σκληρότερον· ὁ γὰρ ἰὸς μοχθηρόν τι ὑποφαίνει).³⁰ However, as clearly stated by schol. 78b, it is only by divine will that the snakes do not pour venom but the 'blameless' honey (no negative connotation being thus implied): ἐπειδὴ δράκοντές εἰσιν οἱ τρέφοντες, οὗτοι δὲ εἰώθασιν ἐμείν τὸν ἰόν· ὥστε τοῦναντίον ἐργάζεσθαι τὸν τῶν δρακόντων ἰὸν ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν κατὰ φύσιν, τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τοῦτο παραστήσαντος τὴν φύσιν τῶν δρακόντων.³¹

²⁷ Lefkowitz 1985, 272 notes the lack of attestations for this fact in traditions about Simonides and infers that this scholium was only based on the Pindaric passage.

²⁸ In this literary sense see σκληρός in Dion. Hal. *Pomp.* 2.

²⁹ The comparative, here as elsewhere, may temper the criticism somewhat; but it is not always possible to understand when it is simply equivalent to the positive form of the adjective (on this lack of distinction in scholiastic language, see Dickey 2007, 115–116).

³⁰ Almost identically in 78f; among variant readings, μοχθηρίαν τινὰ instead of μοχθηρόν τι.

³¹ Similarly 78g (cfr. 78d ἐπεὶ δράκοντές εἰσιν, οὗτοι <δὲ> εἰώθεισαν ἐμείν τὸν ἰόν).

There is even an expression of approval in 78h, which appeals to the concept of wit:³² ἡστειεύσατο εἰπὼν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰοῦ μέλι προΐεναι.³³

Sometimes the poet is praised because of his ability to soften the harshness. Thus, when Pindar, in the second *Olympian*, after saying «Now aim the bow at the mark, come, my heart», adds «At whom do we shoot, and this time launch from a kindly spirit our arrows of fame?» (89–90), schol. 162b suggests that the addition of «kindly spirit» softens the harshness of these words, given that arrows are normally shot with evil intent (ἐκ μαλθακᾶς αὐτε φρενός: τοῦτο εἶπε θεραπεύων τὸ σκληρὸν τοῦ λόγου. τὸ γὰρ ἀπὸ τόξου βάλλειν, ὥς φησι, δύσφρονός ἐστι κατὰ τοῦ βαλλομένου).³⁴ The need to explain the reference to kindness³⁵ prompts the scholiast to discuss the image of poetic arrows, which otherwise is so traditional and widespread as not to require further treatment.³⁶

‘Harshness’ is often summoned in case of metaphors.³⁷ So for instance schol. *Isthm.* 4, 110c: ὁ δὲ νοῦς οὕτω· τούτοις τοῖς Ἡρακλέους παισὶ τῶν ἡλικῶν αὐγῶν κατὰ τὰς δυσμὰς ἢ τῶν θυσιῶν ἀναφαινομένη φλόξ συνεχῶς λάμπει διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτός, τῷ κνισθέντι καπνῷ λακτίζουσα τὸν ἀέρα. σκληροτέρᾳ δὲ κέχρηται μεταφορᾷ· ἐχρῆν γὰρ εἰπεῖν ψαύουσα ἢ θιγγάνουσα τοῦ αἰθέρος ἢ κνῖσα τοῦ καπνοῦ. ἀμεινον Ὅμηρός φησι· κνίσῃ δ’ οὐρανὸν ἵκεν ἐλίσσομένη περὶ καπνῷ. To the flame «kicking heaven with its savour of smoke» (66) the scholiast prefers the Iliadic hyperbole «the smell flew to the sky, winding about the smoke» (1.317). Pindar’s image is bolder, and it must have struck Lucian’s imagination: a parody is likely to be found in *Anach.* 4 (λακτίζουσιν τὸν ἀέρα, said of athletes during their exercise).³⁸

Similarly, *Pyth.* 1.86 ἀψευδεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμονι χάλκευε γλῶσσαν, «on an anvil of truth forge your tongue», is assessed by schol. 167a as σκληρῶς ἄκμονα τὸ

³² Already used in Ar. *Ran.* 5, Arist. *Rh.* 1411b, etc. With regard to Pindar, it occurs in schol. *Ol.* 2.44, about Semele who «lives, after dying» (ζῶει μὲν ἀποθανοῖσα: ἡστειεύσατο πρὸς τὴν τῆς εὐτυχίας ὑπερβολὴν, ὅτι δοκῇσι μὲν τέθηκεν ἢ Σεμέλῃ τῷ βρόμῳ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ κεραυνίου, ζῆ δὲ νῦν συνδιατρίβουσα τοῖς οὐρανίοις θεοῖς). The verb ἀστειεύομαι, instead of ἀστείζω, also occurs in schol. rec. *Pyth.* 10.56. ἀστείως is used to comment upon the image of «two anchors» representing the two motherlands of the laudandus in schol. *Ol.* 6.170d.

³³ Daude 2015, 60 thinks the scholiast appreciated the word-play between ἰός («venom») and Iamus.

³⁴ Cfr. schol. 162a ἵνα μὴ ἢ ἐκ τραχύτητος, ἐκ προσηνοῦς φησι φρενός τὸν ὕμνον ἀφεθήσεται.

³⁵ Explained by Catenacci 2013 as contrasting with the polemic verses that precede (86–88 «Wise is he who knows many things by nature, whereas learners who are boisterous and long-winded are like a pair of crows that cry in vain against the divine bird of Zeus»).

³⁶ See Simpson 1969; Nünlist 1998, 145–150; Loscalzo 2009, 33–35.

³⁷ E.g. Dion. Hal. *Pomp.* 5.4 σκληρὰ φράσις ἐν ταῖς μεταφοραῖς.

³⁸ As our scholium, Lucian has ἀέρα instead of αἰθέρα. This verse is quoted in part, and not quite aptly, by Plut. *De primo frig.* 949a (Cannatà Fera 1992, 54).

στόμα ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν χαλκευόντων. πρὸς ἄκμονι δὲ ἀψευδεῖ χάλκευε, ὃ ἐστὶ, φιλαλήθης ἔσο. The image is one of a pair with the simile at line 44, χαλκοπάραον ἄκονθ' ὥσειτ' «tongue speeding like a bronze-cheeked javelin» (also in *Nem.* 7.71–72; cfr. *Ol.* 6.82).

Also scarcely appreciated is the metaphor in *Pyth.* 6.10–12. Here the winter rain is described as «coming from abroad as a relentless army from a loudly rumbling cloud» (ἐπακτὸς ἐριβρόμου νεφέλας στρατός), which schol. 11 finds «harsh» and «dithyrambic»: τὸν ὄμβρον φησὶ, σκληρᾷ μεταφορᾷ χρησάμενος διθυραμβωδῶς, παρόσον πολλῶν νεφῶν εἰς ταὐτὸ συναγομένων ῥήγνυνται οἱ ὄμβροι. The mirror image is that of war as a storm: *Isthm.* 4.17 τραχεῖα νιφὰς πολέμοιο («a cruel blizzard of war»); 7.27 ἐν ταῦτα νεφέλα χάλαζαν αἵματος πρὸ φίλας πάτρας ἀμύνεται, («in that cloud of war defends his dear country from the hailstorm of blood»), 38–39 εὐδίαν ὅπασσεν ἐκ χειμῶνος («fair weather after the storm»);³⁹

Here as elsewhere, 'harshness' is linked with dithyrambs,⁴⁰ whose well-known features were extravagant vocabulary and elaborate metaphors. So does schol. *Pyth.* 12.45b, which qualifies as harsh Pindar's use of ναίω referring to the reeds of Orchomenus, «which lie by the Graces' city of beautiful dancing places» (26): τὸ δὲ ναίουσι κάλαμοι σκληρῶς καὶ διθυραμβωδῶς προήγαγεν· ἔδει γὰρ εἰπεῖν φύονται.⁴¹ But actually the verb was used in the *Iliad* with the meaning of «be» in a certain place.⁴² Schol. *Isthm.* 8.93c finds the same flaw in another metaphor, that of «the lovely bridle of virginity» (44–45 ἐρατὸν [...] χαλινὸν ὕφ' ἥρωι παρθενίας) that Thetis loosens (λύοι) for Peleus: ὁ δὲ νοῦς· ἐν δὲ ταῖς νυξὶ ταῖς καταλαμπομέναις τῇ σελήνῃ τὸν ἐπέραστον τῆς παρθενίας ὑπολούοι δεσμὸν τῷ ἥρωϊ Πηλεΐ. χαλινὸν δὲ παρθενίας σκληρότερον καὶ διθυραμβωδῶς αὐτήν⁴³ εἶπε,

³⁹ Brown 2016.

⁴⁰ More peculiar is the combination σκληρῶς καὶ ἐμφαντικῶς used by schol. *ex. Il.* 7.330a to describe Ares «scattering» blood about Scamander (αἶμα [...] ἐσκέδασ' ὀξὺς Ἄρης).

⁴¹ By contrast, schol. 35a keeps up the personification of the canes by calling them μάρτυρες of the choreutes.

⁴² *Il.* 2.626, with islands as subject; in *Soph. Ai.* 598 it is said of Salamis. The same meaning is common for ναιετάω.

⁴³ Drachmann 1927 recalls a transposition by J. Resler (*Vratislaviae* 1847) τὴν παρθενίαν εἶπε, κατὰ περίφρασιν αὐτήν. However, strictly speaking, «the bridle of virginity» is not virginity itself, but the girdle. If the text is indeed corrupt, deleting the pronoun or amending it into αὐτὸν – referring back to χαλινὸν / δεσμὸν – would suffice.

κατὰ περίφρασιν τὴν παρθενίαν βουλόμενος σημῆναι.⁴⁴ In fairness the metaphor, which actually indicates Thetis' girdle, is far from despicable.⁴⁵

While recognising that the clashing rocks of *Pyth.* 4.208–211 are said to be «alive» (ζωαί) on account of their motion, schol. 371 qualifies the expression as «dithyrambic» and blames it on the «airy», «vacuous» tendencies of such poets⁴⁶ (δίδυμαι ζωαί: ζώσας αὐτὰς εἶπε διὰ τὴν κίνησιν. ἔστι δὲ διθυραμβικόν τὸ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐρμηνείας· πολλάκις γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ κοῦφον ἀνάγονται).⁴⁷ In this case it is Eustathius who terms the metaphor «harsh», because Pindar talks about their «death» after the passage of the Argonauts (*Comm. Dionys. Per.* 140), while schol. 373b says it is fitting to talk of «death» in response to the earlier «alive» (οἰκείως δὲ τελευτὰν ἐπήγαγεν, ὡς πρὸς τὸ ζώας). Schol. 370 holds that the movement of the rocks was overlooked by Homer (quoting *Od.* 12.61 to corroborate the point, but the name Πλαγκταί surely assumes some kind of motion) and introduced by *neoteroi*, to which Pindar added another feature, life (οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι συντρέχειν φασίν. ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος προστεραπεύεται τι λέγων ὅτι δίδυμαι ἦσαν ζωαί). It is unclear whether or not this further τέρας had a negative tinge.⁴⁸

A critical opinion of metaphors can also be expressed in different terms. In the thirteenth *Olympian*, Athena encourages Bellerophon to take Pegasus' reins, saying «Come, take this horse charm» (68 ἄγε φίλτρον τόδ' ἵππειον δέκευ); schol. 97a explains that 'charm' should be intended as 'bit' (τὸν χαλινόν, ὅτι τούτῳ οἱ

⁴⁴ I am not sure it is a criticism, as Bitto 2012, 120 supposes, παρασημῆναιτο δὲ ἂν τις, διὰ τί πανσελήνοις ἐγάμουσιν: the reason why a wedding was celebrated during a night of full moon could simply have been «remarkable», not necessarily in a negative way.

⁴⁵ See Privitera 1982 *ad loc.*

⁴⁶ The association of dithyrambographers and vacuousness phrased in terms of lightness is found already in Aristophanes' *Birds*, where Cinesias makes his entrance at line 1372 with a verse of Anacreon, fr. 83.1 Gent. = 378.1 *PMG* ἀναπέτομαι δὴ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον πτερύγεσσι κούφαις; both in schol. 1378 and in *Suda* φ 459 the adjective φιλύρινον, referring to the poet, was interpreted as κοῦφον, ὡς ἂν διθυραμβοποιὸν εὐτελεῖ, καὶ κοῦφα ποιοῦντα.

⁴⁷ The singular form ἀνάγεται found in cod. E (*Laur.* 32.37, of the fourteenth century) simplifies the grammar, with the dithyramb (or Pindar?) functioning as subject.

⁴⁸ Pindar indeed did like τερατεία. Didymus reproaches him due to the omen of which Medea reminds the Argonauts in *Pyth.* 4.19 ff., since it is «unfitting to talk to people who already know»: schol. 44b τοῦτο προσειληφέναι φησὶ Δίδυμος Πίνδαρον τερατείας χάριν τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ πρέπον τὸ πρὸς εἰδότας λέγειν (= fr. 25 Brasw.). On stylistic ground, τερατεία aims to astonish the reader by avoiding common ways of expression: schol. rec. *Ol.* 1. 4 Ἡ μὲν Πίσσα τοῦ Διός. οἷον ἐν συννοίᾳ γεγονώς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λέγει, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ὕμνεῖν τὸν θεὸν δεῖ. παρίστησι δὲ μόνας τὰς αἰτίας ἀπλᾶς· ὅθεν συλλογιστέον πᾶς ὁ ἀναγινώσκων· ὁ γὰρ ποιητὴς ἐκφεύγει τὴν συνήθη γραφὴν, πρὸς τι τερατωδέστερον καὶ ξενίζον ἐναποβλέπων.

ἵπποι πείθονται) and remarks *πικρότερον δὲ τῇ μεταφορᾷ*. *πικρία*⁴⁹ is a main feature of Pindar's solemn style,⁵⁰ while its opposite *γλυκύτης* characterizes the style called *γλαφυρός*.⁵¹ It is however the latter term that qualifies a passage in the ninth *Pythian*, starting from Chiron's exhortation to Apollo to «consummate the sweet fulfilment of marriage» (v. 66) until the *gnome* «Swift is the accomplishment once gods are in haste, and short are the ways» (67–68): schol. 119c *γλαφυρῶς ἀπέπαυσε τὸν νοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς μίξεως*.

3 Syntax

There are also some critical remarks concerning syntax. In *Pyth.* 4.171 Pindar sings that τάχα δὲ Κρονίδαο Ζηνὸς υἱοὶ τρεῖς ἀκαμαντομάχαι | ἦλθον Ἀλκμήνης θ' ἐλικοβλεφάρου Λήδας τε, «Swiftly came Kronian Zeus' three tireless warrior sons, born to bright-eyed Alcmene and to Leda», to join the Argonautic expedition. Schol. 303a comments that, of those sons of Zeus, Heracles was from Alcmena and the Dioscuri from Leda, but the lack of specification makes Herakles appear as son of Alcmena and Leda (Διὸς τρεῖς παῖδες τὸν ἀριθμὸν, οἱ ἀκοπίαστοι κατὰ τὴν μάχην, παρεγένοντο. καὶ ἐκ μὲν Ἀλκμήνης Ἡρακλῆς, ἐκ δὲ Λήδας οἱ Διόσκουροι. πάλιν δὲ συλληπτικῶς ἐχρήσατο τῷ τρόπῳ. φαίνεται γὰρ Ἡρακλῆς Ἀλκμήνης καὶ Λήδας υἱὸς κατὰ τὸ ἀδιαχώριστον τοῦ λόγου); the circumstances of the birth of each warrior should have been specified (ἀλλὰ προσήκει ὑποδιαροῦντας ἐκάστῳ τὸ οἰκεῖον τῆς γενέσεως προσάπτειν). The figure is labelled as syllepsis. The adverb *συλληπτικῶς* also occurs in schol. *Pyth.* 3.158a with reference to vv. 86–92, where the poet narrates that Peleus and Cadmus μελπομενᾶν ἐν ὄρει Μοισᾶν καὶ ἐν ἑπταπύλοισι | ἄϊον Θήβαις, ὁπόθ' Ἄρμονίαν γάμεν βοῶπιν, | ὁ δὲ Νηρέος εὐβούλου Θέτιν παῖδα κλυτάν («heard the golden-crowned Muses singing on the mountain and in seven-gated Thebes, when one married ox-eyed Harmonia, the other Thetis, wise-counseling Nereus' famous daughter»). Another

⁴⁹ Linked to *σκληρόν* in schol. rec. *Ol.* 2.162, with reference to the passage mentioned above (Εἰκότως εἶπε τὸ μαλθακᾶς πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ τόξου. τὸ μὲν γὰρ σκληρόν ἐστι καὶ πικρίαν ἐμποιοῦν, πρὸς οὓς πέμπει τὰ βέλη· αὕτη δὲ εὐφροσύνης αἰτία τοῖς ἐγκωμιαζομένοις καθίσταται).

⁵⁰ Cf. Dion. Hal. *Imit.* 2.5: Pindar should be imitated for many reasons: words, concepts, density (*πυκνότης*), etc., but mainly because he is able to join bitterness and pleasure: Ζηλωτὸς δὲ καὶ Πίνδαρος [...] πικρίας μετὰ ἡδονῆς (cf. *Comp.* 22.12 *πικραίνει τὰς ἀκοὰς μετρίως*). Rather than the style, Plutarch (*De aud. poet.* 21a) characterizes with *πικρῶς* a *gnome* in *Isthm.* 4.48: Cannatà Fera 1992, 53–54.

⁵¹ See schol. Opp. *Hal.* 335, p. 280 Bussemaker *γλαφυρόν* σημαίνει [...] καὶ τὸ γλυκύ, 559, p. 290 Bussemaker ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἡδέος (λέγεται γὰρ καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ γλαφυρόν).

scholiast uses the same adverb with a negative connotation: 160 καὶ ἐν ἐπταπύλοις· καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ χωρὶς ἐκάστῳ συμβεβηκὸς συλληπτικῶς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων τίθησι, καὶ λίαν πυκνός ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πηλεὺς ἐν Πηλίῳ τῷ ὄρει παρὰ Χείρωνι τὴν Θέτιν ἔγημεν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἐν Θήβαις τὴν Ἀρμονίαν. εἶπε δὲ, ὅτι τῶν Μουσῶν ἤκουσαν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις· πρὸς ὃ καὶ τὸ σημεῖον. The poet was too «concise and dense»:⁵² he did not specify each wedding place, whence «the sign».⁵³ But more often than not syllepsis is noted in neutral terms. For example, schol. *Isthm.* 1.55–56 argues how the games in honour of Amphitryon's «sons» were a reference to Theban games for Heracles and Iolaus, respectively the hero's son and nephew, interpreting the noun to mean «descendant»⁵⁴ (καὶ σέθεν, Ἀμφιτρύων, παῖδας προσειπεῖν· ἔοικεν ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ κατὰ σύλληψιν Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἔφη παῖδας τόν τε Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸν Ἰόλαον, ὃς ἦν Ἰφικλέους τοῦ Ἀμφιτρύωνος υἱός).⁵⁵ Here the scholiast also appeals to the concepts of ἀπὸ κοινοῦ and *catachresis*;⁵⁶ the latter finds a parallel, for instance, in *Nem.* 1.50, where κνώδαλα refers to animals other than sea animals and schol. 76 calls this usage καταχρηστικώτερον, comparing it with Hom. *Od.* 17.317.

Inversions too are observed. In explaining *Isthm.* 1.18 ἐν τ' ἀέθλοισι θίγον πλείστων ἀγώνων, schol. 26a says κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον ἀποδέδωκεν, because οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐν ἄθλοισι ἀγώνων τυγχάνει, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγῶσι τῶν ἄθλων. The anonymous commentator seems to have interpreted ἀέθλοισι as 'prizes' rather than 'contests', as both meanings are possible⁵⁷. However, the phrase was judged to be «archaic and very poetic» (ἀρχαιοπρεπὴς οὖν καὶ ποιητικώτατος ὁ λόγος),⁵⁸ a judgement underlined by comparison with a passage of Homer.

When in describing the laudandus of *Nemean* 5 Pindar says οὐπω γένυσι φαίνων τέρειναν ματέρ' οἰνάνθας ὀπώραν (6, «not yet showing on his cheeks ὀπώραν, the mother of the grape's soft bloom»), the scholium 10a comments that

⁵² On the πυκνότης as a feature of Pindar's style, see note 50.

⁵³ It was the letter χ, which had several features (see Pontani, this volume).

⁵⁴ So in *Pyth.* 10.5 and *Isthm.* 5.35 (see Privitera 1982).

⁵⁵ Theon, however, brands the passage with κακῶς (P.Oxy. 2451 fr. 1, II 24, see Calvani Mariotti 1977, 163).

⁵⁶ Neither of these implies a negative judgement, see Daude 2015, 56–58. Isetti 2012–2013, 199–205 analyses every occurrence of catachresis in the Pindar scholia.

⁵⁷ In such cases is difficult to distinguish between masculine (contest) and neuter (prize: on the difference, see Pavese 1996). There is disagreement among modern commentators, but both Privitera 1982 and Race 1997 prefer the first.

⁵⁸ This opinion seems «a measure of abnormality rather than of literary effect» to Wilson 1980, 105, while Isetti 2012–2013, 141, interprets ἀρχαιοπρεπὴς in a positive way on the basis of the parallel with ἡδέως πάνυ καὶ ἀρχαιοπρεπῶς used by schol. Hom. *Il.* 17.216–218.

first comes the bloom, then the fruit (ἀλληγορεῖ βουλόμενος σημῆναι τὸν ἀγένειον ἀπὸ τῆς κυπριζούσης ἀμπέλου. ἡ δὲ ὀπώρα οὐκ ἔστι τῆς οἰνάνθης μήτηρ, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον· προανθεῖ γὰρ πρῶτον, εἴτα ὀπώρα γίνεται).⁵⁹ Didimus easily solved the problem by intending ὀπώραν as ‘season’ rather than ‘fruit’⁶⁰ (‘late summer’ in Race’s translation). The scholiast adds that «the poet often uses such inversions», citing the parallel of *Nem.* 9.48 «peace loves the symposium», where he claims the order is the opposite of what it should be, i.e. «the symposium loves peace» (χρῆται δὲ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἀναστροφῇ συνεχῶς· ἀσυχία φιλεῖ μὲν συμπόσιον· οὐ γὰρ ἡ ἡσυχία φιλεῖ τὸ συμπόσιον, ἀλλὰ τὸ συμπόσιον τὴν ἡσυχίαν). Likewise schol. *Ol.* 13.12d uses a litotes to condemn the phrase «Hybris, the bold-tongued mother of Excess» (οὐκ ὀρθῶς δὲ τὴν ὕβριν τοῦ κόρου μητέρα λέγει, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν εἰπεῖν ἔδει).⁶¹ These criticisms are mostly based on rationalizations that range from questionable to flatly erroneous (take for instance the passage in the ninth *Nemean*, where Pindar’s phrasing perfectly suits the context).⁶²

The tenth *Olympian* narrates all the contests of the first Olympic games after their foundation by Heracles. During the discus throw «the lovely light of the moon’s beautiful face lit up the evening» (74–75). Schol. 91 points out that it should have been said earlier that the contest was taking place in a night of full moon⁶³ (moreover, the scholiast considers it absurd that the games could last until sunset): σελάνας ἐρατὸν φάος· τοῦτο ἔδει πρῶτον εἰπεῖν ὅτι πανσελήνου οὐσῆς

⁵⁹ Modern scholars have proposed various emendations; see Bergk 1878 «Si Pindarus ματέρα οἰνάνθας ὀπώραν dixisset, culpandus esset: nam dici debebat οἰνάνθαν ὀπώρας» who interprets ματέρ’ as dative.

⁶⁰ So the same schol. 10a (= fr. 51 Brasw.); cf. *Isth.* 2.4–5, where boys are said to have «the sweetest bloom of late summer that woos fair-throned Aphrodite» (Ἀφροδίτας | εὐθρόνον μνάστειραν ἀδίσταν ὀπώραν).

⁶¹ Schol. 12e quotes a verse it attributes to Homer (Ὅμηρος· τίκει τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν κακῷ ὄλβος ἔπηται). This hexameter, however, is not to be found in Homer, but in Thgn. 153, and, in a slightly different form, in Sol. fr. 8.3 G.-P. = 6.3 West²; it would go on to become proverbial (Arist. fr. 57.19 Rose, Diogenian. 8.22, etc.).

⁶² Thus Braswell 2013, 222; but Triclinius’ ἡσυχίαν, assumed as a variant reading (or barely an explanation?) by schol. 114b (ἡ οὕτω· τὸ συμπόσιον τὴν ἡσυχίαν φιλεῖ), where it is mirrored by the fifth *Nemean*, enjoyed great favour until the nineteenth century: Braswell 2012, 25–26.

⁶³ The scholiast highlights another *hysteron proteron* in the telling of the same episode in *Ol.* 3.19–22 («Already the altars had been dedicated to his father, and the Moon in her golden chariot at mid-month had shown back to him her full eye at evening», when Heracles «had established the holy judging of the great games together with their four-year festival»); schol. 33c δεῖ δὲ τὸ πρότερον δεύτερον νοεῖν καὶ τὸ δεύτερον πρῶτον· οὐ γὰρ δὴ θυσίαι ἐγίνοντο πρότερον, εἴτα οὕτως ἡ διχόμηνης ἔλαμπεν, ἀλλὰ πρότερον ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς πανσελήνου παρεγίνετο, εἴτα οὕτως αἱ θυσίαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐτελοῦντο.

ὁ ἀγὼν ἐτέθη. εὐήθως δὲ καὶ οἱ φαντασθέντες ἄχρι δύσεως ἡμέρας αὐτοὺς ἀγωνίζεσθαι.

Elsewhere, the «confused arrangement» is blamed for the «lack of clarity» – ἀσάφεια – which Eustathius represents in turn as a positive feature wilfully etched on the text by the poet,⁶⁴ but which had become the main indictment against Pindar.⁶⁵ Pindar opens the third *Olympian* with Τυνδαρίδαις τε φιλοξείνοις ἀδεῖν καλλιπλοκάμῳ θ' Ἑλένῃ | κλεινὰν Ἀκράγαντα γεραίρων εὖχομαι, | Θήρωνος Ὀλυμπιονίκαν| ὕμνον ὀρθώσας («I pray that I may please the ospitable Tyndaridai and Helen of the beautiful locks, as I honor famous Akragas, when, for Theron, I raise up an Olympic victory hymn»); schol. 1b criticizes the poet's expression and rearranges the sentence in order to bring about a clearer sequence of thought: ἀντέστραπται⁶⁶ δὲ ἡ τάξις, καὶ δοκεῖ τῇ συγχύσει ἀσάφειαν⁶⁷ εἰργάσθαι· ἐπεὶ ἡ ἀκόλουθος⁶⁸ ἐρμηνεία οὕτως ἐστί· κλεινὰν Ἀκράγαντα γεραίρων, Ὀλυμπιονίκαν ὕμνον ὀρθώσας Θήρωνος ἀκαμαντοπόδων ἵππων ἄωτον, εὖχομαι ἀδεῖν⁶⁹ Τυνδαρίδαις τε φιλοξένοις καλλιπλοκάμῳ θ' Ἑλένῃ. Similarly in other cases where symmetry or agreement are lacking, we find ἀκαταλλήλως⁷⁰ accompanied by ἐχρῆν γὰρ εἰπεῖν or ἔδει γὰρ εἰπεῖν introducing the correct order: schol. *Ol.* 1.20cd; 8.48; *Nem.* 3.80; etc. (only the adverb in schol. *Ol.* 9.3f).⁷¹

⁶⁴ See Kambylis 1991, 44–57; Negri 2000, 183–188.

⁶⁵ See Hamilton 2003. Most 1985 distinguishes between literary and scholarly reception – only the latter of which, in his view, shows this phenomenon – and lists all the terms used by the scholia to describe it. This is not the place for a complete reassessment of the evidence he adduces, but οὐκ ἀργῶς should be removed, because in both of its attestations (schol. *Ol.* 7.27b, *Nem.* 5.89a) it means not «obscurely» but «not lazily».

⁶⁶ The adverb ἀντεστραμμένως underlines the *hysteron proteron* in schol. *Pyth.* 4.447b.

⁶⁷ Confusion and lack of clarity are connected also in Hermog. *Id.* 1.4 (on Demosthenes); 1.11; 2.11.

⁶⁸ The adjective is often used in such cases, especially when remarking hyperbata: schol. *Ol.* 4.1e, *Pyth.* 3.198c.

⁶⁹ Drachmann mistakenly prints ἀδεῖν, as pointed out by Daude 2015, 55 n. 59.

⁷⁰ On the occurrences of the adverb, see Daude 2015, 48–49. Cf. schol. *Isthm.* 6.47e, which notices the lack of κατὰλληλον between vv. 26–35, narrating the deeds of Heracles and Telamon, and what follows, where the poet uses ἀλλά to return back to the beginning of the story, Telamon's invitation to Heracles to join him. The scholiast however defends the original syntactic order and proposes to interpret ἀλλά as δέ (and the second half of the narration as a part vis-à-vis the whole).

⁷¹ The occurrence in *Ol.* 8 is interesting in that the scholiast compares the Pindaric passage (37–40 γλαυκοὶ δὲ δράκοντες, [...] οἱ δύο μὲν κάπετον, [...] εἷς δ' ἐσόρουσε) to Hom. *Od.* 12.73 οἱ δὲ δῶω σκόπελοι ὁ μὲν [...] (for an explanation of the construction, relying on modern linguistic theories, see Misiano 2005).

4 Lack of *proprietas*

There are even accusations of «impropriety» of speech.⁷² In *Ol.* 9.10 the hill received by Pelops as Hippodamia's «dowry» is called ἔδνον; schol. 15b observes that the proper term is φερνή, from φέρειν⁷³ (ἄκυρόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱπποδαμείας τὸ ἔδνον· ἔδνα γὰρ διδόασιν οἱ ἄνδρες, φερνήν δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες, παρὰ τὸ φέρειν μεθ' ἑαυτῶν).⁷⁴ The improper use of ἔδνα is also highlighted by schol. *Pyth.* 3.167a, where the referent are the nuptial gifts offered to Cadmus by the gods.

A curt κακῶς is what schol. *Ol.* 1.9d employs to complain about the sun being called ἄστρον instead of ἀστήρ (κακῶς εἶπεν ἄστρον· ἔδει γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἀστέρα. τὰ γὰρ ἐκ πολλῶν συγκείμενα ἀστέρων ζῶδια λέγονται ἄστρα, ὁ δὲ ἥλιος ἀστήρ).⁷⁵ The same adverb occurs in schol. *Ol.* 2.158b, where the reason for censure is the dual form: τὸ γαρύετον κακῶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ δυϊκοῦ βούλεται ἡ λέξις, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ δύο κοράκων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πολλῶν (expressed through a litotes in 157b: τὸ γὰρ γαρύετον δυϊκὸν οὐκ ὀρθῶς κεῖται, οὐδὲ τηροῦσι πάνυ τὸ τοιοῦτον οἱ ποιηταὶ οὗτοι).

In *Ol.* 6.62–63 Apollo answers Iamus' prayers and invites him to follow him. The speech is introduced by μετάλασέν τέ νιν, and schol. 106d specifies τὸ δὲ μετάλασεν, ἐὰν λάβωμεν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνηρώτησεν, ἀκύρως κεῖται· μεταλλῆσαι γὰρ ἐστι τὸ ζητεῖν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν μετάλλων (cfr. schol. 106a *ιδίως*⁷⁶ κέχρηται τῇ λέξει· μεταλλῆσαι γὰρ ἐστι τὸ ζητῆσαι, ἀπὸ τῶν μετάλλων. The etymology – attested also in schol. *Pyth.* 1.101a – has been doubted, but is now agreed to be correct.⁷⁷ The verb is used together with εἶρομαι since Homer, and scholiasts equate it with ἐρωτάω (schol. *D. Il.* 1.550 Διεῖρο. Ἀνερῶτα. Μετάλλα,⁷⁸ schol. *Od.* 1.231f1

⁷² ἀκυρία is listed among ἁμαρτήματα κατὰ τὴν λέξιν in Hermog. *Deinot.* 3.2 (on *proprietas* and its opposite ἄκυρον see Quint. 8.2.1–11). Schol. *Isthm.* 1.58d ἔστι δὲ ἄκυρον τὸ μὴν is unclear. The issue is whether μὴν should be referred to the victor or to virtue, as the pronoun can refer to either gender. Maybe the impropriety was a matter of dialect (the Doric form is νιν): Isetti 2012–2013, 128.

⁷³ The difference is explained in schol. Eur. *Andr.* 873. Same clarification in schol. ex. Hom. *Od.* 1.276.

⁷⁴ ἄκυρον is Boissonade's correction from ἄκαιρον, commonly used about non-linguistic improprieties, but cf. *infra*, schol. *Pyth.* 4.160a, where we unexpectedly find ἀκύρως. The safer choice seems to be to follow the transmitted text.

⁷⁵ The difference between the two terms is also remarked in other corpora of scholia or works like Ammon. *Diff.* 83.

⁷⁶ *ιδίως* is also used to remark peculiarities outside the lexical realm: see *infra*, 250 and n. 90.

⁷⁷ Chantraine 1980, s. v. μετάλλον. Cf. Giannini 2014, 46.

⁷⁸ Cf. Hesych. μ 1005 μεταλλᾶν· ἐρευνᾶν, ζητεῖν, ἐρωτᾶν.

μεταλλᾶς: ἐπιζητεῖς, ἐρωτᾶς. Schol. *Od.* 1.231h adds the etymology: ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν μέταλλα ψηλαφώντων).

A different impropriety is noticed in schol. *Pyth.* 4.160a. Jason has come to Iolcus and his figure strikes the onlookers, who hazard several guesses as to who he might be, only to dismiss them one after the other. After two gods, Apollo and Ares, the choice falls upon demi-gods, who however were already dead (86–91). One of those mentioned is Tityus, whose presence seems inappropriate because «his appearance was outstanding, but he was impious» (ἀκύρως δὲ τὸν Τιτυὸν ἐνταῦθα παρατίθησι τερατώδη ὄντα τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἄλλως ἀσεβῆ).⁷⁹ Here we would have expected ἀκαίρως rather than ἀκύρως.⁸⁰

Such improprieties are essentially the reverse of πρέπον, a fundamental category in ancient criticism. On one occasion Pindar avoids the charge thanks to a rather naïve explanation. When Alcmene in *Nem.* 1.50 «sprang from her couch to her feet» ἄπεπλος to help Heracles and Iphicles as they were attacked by snakes, schol. 74a clarifies that the adjective does not mean naked – «the image would have been unbecoming» – but wearing only the *chitoniskos* after discarding the *perplos* (τὴν ἄπεπλον οὐ δεκτέον γυμνήν· ἀπρεπῆς γὰρ ἡ εἰκὼν· ἀλλὰ νοητέον, ὅτι τὸν μὲν πέπλον ἔρριψεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ χιτωνίσκῳ ἀνήλατο νεοτόκος οὔσα).⁸¹

5 Untruthfulness

Sometimes Pindar is accused of ψεύδεσθαι. *Ol.* 7.77–78 states that games in Rhodes were founded to honour Tlepolemus, but the claim is denied by schol. 146a; according to it, the games were for Helios (ἐψεύσατο⁸² δὲ ὁ Πίνδαρος· οὐ

⁷⁹ We know from schol. *Pyth.* 4.156b that Pindar was also criticised for the comparison between Jason and the Aloadae Otus and Ephialtes: according to Chaeris, comparing him with two gods would have sufficed. See Calvani 2012, 151.

⁸⁰ See *supra*, n. 74.

⁸¹ Deas 1931, 21 and n. 2 hypothesized that this explanation came from Didymus. Philostratus the Younger may have known it, because he underlined this detail in describing the scene (*Imag.* 5.2 ἄβλαυτος καὶ μονοχίτων «without slippers, wearing only a tunic»); Cannatà Fera 2010, 391–392.

⁸² Didymus uses this verb in schol. *Ol.* 6.55a = fr. 9 Brasw., where he accuses Pindar of lying in saying that Elatus' son reigned over Arcadians in Phaesana (according to Didymus, instead, this city is in Helis). But there is a chance that Pisa was controlled by Arcadians at that time, as the scholiast goes on to suggest.

γὰρ Τληπολέμῳ, τῷ δὲ Ἡλίῳ τιθέασι τὸν ἀγῶνα. διὸ καὶ ἡλιορόδιον τὸν ἀγῶνα).⁸³ A scholion to *Nem.* 9.9, where the Sicyonian games in honour of Apollo are ascribed to Adrastus instead of Clisthenes, speaks of poetic licence aiming to shed more glory on the competition (schol. 20 ἀνατίθῃσι γὰρ τὴν τῶν Πυθίων θέσιν ἐν Σικυῶνι Ἀδράστῳ, *ποιητικὴν ἄγων ἄδειαν*, Κλεισθένους αὐτὰ διαθέντος [...] ἵν' οὖν ἐνδοξότερον ἀποφῇν τὸν ἀγῶνα).⁸⁴ Conversely, when in *Ol.* 6.6, Pindar tells that Agesias was a «fellow-founder of famous Syracuse», schol. 8b points out that it was really his ancestors who founded the city and suggests that the expression is an untruth devised by the poet in order to praise him: τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἀληθῶς· οὐ γὰρ οὗτος συνώκισε τὰς Συρακούσας. ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐγκώμιον εἴληφεν· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἐκείνων ὁ Ἀγησίας τῶν συνοικισάντων.⁸⁵

In order to satisfy his patrons Pindar was allegedly pushed to adulterate the truth (thus schol. *Pyth.* 9.185a ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ χαρίσασθαι τῷ ἐπαινουμένῳ παρατρέψας τὴν ἱστορίαν φησὶν Ἀλεξίδαμον πρόγονον τοῦ ἐπαινουμένου γενέσθαι μνηστήρα τῆς Ἀνταίου θυγατρὸς), or even to forge mythical details (schol. *Ol.* 9.119a εἶην εὐρεσιεπής· τοῦτό φησιν ὅτι ἔπλασε⁸⁶ τὰ περὶ Πατρόκλου εἰρημένα εἰς ἔπαινον τοῦ Ἐφάρμοστου Ὀπουντίου ὄντος).⁸⁷ «Poets can πλάττειν what they want», observes scholium *Ol.* 4.31b as it remarks that the games founded by Hypsipyle in Lemnos in memory of Thoas appeared *παρ' ἱστορίαν*.⁸⁸ The poet even used to πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ συμφέρον καὶ τὰς ἱστορίας βιάζεσθαι (schol. *Isthm.* 1.15b). Here Pindar mentions «Geryon's fierce dogs», but there was only one; maybe the plural was only rhetorical, maybe the poet thought that defeating

⁸³ Likewise schol. 146b (καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ψεύδεται ὁ Πίνδαρος· οὐ γὰρ Τληπολέμῳ ὁ ἀγὼν ἐπιτελεῖται), which goes on quoting Istrus (*FGrH* 334F49, see Jackson 1999).

⁸⁴ Braswell 1998, 59–60. On poetic licence Nünlist 2009, 174–184.

⁸⁵ Cf. the claim in schol. *Pyth.* 7.14 that Pindar ascribed to Megacles the victories gained by his forefathers ἔνεκα δὲ τοῦ ἀπολαμπρῦναι αὐτὸν, «in order to bring him prestige» (see Bitto 2012, 100–101). Actually, here the poet lists the victories as ὑμαί τε καὶ προγόνων (17).

⁸⁶ This form, like the infinitive in schol. 119e (ταῦτα δὲ λέγει διὰ τὸ πλάσασθαι αὐτὸν τὸ ἐπὶ Πατρόκλου προειρημένον ἐπαινεῖν βουλόμενος τὸν Ἐφάρμοστον Ὀπούντιον ὄντα Πατρόκλου πολίτην), is from πλάττω rather than πλάζω (as indicated in Drachmann 1927, 363).

⁸⁷ Nünlist 2009, 179 and n. 20.

⁸⁸ Conversely, Pindar's departure from an established mythical tradition in *Pyth.* 3.27–29 (Apollo comes to know the truth about Coronis not from a raven, but thanks to his «all-knowing mind») meets with the scholiast's approval: schol. 48d καλῶς δὲ ὁ Πίνδαρος τὴν περὶ τὸν κόρακα παρακρουσάμενος ἱστορίαν δι' ἑαυτοῦ φησι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα κατειληφέναι τὴν Κορωνίδα. Schol. 52b attributes this positive judgement to Artemon (of Pergamum, fr. 5 Broggiato).

a single dog⁸⁹ was too simple a challenge for Heracles. More often, Pindaric oddities are underlined by *ιδίως* or a similar word.⁹⁰

6 Unendorsed criticisms

Sometimes criticisms are reported without endorsement. Schol. *Pyth.* 8.136c merely relates that «some» condemned Pindar's complaint about human life within an encomium (ἐπιμέμφονταί τινες τῷ Πινδάρῳ, ὅτι ἐγκώμιον γράφων θρηνεῖ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον).⁹¹ According to schol. *Pyth.* 4.518a the poet was criticized for saying that Zeus freed the Titans, which would not have been appropriate (οἰκεῖος) to Atlas, «who is still suffering». Both criticisms are dropped without further discussion.

Sometimes critics reject earlier opinions explicitly.⁹² Artemon of Pergamum motivated the invocation to Apollo's «golden lyre» in the proem of the first *Pythian* by contending that Ieron had promised Pindar a golden lyre. The *inscriptio* *a* to the ode replies harshly that Pindar's incipit was appropriate: λέγεται δὲ ὁ Πίνδαρος οὕτως ἐπιβεβλήσθαι κατὰ Ἀρτέμωνα τὸν ἱστορικόν, ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰέρων χρυσὴν ὑπέσχετο κιθάραν. τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα περιεργίας πεπλήρωται. οἰκειότατα γὰρ Πυθίου ὄντος τοῦ ἀγῶνος τὸν θεὸν προστάτην ὄντα ἀνυμνεῖ.⁹³

The charge of ψυχρότης⁹⁴ is rejected too. Schol. *Nem.* 7.1a wonders why the poet invoked Eileithyia at the beginning of the ode. Some had reportedly linked this invocation with the name of Sogenes («saviour of the lineage»), the adres-

⁸⁹ Wilson 1980, 110.

⁹⁰ Meijering 1987, 226–230; Daude 2015, 34–46; Merro 2015. At the beginning of *Ol.* 14 Pindar invokes the Charites but then switches to the singular (20, σεῦ ἕκατι); schol. 27c first calls this *ιδίως*, with Aristarchus, and then βεβιασμένον.

⁹¹ The referent are lines 95–96 ἐπάμεροι· τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὐ τις; σκιάς ὄναρ | ἀνθρωπος (which however are not a *threnos* if seen in context).

⁹² Cf. *supra*, n. 70.

⁹³ Artemon's explanation is reported with endorsement in schol. 1a (together with the corresponding part of the *inscriptio* it constitutes fr. 3 Broggiato).

⁹⁴ ψυχρόν in the metaphors is discussed in Arist. *Rh.* 1406b, resumed by Dem. *Eloc.* 116. The cognate verb can be also found in schol. Soph. *Ai.* 1123 (κἂν ψιλὸς ἀρκέσαιμι: τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφίσματα οὐκ οἰκεῖα τραγωδίας. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἐπεκτείνειν τὸ δρᾶμα θελήσας ἐψυχρεύσατο καὶ ἔλυσε τὸ τραγικὸν πάθος), etc. Pindar, as the nearest to the tragic poets, is included in this phenomenon according to Hermog. *Id.* 1.6 (τάφους τε γὰρ ἐμψύχους τοὺς γῦπας λέγουσιν, ὥνπερ εἰσὶ μάλιστα ἄξιοι, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ψυχρεύονται πάμπολλα. ἐκτραχηλίζουσι δ' αὐτοὺς αἱ τε τραγωδίαί πολλαὶ ἔχουσαι τούτου παραδείγματα, καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ποιητῶν τραγικώτερόν πως προαιροῦνται, ὥσπερ Πίνδαρος).

see of the ode. On this interpretation, Pindar was responsible of an unfunny, «frigid» pun: ἔνιοι δέ φασι πρὸς τοῦνομα τοῦ Σωγέου παρειλκύσθαι τὴν Εἰλειθυίαν· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὴν σωγενῆ τινα διὰ τὸ τὰ γεννώμενα ἀνασώζειν· τὸν οὖν Πίνδαρον *ψυχρευσάμενον* πρὸς τοῦνομα τῆς Εἰλειθυίας μεμνήσθαι. This interpretation is clearly rejected: καὶ τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ εὔ (καὶ refers to another doubtful explanation, namely that Sogenes was not the victor, but the victory was ascribed to him to please his father: an autoschediasm in Didymus' opinion, fr. 54 Brasw.).

The same is probably true of *Pyth.* 10.35–36 *χαίρει, γελᾷ θ' ὀρῶν ὕβριν ὀρθίαν κνωδάλων*. Apollo «laughs to see the beasts' towering wantonness» – the large erections of some donkeys⁹⁵ which were about to be sacrificed by the Hyperboreans. Schol. 51b says ταῦτα, φησὶν ὁ Δίδυμος, μετὰ τοῦ γελοίου καὶ ἄσεμνά εἰσι· τίνα γὰρ λόγον ἂν ἔχοι ἡδεσθαι τὸν Απόλλωνα τοῖς ὀρθιάζουσιν ὄνοις; φησὶν (= fr. 35 Brasw.). The closing φησὶν⁹⁶ appears to be a rejection of Didymus' charge of being ridiculous and flippant:⁹⁷ «that's what he says».

Likewise in schol. *Isthm.* 2.19a = Didym. fr. 67 Brasw. The segment of text under discussion is οὐκ ἀγνώτ' ἰαείδω at line 12. Some thought that the elision conceals a dative, «I do not sing for one who does not know» (Callistratus, quoted also in the *inscriptio*: fr. 95 and 96 Montana); others argued that it was an accusative plural, ἄγνωτα, «I sing things that are not unknown» (thus Snell-Maehler following ms. D).⁹⁸ Didymus thought that the poet would have gained more prestige if the victory he sang was indeed unknown before his epinician; he adds that the poet called obscure the victories he did not sing. Unfortunately the note is affected by textual problems,⁹⁹ but the conclusion is «ridiculous!»: ἔνιοι δὲ τὸ ἄγνωτα προπαροξύνοντες οὐ κατὰ συναλοιφὴν ἀκούουσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ἀγνώτι ἰαείδω, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἰσθμικῆς φασὶν αὐτὸν νίκης λέγειν· οὐ περὶ ἀγνώτων, φησὶν, ἄδω. ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος μειοῦσθαί φησι τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ποιητοῦ, εἰ μηδέπω τοῦ ἐπινίκου συντεταγμένου γνώριμός ἐστιν ἢ τοῦ Ξενοκράτους νίκη· ἔμπαλιν γὰρ ὁ Πίνδαρος ἀφανεῖς καὶ ἀδόξους φησὶν εἶναι τὰς νίκας, εἰς ἃς αὐτὸς

⁹⁵ For this much-debated interpretation, see Angeli Bernardini 1995.

⁹⁶ The excess of conciseness may have caused the omission of the verb in ms. D (*Laur.* 32.52). Braswell 2013 does not translate it (and does not mention it in 2011, 195–196, where the passage is treated as an example of Didymean «Aesthetic Criticism»).

⁹⁷ Schol. 56a is more lenient: ἔπαιξεν ὁ Πίνδαρος.

⁹⁸ Privitera 1982 retains B's ἀγνώτ', which he takes as an accusative singular («I sing a not unknown victory»); this solution had been anticipated by Pavese 1966, 111, who regarded it as proleptic («I sing a victory that will be famous»). Race 1997 prints ἄγνωτ' but translates «Not unknown is the Isthmian chariot victory that I sing».

⁹⁹ «Locus vix sanus» Drachmann 1927.

μηδὲν γέγραφε. γελοίως.¹⁰⁰ Braswell 2013 holds that the final adverb belongs to Didymus, but it is rather a comment upon Didymus' elucubrations.¹⁰¹ The same adverb and a similar situation recur in schol. *Isthm.* 4.47c Χρύσιππος δέ, σεσημείωται, φησίν, ὁ τόπος διὰ τὴν φράσιν· τὸ γὰρ ἐναντίον βούλεται εἰπεῖν· τῶν ἀπειράτων καὶ ἀπράκτων ἄγνωστοί εἰσιν αἱ λαλιαί, ὃ ἔστιν, ἂν τις μὴ πειραθῇ πράξεων ἀγαθῶν, οὗτος ἀκλεῆς γίνεται. γελοίως. Chrysippus' rationalistic point is rightly ridiculed:¹⁰² in his view, Pindar in line 30 (τῶν ἀπειράτων γὰρ ἄγνωστοι σιωπαί) said the opposite of what he meant, because it is words, not silences, that are unknown.

7 Pindar and Homer

An odd criticism is found in a scholium to the eighth *Isthmian*.¹⁰³ In this ode Themis ends the quarrel between Zeus and Poseidon over Thetis by proposing that she will be given in marriage to Peleus. The two sons of Chronus agree, with the words τοὶ δ' ἐπὶ γλεφάροις | νεύσαν ἄθανάτοισιν (lines 45–46a «and they nodded assent with their immortal eyelid»). Schol. 95b remarks ταπεινῶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν βλεφάρων ὅλον εἶπε τὸ πρόσωπον. It seems strange that this metonym¹⁰⁴ should

100 Braswell's translation (2013) is unclear: «some accent the word on the antepenultimate ἄγνωτα and understand it not as the avoidance of hiatus, i.e. instead of “I sing to one who is not unknowing”, but they say that he (sc. Pindar) says it in respect of him and his Isthmian victory [...] Didymos however says that the esteem of the poet is diminished, if the victory of Xenocrates is well-known without an epinikion ever being composed. On the contrary, Pindar says that the victories are unnoticed and obscure for which he himself has written nothing, [That is] ludicrous». Those who read ἄγνωτα did not deny the elision (this is the meaning of συναλοιφή here, just as in schol. *Pyth.* 7.6a and *Nem.* 1.25b; differently in schol. *Pyth.* 4.274c: -η rather than -ηαι), but simply maintained that it involved alpha instead of iota. As the article before ἐπινίκου signals, this is not any victory ode, but the very one composed by Pindar. Finally, omitting γὰρ in the translation does not help the reader understand that «On the contrary» refers not to the entire sentence, which in fact it corroborates, but only to γνώριμος referred to the victory.

101 Thus Deas 1931, 36, building on Boeckh 1819, 526 quoted by Schmidt 1854, 238: «Quis γελοίως? Pindarusne an Didymus? Credo Didymus; quapropter ante vocem γελοίως punctum posui, quum esset comma»; cf. Most 1985, 21 n. 81: «Didymus' own suggestions are occasionally criticized (e.g., Schol. ad I. 2.19a)».

102 γελοίως is said of interpreters in schol. *Isthm.* 4.63a, γελοῖον in schol. *Pyth.* 10.85a.

103 On Homeric material in the Pindar scholia, see Calvani Mariotti 1987. Here we discuss two significant cases only.

104 Bitto 2012, 169–170.

be considered humble¹⁰⁵ (ταπείνωσις is a *vitium* in Quint. 8.3.48). Nodding in agreement is a traditional image: the scholiast quotes *Il.* 1.528 κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὄφρῦσι νεῦσε Κρονίων. Pindar slightly modifies this image by replacing the eyebrows with the eyelids or, elsewhere, the hair (*Nem.* 1.14 κατένευσέν τέ οἱ χαίταις). The latter element was actually present in Homer's scene: *Il.* 1.524, 528–530 κεφαλῇ κατανεύσομαι [...] | [...] κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὄφρῦσι νεῦσε Κρονίων· | ἀμβρόσια δ' ἄρα χαίται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος | κρατὸς ἀπ' ἄθανάτοιο («I will nod with my head [...] with his black eyebrows the son of Chronus nodded; divine hair mussed on his immortal head»)¹⁰⁶ Maybe the image in *Isthmian* 8 appeared humble if contrasted with the Homeric one, where Zeus' nod is presented both analytically (hair, eyebrows) and synthetically (head). But the same verse as 1.528 occurs once more in the *Iliad*, on its own, at 17.209, where it has the same methonymic function:¹⁰⁷ a commentator on that passage could just as easily have said ταπεινῶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὄφρῶν ὅλον εἶπε τὸ πρόσωπον.

Pindar was also reproached for misunderstanding a Homeric passage. In *Pythian* 3 he reminds Theron that «the immortals apportion to humans a pair of evils for every good» (81–82 ἐν παρ' ἐσλὸν πῆματα σύνδου δαίονται βροτοῖς | ἄθάνατοι), which scholl. 141a–b rightly understood as a reference to *Il.* 24.527–528. In that passage Zeus is said to distribute good and evil among mortals drawing from two *pithoi* (δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει | δῶρων οἷα διδοῦσι, κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἐάων). But when Pindar spoke of receiving one good for every two evils – the commentator argues – he misinterpreted those two verses: there are only two vases there, not three. In fact, however, the passage is ambiguous and was debated already in antiquity. Pindar appears to take a stance on that very subject, as he intimates when introducing the gnome: «if you can understand the true point of sayings, you know the lesson of former poets» (80 εἰ δὲ λόγων συνέμεν κορυφάν, Ἴερων, ὀρθὰν ἐπίστα, μανθάνων οἶσθα προτέρων).¹⁰⁸

105 Drachmann 1927 writes «ταπεινῶς suspectum» in his apparatus (Bitto 2012, 169 n. 379 agrees) and marks the word with a question mark in his index of *Sermo technicus*. On ταπεινός in the Homeric scholia, which mostly refers to similes involving elements of unheroic reality, see Nünlist 2009, 296.

106 It almost seems that Pindar split Homer's image into its constituent parts, using different elements in different occasions.

107 Noticed by schol. ex. 1.528b συνεκδοχικῶς ὡς ἀπὸ μέρους τὴν κεφαλὴν.

108 Cannatà Fera 1986.

8 λεληθότως

To conclude on a positive note. The adverb λεληθότως¹⁰⁹ is fairly common in scholiastic corpora, where it has a range of different meanings.¹¹⁰ It can be used with reference to characters, for instance, or for stage-directions,¹¹¹ both of which are out of the question here (we are interested in occurrences where the adverb designates understated criticisms or mockeries).¹¹² In Pindar's case the adverb is mainly used about poetics (four out of six occurrences),¹¹³ and in three of these it specifically concerns his outstanding dexterity in introducing catalogues into the composition (so also in schol. *Il.* 24.249–251 λεληθότως δὲ Ὅμηρος κατάλογόν τινα πεποιήται τῶν ὑπολειπομένων Πριάμῳ παίδων).¹¹⁴ Schol. *Nem.* 10.4 lists several interpretations of line 4 μακρὰ μὲν τὰ Περσέως, among them «lengthy to tell are Perseus' dealings». This is followed by the remark καὶ ῥητορικῶς δὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖ· δοκῶν παραιτεῖσθαι τὸ λέγειν καθ' ἕκαστα <τὰ> τῶν Ἀργείων ἀνδραγαθήματα, λεληθότως καταριθμεῖται αὐτά. The commentator clearly knows that he is dealing with a rhetorical artifice through which «the poet appears to refuse a list of Argive deeds, but he covertly enumerates them».

Again, in *Isthm.* 1.52–54, Pindar states «But it befits us to celebrate Kronos' earth-shaking son, our neighbour and patron of horse racing»; according to schol. 76b, after mentioning Poseidon the poet «subtly» moves on to listing the victories patronised by the god (ἡμῖν δὲ προσήκει ἀμειβομένοις τὸν ἵππικώτατον Κρόνου παῖδα Ποσειδῶνα εὐεργέτην ὄντα τῶν ἀρμάτων ἀνυμνῆσαι, ἀντιδιδόντας τῷ θεῷ τὸν ὕμνον ἀντὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν νικηφόρον εὐεργεσιῶν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ λεληθότως καταλέγει τὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ νίκας).¹¹⁵

109 On this adverb, see Wilson 1980, 110, Bitto 2012, 101. Περιεσταλμένως is used as synonymous in schol. *Nem.* 5.25b τί αἰδεῖται ὁ Πίνδαρος, καὶ τί αὐτοῖς φησι μὴ δικαίως κεκινδυνευμένον εἶναι; τὸ ὅτι ἀνέϊλον τὸν Φῶκον καὶ ἔφυγον· περιεσταλμένως δὲ αὐτὸ εἶρηκε (Pindar covertly alluded to Phocus killing by his brother's hands); cf. schol. *Ar. Eq.* 18a περιεσταλμένως καὶ λεληθότως, οἷονεὶ μὴ φανερώς.

110 In *Suda* αἱ 226 and schol. *Ar. Pa.* 47c it is explained as αἰνίττεσθαι.

111 Mainly in the Aristophanes scholia.

112 Nünlist 2009, 57, 211, 341 n. 15.

113 The others are schol. *Pyth.* 2.155d; 4.213b.

114 Was a catalogue felt as a nuisance? I do not know any ancient witness about this: Homer's Catalogue of ships is highly appreciated in schol. *Il.* 2.494–877, and rhetorical treatises do not busy themselves with this genre (which was never conceptualised as such), see Asper 1998, 916. It is worth considering, however, that as early as Plato the adverb καταλογάδην can mean “in prose” (Mainberger 2003, 5).

115 Lefkowitz 1985, 274, argues that the adverb marks the passage from the invocation of the god to the praise of the victor.

The seventh *Isthmian* opens with a list of Theban glories in interrogative form: «In which of your land's former glories, O blessed Thebe, did you heart take most delight? Was it when you raised up flowing-haired Dionysos [...]?»¹¹⁵. These questions take up almost the entirety of the first triad, down to line 15. Schol. 1a comments that by using questions the poet veils his *encomium*: Ὁ λόγος πειστικὸς πρὸς τὴν Θήβην, ᾧ καὶ ἀποχρώμενος λεληθότως αὐτῆς ἐγκώμια καταριθμεῖται.

Another occurrence of the adverb concerns *Ol.* 9.21–28. In that passage Pindar states that «while I light up the dear city» – Locris – «more swiftly than either a high-spirited horse or a winged ship» he will deliver the message, he who cultivates «the choice garden of the Graces, for it is they who bestow what is delightful». Schol. 40 seems to observe that, in order to lighten the whole, the poet covertly intrudes his own encomium (λεληθότως δὲ ὁ Πίνδαρος διὰ τὸ ἀνεπαχθὲς¹¹⁶ τὰ ἴδια ἐπεξεργάζεται ἐγκώμια).¹¹⁷

To sum up. Beyond some trivial observations which do show a lack of poetic sensitivity, commentators' attempts to explain difficult passages ought not to be always ridiculed. Sometimes they reveal good judgement and contain relevant, insightful considerations on key points of Pindar's poetic technique.¹¹⁸ It is not possible to provide a global assessment of such a stratified text, which condenses centuries of work of famous and unknown commentators alike. In grappling with so difficult a text as Pindar's some commentators may have resorted to different materials: monuments, inscriptions, victor-lists, lost historical works, etc. Others could only rely on their culture which was generally rich in rhetoric, and on their own reasoning, which sometimes led them astray. In the one case as in the other, the modern scholar should be grateful to those who thought those remarks worth preserving. Their loss would certainly have made our work harder and more daunting than it already is.

¹¹⁶ The expression διὰ τὸ ἀνεπαχθὲς is difficult: «because of lightness» is not what we should expect here; διὰ + acc. could indicate purpose, not cause, as is more usual (it would thus be equivalent to schol. *Il.* 9.252b, where Odysseus does not give advice in first person, but reminds Achilles of Peleus': ἵνα μὴ ἐπαχθὲς δόξῃ, οὐκ ἰδίας ὑποθήκας εἰσάγει, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπομνήσκει). Manuscripts are not in agreement: E (Laur. 32.37, fourteenth century) has τὸ ἀν in rasura (I thank Giuseppe Ucciardello for direct inspection of the manuscript), while Q (Laur. 32.35, fourteenth century) has τὸ ἐπαχθὲς. In a scholium to Aristophanes (*Nu.* 100 ἀποφεύγει εἰπεῖν τὸ ὄνομα διὰ τὸ ἐπαχθὲς) is attested διὰ τὸ ἐπαχθὲς, where the preposition has its ordinary meaning of «because of»; cfr. schol. *Il.* 7.125 ἐπαχθὲς γὰρ ἦν τὸ σαφῶς ὀνειδίσαι.

¹¹⁷ Cf. schol. *Il.* 6.358 πελώμεθ' αἰοίδιμοι: λεληθότως αὖξει τὴν ποιήσιν.

¹¹⁸ Wilson 1980, 108. Braswell 2012, 26–27 emphasises the usefulness of the historical and mythological material over the elements of 'literary criticism' that were preserved together with them.

Pindaric criticism continued into more recent times. A harsh judgment was passed by Ezra Pound, who chastised the poet as «a dam'd rhetorician half the time», «the prize wind-bag of all ages», «big rhetorical drum». On the other hand, Pound was also a very eager reader of Pindar, the «Theban eagle» whom he cites time and again even as he claims he should «be blown».¹¹⁹

Bibliography

- Angeli Bernardini, P. (1995), see Gentili (1995).
- Asper, M. (1998), «Katalog», in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* IV, 915–922.
- Bergk, Th. (1878), *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, ed. quartae vol. I, *Pindari carmina continens*, Lipsiae.
- Berman, D.W. (2010), «The landscape and language of Korinna», in *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 50 (1), 41–62.
- Bitto, G. (2012), *Lyrik als Philologie: zur Rezeption hellenistischer Pindarkommentierung in den Oden des Horaz: mit einer rhetorisch-literarkritischen Analyse der Pindarscholien*, Rahden.
- Boeckh, A. (1819), *Pindari opera quae supersunt* II, Lipsiae.
- Bonifazi, A. (2000), «Sull'idea di sotterfugio orale negli epinici pindarici», in *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 66, 69–86.
- Braswell, B.K. (1998), *A Commentary on Pindar Nemean Nine*, Berlin/New York.
- Braswell, B.K. (2011), «Didymos on Pindar», in S. Matthaios/F. Montanari/A. Rengakos (eds.), *Ancient Scholarship and Grammar*, Berlin/New York, 181–197.
- Braswell, B.K. (2012), «Reading Pindar in Antiquity», in *Museum Helveticum* 69, 12–28.
- Braswell, B.K. (2013), Didymos of Alexandria. *Commentary on Pindar*, ed. and transl., Basel.
- Broggiato, M. (2014), *Filologia e interpretazione a Pergamo. La scuola di Cratete*, Roma.
- Brown, Ch.G. (2016), «Warding off a Hailstorm of Blood: Pindar on Martial Elegy», in L. Swift/C. Carey (eds.), *Iambus and Elegy*, Oxford, 273–290.
- Burzacchini, G. (1991), «Corinniana», in *Eikasmos* 2, 39–90, now in Burzacchini 2011.
- Burzacchini, G. (2011), *Studi su Corinna*, a cura di A. Nicolosi e M. Magnani, Bologna.
- Calvani Mariotti, G./Derenzini, G. (1977), «Commenti agli Epinici di Pindaro», in *Studi classici e orientali* 26, 157–186.
- Calvani Mariotti, G. (1987), «Ricerche sulla tecnica esegetica degli *scholia vetera* a Pindaro», in *Ricerche di Filologia classica* III, Pisa, 83–167.
- Calvani, G. (2012), «Cheride interprete di Pindaro», in *Atene e Roma* n.s. 6, 150–156.
- Cannatà Fera, M. (1986), «Pindaro interprete di Omero in *Pyth.* 3, 81–2», in *Giornale italiano di filologia* n. s. 17, 85–89.
- Cannatà Fera, M. (1992), *Il Pindaro di Plutarco*, Messina.

¹¹⁹ The quotations are drawn from letters written in 1915 to Harriet Monro and in 1916 to Iris Barry (*Selected letters 1907–1941 of Ezra Pound*, ed. by D.D. Paige, New York 1971, 55, 87). In the first, Pound argued for «the infinite gulph between what you read and enjoy and what you set up as a model». Exact quotations (Shankman 2010, 84 n. 9) are supplemented by allusions of various kind (Carne-Ross 1985, 32–33, 37–38; but more can still be detected).

- Cannatà Fera, M. (2007), "Il rischio della parola: dire il nuovo e dire il giusto in Pindaro", in E. Suárez de la Torre (ed.), *Teoría y práctica de la composición poética en el mundo antiguo y su pervivencia*, Valladolid, 69–91.
- Cannatà Fera, M. (2010), "Cromio-Eracle in due epinici pindarici", in M. Caccamo Caltabiano/ C. Raccuia/ E. Santagati (cur.), *Tyrannis, Basileia, Imperium. Forme, prassi e simboli del potere politico nel mondo greco e romano*, Messina, 143–152.
- Cannatà Fera, M. (2010), "Tra letteratura e arti figurative: le *Imagines* dei due Filostrati", in L. Belloni/ A. Bonandini/ G. Ieranò/ G. Moretti (cur.), *Le Immagini nel Testo, il Testo nelle Immagini. Rapporti fra parola e visualità nella tradizione greco-latina*, Trento, 373–394.
- Carne-Ross, D.S. (1985), *Pindar*, New Haven/London.
- Catenacci, C. (2013), see Gentili (2013).
- Chantraine, P. (1983-), *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris.
- Clayman, D. (1993), "Corinna and Pindar", in R.M. Rosen/ J. Farrell (eds.), *Nomodeiktēs. Greek studies in honor of Martin Ostwald*, Ann Arbor, 633–642.
- Cozzoli, A.-T. (1996), "Aspetti intertestuali nelle polemiche letterarie degli antichi da Pindaro a Persio", in *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* n.s. 54, 7–36.
- Crusius, O. (1894), "Amphimenes", in *RE* I 2, 1042–1043.
- Daude, C. (2015), "*Iudicia*: Jugements de valeur dans les scholies aux *Olympiques*", in *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* Suppl. 13, 31–66.
- Deas, H.Th. (1931), "The scholia vetera to Pindar", in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 42, 1–78.
- Dickey, E. (2007), *Ancient Greek Scholarship*, Oxford.
- Drachmann, A.B. (1903–1927), *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina*, rec. A. B. D., Stuttgart.
- Dunbar, N. (ed.) (1995), *Aristophanes. Birds*, Oxford.
- Finglass, P.J. (ed.) (2007), *Pindar. Pythian Eleven*, Cambridge.
- Fraenkel, E. (1994), *Pindaro Sofocle Terenzio Catullo Petronio*. Corsi seminariali di E. F. (Bari 1965–69), a cura di R. Roncali, Roma.
- Gentili, B. (1995), *Pindaro. Le Pitiche*, Introd., testo critico e trad. di B.G. Commento a cura di P.A. Bernardini/ E. Cingano, B.G./ P. Giannini, Milano.
- Gentili, Bruno (2013), *Pindaro. Le Olimpiche*, Introd., testo critico e trad. di B.G. Commento a cura di C. Catenacci/ P. Giannini/ L. Lomiento, Milano.
- Gentili, B./ Lomiento, L. (2001), "Corinna, Le Asopidi (PMG 654 col. III 12–51)", in *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* N. S. 68, 2, 7–20.
- Giannini, P. (2007), "L'epinicio pindarico secondo Eustazio e l'*Olimpica* 8", in E. Suárez de la Torre (ed.), *Teoría y práctica de la composición poética en el mundo antiguo y su pervivencia*, Valladolid, 92–104.
- Giannini, P. (2013), see Gentili (2013).
- Giannini, P. (2014), *Homerica et Pindarica*, Pisa/Roma.
- Hamilton, J.T. (2003), *Soliciting Darkness. Pindar, Obscurity, and the Classical Tradition*, Cambridge Mass./London.
- Instone, S.J. (1986), "Pythian 11: Did Pindar err?", in *Classical Quarterly* 36, 86–94.
- Isetti, G. (2012–2013), *La biografia e lo stile: due aspetti dell'immagine di Pindaro negli esegeti antichi*, Tesi di Dottorato, Genova.
- Jackson, S. (1999), "Callimachean Istrus and the Helieia on Rhodes", in *Eikasmos* 10, 119–124 ≈ *Istrus the Callimachean*, by S.J., Amsterdam 2000, 17–27.
- Janko, R. (ed.) (2011), *Philodemus. On Poems Books 3–4*, with the fragments of Aristotle *On po-* *ets*, Oxford.

- Kambylis, A. (1991), *Eustathios über Pindars Epinikiendichtung: ein Kapitel der klassischen Philologie in Byzanz*, Göttingen.
- Larmour, D.H.J. (2005), "Corinna's Poetic Metis and the Epinikian Tradition", in E. Green (ed.), *Women Poets in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Univ. of Oklahoma, 25–58.
- Lefkowitz, M.R. (1981), *The Lives of the Greek Poets*, London.
- Lefkowitz, M.R. (1985), "The Pindar Scholia", in *American Journal of Philology* 106, 269–282.
- Lehnus, L. (1973), "Una glossa pindarica in Corinna di Tanagra", in *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo Classe di Lettere, Scienze morali e storiche* 107, 393–422.
- Loscalzo, D. (2003), *La parola inestinguibile. Studi sull'epinicio pindarico*, Roma.
- Mainberger, S. (2003), *Die Kunst des Aufzählens. Elemente zu einer Poetik des Enumerativen*, Berlin/New York.
- Maslov, B. (2015), *Pindar and the Emergence of Literature*, Cambridge.
- Mazzotti, E. (2003), "Alcuni casi di critica letteraria negli scolii alle *Pitiche* di Pindaro", in *Apunti romani di filologia* 5, 71–91.
- Meijering, R. (1987), *Literary and Rhetorical Theories in Greek Scholia*, Groningen.
- Merro, G. (2015), "Ἰδῶς φησί. Singularità del mito pindarico nell'esegesi antica", in *Seminari romani di cultura greca* 4, 213–234.
- Misiano, S. (2005), "Theme constructions in Pindaro", in *Lirica e teatro in Grecia. Il testo e la sua ricezione*, a cura di S. Grandolini, Napoli, 99–112.
- Morrison, A.D. (2007), *The Narrator in Archaic Greek and Hellenistic Poetry*, Cambridge.
- Negri, M. (ed.) (2000), *Eustazio di Tessalonica. Introduzione al commentario a Pindaro*, Brescia.
- Neri, C. (2004), *La lirica greca. Temi e testi*, Roma.
- Nünlist, R. (1998), *Poetologische Bildersprache in der frühgriechischen Dichtung*, Stuttgart/Leipzig.
- Nünlist, R. (2009), *The Ancient Critic at Work*, Cambridge.
- Olson, S.D. (2014), *Eupolis frs. 326–497. Traduction and Commentary*, Heidelberg.
- Palumbo Stracca, B.M. (1993), "Corinna e il suo pubblico", in *Tradizione e innovazione nella cultura greca da Omero all'età ellenistica. Scritti in onore di B. Gentili*, II, a cura di R. Pretagostini, Roma, 403–412.
- Pavese, C. (1966), "XPHMATA, XPHMAT'ANHP ed il motivo della liberalità nella seconda Istmica di Pindaro", in *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 2, 103–112.
- Pavese, C.O. (1996), Αἰῶλοι e αἰθλα, in *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 14, 3–9.
- Poltera, O. (2008), *Simonides lyricus, Testimonia und Fragmente*. Einl., kritische Ausg., Übers. und Komm. [von] O. P., Basel.
- Porter, J.I. (2007), "Lasus of Hermione, Pindar and the riddle of S", *Classical Quarterly* N. S. 57, 1–21.
- Privitera, G.A. (1982), *Pindaro. Le Istmiche*, a cura di G.A. P., Milano.
- Privitera, G.A. (2018), *La Dike di Antigone*, Alessandria.
- Race, W.H. (1980), "Some Digressions and Returns in Greek Authors", in *Classical Journal* 76, 1–8.
- Race, W.H. (1997), *Pindar. I. Olympian Odes. Pythian Odes, II Nemean Odes. Isthmian Odes. Fragments*, Cambridge/London 1997.
- Shankman, S. (1994), *In Search of the Classic*, Pennsylv. Univ.
- Schmidt, M. (1854), *Didymi Chalcenteri Grammatici Alexandrini Fragmenta quae supersunt omnia*, coll. et disp. M. S., Leipzig.
- Scodel, R. (1996), "Self-correction, spontaneity and orality in Archaic Poetry", in I. Worthington (ed.), *Voice into Text*, Leiden/Boston/Köln, 59–79.

- Simpson, M. (1969), "The Chariot and the Bow as Metaphors for Poetry in Pindar's Odes", in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 100, 437–473.
- Wilson, P. (1980), "Pindar and His Reputation in Antiquity", in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* n. s. 26, 97–114.

Giuseppe Ucciardello

A lexicographical collection in two manuscripts of Cyrillus' *Lexicon* and a new *testimonium* on Pindar

Abstract: A collection of orthographic items and synonyms/homonyms has been anonymously transmitted by two important manuscripts of the 'Cyrillus' lexicon' (*Vall.* E 11 and *Laur.* pl. 59.49): discovered by Reitzenstein, it has been only partially edited. In the first part of the paper I give an overview of this collection and its sources; the second section is focused on a hitherto unpublished annotation quoting Pindar and Hippocrates on teeth and somewhat garbled. Diogenianus might well be the ultimate source of this item in view of some lexicographic parallels; on the other hand, however, the original context of Pindar and Hippocrates is regrettably no longer recoverable.

1 A survey of the collection

In the *Inedita poetarum Graecorum fragmenta*, a part of the *Index lectionum* of the University of Rostock (1890/91) Richard Reitzenstein edited selected *specimina* of a mixed collection of orthographic lexeis and synonyms/homonyms, for the most part anonymously transmitted by two important manuscripts of the 'Cyrillus' lexicon':¹

- (1) Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, E 11 (= V, ff. VI–280–IV, parchment, dating from the end of the 9th or the first decades of the 10th century): the lexeis are

A preliminary version of this paper was presented during the first FIRB meeting (hosted in Venice, May 2014). I am extremely grateful to M. Cannatà Fera, F. Pontani, L. Prauscello, R. Tosi for helpful feedbacks and comments. I have personally inspected V and L; digital reproductions of the items are also available at <<http://mss.bmlonline.it>> and <<http://www.internetculturale.it>>.

1 Reitzenstein 1890–1891, 3–9, 1892–93, 9–15 and in more detail 1897, 296–316. Preliminary news of this find was given in Reitzenstein 1888, 458; on the collection see also Schneider 1999, 31–71 (with Alpers 2004) and Corcella 2017a. On the lexicon traditionally attributed to St. Cyrillus see the general survey in Alpers 1991 and 2008; for a fresh re-assessment see now Corcella 2017b. Unfortunately we are still in need of a fully fledged edition: a first attempt to classify the manuscripts is in Drachmann 1936; subsequent studies on selected families are e.g. Naoumides 1979 and Lucà 1994 along with preliminary inquiries about unexplored witnesses (cf. Valente 2015 for the still unknown *Pragensis* X F 50 and Hajdù/Schreiner 2016).

jotted down as marginal scholia by the same hand responsible of the main text;²

- (2) Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, *pl.* 59.49 (= *L*, ff. IV–201–III, Arabic paper without watermarks, probably to be assigned to the 12th century):³ the entries from Ps.Cyrrillus' lexicon are transcribed alphabetically and fleshed out by several glosses derived from Ps.Ammonius' lexicon and the similar treatise on synonyms and homonyms (περὶ διαφορᾶς λέξεως)

2 Full description of this manuscript in Martini 1902, 97–98 and Pavlidou 2005, 95–97. The text of Ps.Cyrrillus' lexicon from *V* has been edited in Hagedorn 2005. I adhere to Prato's view as for the dating of *V* (Prato 1986, 228 = 1994, 10), but not for the origin of the script: the provenance of this item has not yet been settled on firm grounds. The hand has been classified as a minuscule of 'tipo Anastasio' (in a markedly angular variant) localized not without controversy in the Southern Italy (Prato, *ibid.*, D'Agostino 1997, 38–39) or in the East (Constantinople and surroundings according to Perria 1992, Re/Gamillscheg 2001, 7–9, Hutter 2009, and Gamillscheg 2014, 192–193). In our case, however, Perria 1992, 303, 314–315 (with *pl.* 23–4) maintained a Western origin on the basis of the lexicographical content ('una serie di opere lessicografiche la cui tradizione pare sicuramente italo-greca') and this stance has been generically supported by the presence of a handful of marginal additions at ff. 236v–240v in the 'as-de pique' style, commonly taken to be peculiar to Southern Italy. A recent review of the evidence about the history of *V* is in Ronconi 2012, 81–2 n. 79. Although I shall refrain from addressing here this issue in more detail (I shall return on this manuscript in Ucciardello, in press), I notice that this view seems to me ill-founded for several reasons: (i) an original arrangement of Ps.Cyrrillus' lexicon in Southern Italian milieu cannot be confirmed at the present state of the evidence (the *Bremensis c.11*, or the *Laur.* 57.39 belonging to the *Vatikan Rezension* in Drachmann's classification are to be traced back to Constantinople); (ii) leaving aside the fact that the so-called 'as-de pique' style was arguably widespread also elsewhere (Palestine, for instance) and cannot be taken as peculiar to a single area (see Lucà 1994, 69–71), the annotations in *V* are hardly to be classified as written in the 'as-de pique'; (iii) the main hand has been often regarded as belonging to the 'tipo Anastasio', but it can in fact be a minuscule of angular type akin to the so-called 'tipo Eustazio', given that the mapping out of the mss. of the 'tipo Anastasio' is currently uncertain; (iv) what is more, later additions in ff. 1rv (items culled from a shorter version of Ps.Zonaras' lexicon: see Naoumides 1974 and Ucciardello, in press) are in a hand in the 'beta-gamma style', of a conceivably Constantinopolitan origin (and likely to be assigned to a date between the 13th and the 14th centuries), which might reinforce the idea that the manuscript circulated in the East until the Palaeologan age. Further insights on the history of the ms. are provided by the Latin translation of the items at ff. 1r–6v (written in a cursive Humanistic script influenced by the so-called 'mercantesca', according to M. Cursi [private communication]).

3 Description in Bandini 1764–1770, 2.578–580; for the relationship of the text of the lexicon with other manuscripts see Drachmann 1936, 21–26 (with the complementary remarks by Latte ap. Drachmann 1936, 50). The manuscript has been commonly referred to the 13th century, but I suspect it may even be older and datable within the 12th century (for comparable hands see *Vat. gr.* 853, f. 501r reproduced in Cavallo 2000, 232 and *pl.* 21b and Athos, *Actes Docheiariou* 4 [subscribed in 1117] also in Cavallo 2000, *pl.* 11c).

traditionally ascribed to Ptolemy of Ascalon.⁴ They are copied as an additional section with a different layout (in one column) at the end of each letter (α – π, σ; conversely, ρ and τ-ω do not have these sections); again, they are labelled as λέξεις τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, a title reminiscent of the original synonymic core material.

In addition, Reitzenstein asserted that similar entries ought to be found in other Ps.Cyrillus' manuscripts textually belonging to the same family, namely the mss. Oxford, *Bodl. Auct.* T.II.11 (= **B**, 14/15th cent., collated and edited by Cramer),⁵ Venice, *Marc. gr.* X.23 (= **Ma**, first part of the 16th century)⁶ and Messina, *gr.* 167 (= **Me**, probably dating to the beginnings of the 12th century, and written by the Hieromonk Leontius as for the ff. 1–77 in the so-called 'Stile di Reggio').⁷

⁴ The material is found at ff. 34v–39r, 42v–43v, 55r–56v, 87r–89v, 95v–96r, 128rv, 135v, 150rv; 164rv. On this kind of lexica see the overview in Dickey 2007, 94–96; the material only partially overlaps items already published by Heylbut 1887, Palmieri 1981, 1981–1982, 1984, 1986, 1988 and Villani 2004.

⁵ *AP* IV 177–194 Cramer; updated description in Pavlidou 2005, 95–97. For the stemmatic relationship see Lucà 1994, 66–67. I collated the manuscript anew in August 2013 and 2014. According to Irigoien 1975, 441 (= 2003, 474) the manuscript was copied from the ms. *Vat. gr.* 1456 (in 'as-de-pique style' toward the end of the 10th century: see Lucà 2016, 267–268) conceivably between Messina and Reggio Calabria; the ff. containing the lexicon are now lost, but there should have been still in its own place until the 1585–1588 when the content of the ms. was described along with the items collected by the Card. Sirleto, as we know from the inventory written by John Santamaura (now in the *Vat. lat.* 6163, ff. 1r–219v: cfr. Lucà 2012, 160–161); thus, the *Bodl.* is a late copy of a valuable tenth-century witness of the lexicon of Ps.Cyrillus. Yet it is worth mentioning that another copy taken from the *Vat. gr.* 1456 is the ms. Athos, *Iviron* 92 (first half of the 16th century; the lexicon is at ff. 35r–152v: see Sôtêroudês 1998, 182 ff.), so far unexplored and yet to be fully collated (for the synonymic sections see Nickau 1966, xi–xii where it is labelled as **B**). If the Athos ms. is a copy of the *Vat. gr.* 1456 the mixture of the material in this *recensio* was made as early as the 10th century. Schneider 1999, 35 casts doubts on Reitzenstein's view, but it holds true that a pull of material directly or indirectly connected with our collection was merged into the version of the *Vat. gr.* 1456 (cfr. **B**, f. 179v = *AP* 4.184.9 Cramer ἱσοῦθης· ποταμὸς Θράκης· ὁ ἀναγραφεὺς [-φής ms.] Διογενιανός).

⁶ Mioni 1972, 55–56; collated *in situ* (May 2014). For a sample cfr. f. 335r Σαραπείον· τὸ τοῦ Σα<ρ>ά<π>ιδος ἱερόν and the item Σαραπεῖον εἴ· προπερισπωμένως, τὸ τεμενος τοῦ Σαράπιδος printed in Reitzenstein 1897, 315.

⁷ In Naoumides' view (Naoumides 1968, 267–268) **Me** displays a textual affinity to **B** and **Ma** as for the first half of the lexicon (up to μῆδεα in f. 77v), the latter part (ff. 78r–116v) being more related to the mss. Copenhagen, *GKS* 1968 (first half of the 12th cent.) and *Matrit. Compl.* 30 (olim Z–22, 10th cent. ex.: see Hernández Muñoz 2017), both of them copied between Sicily and Calabria (see Lucà 1994, 72). On the *Messanensis* the bibliography is collected in Rodríguez 2002, 262–263 and Lucà 2016, 256 n. 35. I checked the ms. in February 2015.

When and where was such a collection arranged? A crucial, albeit puzzling clue for disentangling the issue is provided by the first marginal annotation of **V** (edited in Reitzenstein 1890/91):

<V, f. 4v marg. sup.> ± 15]λέξεις οὐχ ὡς ἂν τις ὑπολάβοι ἔωλα καὶ ἐθελόσοφα | [καν]ονίσματα⁸ ἐμοῦ τοῦ γεγραφότος· ἄπαγε· ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς Διογενιανοῦ τε καὶ Ἡρωδιανοῦ, Ἀριστοφάνους τε καὶ Ὡραπόλλωνος, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ Τιμοθέου τοῦ Γαζέως πρὸς Ἀρκεσίλαον ὀρθογραφίας, | ταύτας ἐρανισάμενος, δεῖν ᾤκηθην ἐνθῆναι ἐν τῷδε τῷ πτυκτίῳ πρὸς εἰδῆσιν σαφεῖ τῶν ἐφιμεμένων τῆς ἀληθοῦς διδασκαλίας τε καὶ γνώσεως.

It may well be put in comparison with a couple of notations interspersed in **V**, running as follows:

<V, f. 33^v, marg. sin.> ἀνὴρ ὡς παρ' Ἀττικοῖς. οὐ παρὰ τὸ βαστάζειν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄρδιν τὴν θήλειαν ὡς φασὶ Διογενιανός τε καὶ Ἡρωδιανός, Ὡραπόλλων τε καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ Γαζεύς ὁ τούτου μαθητὴς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀρκεσίλαον περὶ ὀρθογραφίας συντάγματι.

Ὡραπόλλων corr. Reitzenstein: ὁ Ἀπόλλων **V**

<V, f. 203r, marg. inf.> στρατεία εἴ αὐτὴ ἡ ἀξία καὶ βαρυτόνως, ὥς φησι Τιμόθεος ὁ Γαζεύς γραμματικὸς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ στοιχεῖον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συγγραφεῖσιν διφθόγγοις, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὡραπόλλων ὁ τούτου διδάσκαλος [...] ὡς φασὶ Διογενιανός τε καὶ Ἡρωδιανός ἐν τῇ τρισκαideκάτῃ αὐτοῦ βίβλῳ τῇ Καθόλου καλουμένῃ. [...]

According to Reitzenstein the main sources used by the author of the compilation were for the most part (i) the grammarian Timotheus of Gaza, active under the Emperor Anastasius (491–518), author of a περὶ ὀρθογραφίας alphabetically arranged and dedicated to an otherwise unknown Arcesilaus;⁹ (ii) Diogenianus of Heraclea, a lexicographer of the second century;¹⁰ (iii) Horapollon from Phanebytis, active

⁸ I suggest this supplement as Reitzenstein's [φρ]ον[ίσ]ματα (accepted by Alpers 2004, 9 and Corcella 2017a, 415) seems to be slightly *brevius spatio* according to my inspection of the ms. For κανονίσματα as 'grammatical/orthographic' rules see *Et.Gud.* 291.57 Sturz.

⁹ See Kaster 1988, 368–370, Alpers 2004, 8–19, Valente 2014, §. 5; new perspectives on Timotheus are in Amato 2013–2104 (especially 80 ss.), and Corcella 2017a. An excellent overview of the modern research about this grammarian is Corcella 2016, 189–195. The Κανόνες καθολικοὶ περὶ συντάξεως (edited in *AP* IV 239–244, from the *Coisl.* 387) are a section of the main orthographic text, as well as the work allegedly quoted in schol. **V**, f. 203r, marg. inf. as ἐν τοῖς κατὰ στοιχεῖον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συγγραφεῖσιν διφθόγγοις (as already stated by Egenolff 1887, 34).

¹⁰ On Diogenianus see Matthaios 2015, 289. For new suggestions about the circulation of Diogenianus during the second century see Jazdzewska 2018. The only collection of the fragments of his important work (Παντοδαπὴ λέξις with its enlarged version named Περιεργοπένητες) is still the one arranged by Schmidt 1862, LXXXVI–XC, but a new edition is needed, given that new fragments have been published in more recent times (e.g. cf. Phot. α 1872. 2846 Theodoridis) and

both in Alexandria and in Constantinople under Theodosius II (408–450);¹¹ (iv) Herodianus, quoted for his *περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας* and *περὶ ὀρθογραφίας*;¹² (v) Aristophanes of Byzantium and his *περὶ ζώων*.¹³

This statement has been more recently re-assessed by Klaus Alpers: he recognized some Atticist glosses which might well derived from another source, conceivably identified with Orus' Atticist lexicon (*Ἀττικῶν λέξεων συναγωγή*); besides, he has argued that the author of the final stage of this collection did not gather all the *auctoritates* explicitly quoted in these two scholia, but made use of Timotheus' work alone, in which the other authors had already been merged and exploited.¹⁴

This assessment may in fact be correct, at least as far as the orthographical sections of the collection are concerned, but doubts on some points are not

others edited shortly after Schmidt (Haupt 1867, 5–6 on Diogenianus and the toponym *Δέλκος* quoted in some mss. of one version of the Byzantine *Notitiae Episcopatum*: see now Darrouzès 1981, 251) have been fully overlooked (the apparatus of Hesych. δ 598 Cunningham should be updated according to the edition of Darrouzès 1981). Diogenianus' lexicon – the main source of Hesychius and an epitome of Pamphilus' lexicon – was probably still in circulation up to the 12th century, provided that (i) the *Lexicon Ambrosianum* (on which see below) seems to be 'ein erweiterter Diogenianauszug' (Adler 1931, 693) and (ii) Eustathius and the author(s) of the *Etymologicum Magnum* (for the letters A–E) are likely to have made use of it directly. There are several glosses in Hesychius and *Etymologicum Magnum* which share a common source (cf. Reitzenstein 1893, 251 and Schoemann 1921; for Eustathius and Diogenianus see Erbse 1955, 133); conversely, Weber 1883, 595 argued for a direct usage of Hesychius by the compilers of the *Etymologicum Magnum*, but his arguments seem to me ill-founded. In any case, the issue needs to be investigated anew: the common view that Hesychius' *codex unicus* (Marc. gr. 622) was produced in Southern Italy is no longer tenable, as recently shown by Speranzi 2014. Thus, it is possible that its ancestor has been written and left in Constantinople, and some scholars have used it, as one can infer from some clues: (i) Hesychius is mentioned in a scholion to Paus. 1.1.3 made up by Arethas (καὶ οὕτω μὲν Ἡσύχιος; this bulk of annotations is printed in Spiro 1903, 3, 218–222: see Reitzenstein 1894 and Alpers 2005, XVII, n. 6); (ii) the author of the collection of glosses in the *Vat. gr.* 23 (written in a 'beta-gamma style': 13th/14th cent.) made use of a manuscript of Hesychius already interpolated from Ps.Cyrillus lexicon (see Alpers 2004, 37–38).

11 He is likely to be an ancestor of the omonymous grammarian teacher of Timotheus (and not his direct schoolmaster as maintained by Reitzenstein): see Matthaios 2015, 249 (with previous bibliography).

12 For Herodianus' *de orthographia* see Schneider 1999, 770–849 and Alpers 2004 and the updated survey in Dickey 2014, 337–338. Herodianus' main work on accentuation (*περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας*) is known to us in two epitomes attributed to Arcadius and John Philoponus (new editions of these texts are now provided by Xenis 2014 and Roussou 2018).

13 For this work and its garbled transmission see Hellmann 2015, 1248–1251. Also Timotheus wrote a zoological work handed down by excerpts: see Corcella 2016, 200–220.

14 Alpers 1981, 84–86 and 2004, 9–18; see also Corcella 2017a, 448–449.

entirely pared away. Firstly, the identity of Aristophanes is questionable: are we dealing with the comic poet or the Alexandrian grammarian?¹⁵ Again, are we entitled to assume that all the material conceivably derived from Diogenianus was already found in Timotheus? As a matter of fact, we cannot rule out a direct use of a copy of Diogenianus.

The issue is further complicated by the garbled word-order in the annotation at f. 4v ἐκ τῆς ... ὀρθογραφίας: it seems to imply that both Diogenianus and Aristophanes (whoever he was) wrote treatises on orthography. This is not true, and it is likely that the scribe of **V** derived such oddities from the *antigraphon* he was copying. Thus the sentence could mirror to a certain extent the heterogeneous content of a collection where orthographical glosses are mixed up with lexicographical items of other kind that showcase references to some grammarians: some authoritative names, for example Aristophanes, may have been quoted in the introductory item (at f. 4v in **V**) to reinforce the reliability of the doctrine.¹⁶ What can we argue then about the collection and its making on the basis of these three notes?

- 1) The final arrangement of the collection (identified in the first scholium with the words ἐν τῷδε τῷ πτυκτίῳ; henceforth **ω**) can be arguably dated to a chronological range encompassing Timotheus' age (about the middle of the 6th century)¹⁷ and the end of the 9th century (the *Vallic*. E 11 may provide a reasonable *terminus ante quem*).¹⁸
- 2) Although it is difficult to assess precisely where the arrangement took place, the usage of Timotheus and of Horapollon+Herodianus – directly or through Timotheus himself – might allow us to posit an arguable near Eastern origin of the arrangement (or of an early stage of it).¹⁹

¹⁵ Alpers plumped for the comic poet, who is in fact extensively quoted throughout the items, but the issue needs to be studied more in detail and the usage of the zoological work by Aristophanes of Byzantium cannot be completely dismissed: see also Corcella 2017a, 448–449 who notes however the absence of correspondence between the remains of Aristophanes' lexicographical outputs and the items in our collection.

¹⁶ See once more Corcella 2017a, 449 and n. 97.

¹⁷ Thus Reitzenstein 1890–1891, 3 (conversely Schneider 1999, 27 n. 58).

¹⁸ This point is rightly stressed by Alpers 1981, 85.

¹⁹ Beside Timotheus and Horapollon, other grammarians active in the near East during late Antiquity seem to have had a special taste for orthography: Sergius of Emesa is credited to be an epitomator of Herodianus' work on the declension of nouns (according to the *inscriptio* in ms. *Vindob. phil. gr.* 294, f. 9v) and John Charax, author of another work on orthography, might come from Charachmobon, i.e. el-Kerak, on the east side of the Dead Sea (see Mango 1991, 157–158 = 43–44). It is likely that also the palimpsest codex from Leipzig (*Lips. gr.* 2), carrying a work

- 3) **ω** did not include only orthographical lemmata (ultimately derived from Herodianus' treatises on orthography and prosody), but also a set of material taken – directly or through Timotheus and/or Orus – from Diogenianus.²⁰
- 4) All the marginal annotations in **V** were transcribed by the first hand as complementary *addenda* to the main text: they may well have been drawn from the same source (a manuscript containing Ps.Cyrillus lexicon and other lexica?) or from a different model available to the scribe. In any case, it is much more likely that they were erratically added rather than copied according to a preassigned and hierarchically organized space-distribution (there seems to be no trace of ruling-lines in the parchment's surface to accomodate the annotations on the margins).
- 5) what relationship can we posit between the scribe of **V** and the 'I' speaking in the first scholium (i.e. the author of the *πτυκτίον*)? The issue, now fully addressed by Corcella, might be summarised as follows:
 - i. The author of the arrangement *ἐν τῷδε τῷ πτυκτίῳ* is hardly to be identified with the scribe responsible for **V**,²¹ because in several instances **L** displays a more correct text than **V**, and carries orthographical lexeis lacking in **V** and of the same nature as the others. Both manuscripts should be traced back (directly or through intermediate copies) to a common ancestor (the *πτυκτίον* itself?): this item might even have contained more glosses than the ones copied in the extant manuscripts, as is the case of lexeis of the same kind sometimes found in other copies of the *Lexicon* (**BMaMe**, though *in textu*), and nonetheless absent in **VL**.
 - ii. Some scholia display orthographical views blatantly different from that of Herodianus; could they be traced back to Timotheus alone? Or are we entitled to suppose the usage of at least another treatise on orthography

attributed by Alpers 2004, 42–50 to Orus' commentary on Herodianus' orthography, shares the same origin (see now also Primavesi/Alpers 2006).

20 See for instance [**L**, f. 91r = **V**, f. 97v marg. sup. usque ad ὁ μύ- exscissus] ζώντειον· δίφθογγον, προπαροξύτονον, ὁ μύλων, ὅπου αἱ ζεῖαι ἐκόπτοντο· οἷον ζεόντειον (ζεώντιον **V**). οἱ δὲ τόπου ὄνομα, ὅπου ἐκολάζοντο οἱ δοῦλοι, ὡς φησι Ἀριστοφάνης Βαβυλωνίοις (fr. 95 K.–A., ed. in Reitzenstein 1892–1893, 11 n. 27), where the first section (ultimately from Herodianus: see Theogn. *Orth.* 128.12 Cramer; for Theognostus see Antonopoulou 2010 and now Roussou 2017) is joined with material related to Athens which in turn may derive from Diogenianus (by comparison with Hesych. ζ 240 Latte) through Orus, and/or from a rhetorical lexicon (cf. *Lex.Rhet.* 261.13–14 Bekker). According to Alpers (*ap. Kassel-Austin, ad loc.*) the material might ultimately originate from Didymus' *Lexeis Komikai* (see now also Ort 2017, 531–532).

21 *Contra* Reitzenstein 1897, 296–297.

next to Timotheus, e.g. the one by Orus or the *τεμενικά* by Horapollon II?²² If this were the case, it is more conceivable that such usage of a different source went back to the author of the collection (i.e. the *πτυκτίον*) than to the scribe of **V**, given that items on *τεμενικά* are also found in **L**.²³

- 6) The collection has suffered several later arrangements, which might have modified the original setting:
 - i. It has been passed on to **V** in form of marginal annotations.
 - ii. It has been added to a synonymic lexicon and then jotted down as an appendix of the *Lexicon Cyrilli* in **L**: the *inscriptio* λέξεις τοῦ Πτολεμαίου allows us to suppose that the model of **L** might have consisted of a synonymic treatise, subsequently interpolated from **ω** in the final stage of the process.

It is worth noting that every letter of the *Lexicon Cyrilli* in **L** starts on a new leaf; again, some blank ff. are to be found amidst the λέξεις τοῦ Πτολεμαίου and the beginning of new letters of Ps.Cyrillus. On the assumption that such inconsistencies did not occur in the direct model, one is tempted to argue that these lexeis are to be regarded as additional material gathered from another source and copied in an unpredictable way, i.e. without previous knowledge of the exact space necessary for the new texts to be conveniently allocated. Further exploration on this issue is overdue: at the present stage of the research, however, one cannot rule out the possibility that the arrangement in **L** was due to the copyist himself, even though I do not feel so confident that the idea of an intermediate copy (= **α**) can be absolutely pushed away.

- iii. It has been merged onto various versions of the *Lexicon Cyrilli* testified by at least three manuscripts (**BMaMe**). According to Reitzenstein, however, similar material can be retrieved in other orthographical works such the Ἀντιστοιχάριον τῶν κ' τεττάρων στοιχείων, transmitted to us by

²² See Corcella 2017a, 435–437 with examples. He also clearly highlights that in this case we could even explain why Timotheus should have quoted his teacher Horapollon (as the sequence of *auctoritates* in schol. f. 33v and 203v seems to imply), whilst on the other hand we find items from the *temenikā*, which seem to be written by the later namesake (see also Reitzenstein 1897, 312–316 for a first edition of this kind of items).

²³ Corcella 2017a, 420 takes the position of some items in **V**, f. 2r marg. inf. (ἀγάκλειτος, Ἀγαθώνειος), i.e. before the proemial statement at f. 4v, as positive evidence towards the idea of an independent use of other sources by the scribe of **V**. While it is not unlikely that the scribe added erratically new material to the text he was copying, such as the items in f. 2r may be, I find it less economical to surmise a massive usage of more sources on the same topic, regardless of the fact that the placing of the proemial scholium at f. 4v may be nothing else but a trivial misplacement.

the ms. *Crypt.* Z.α.III (gr. 57, assigned to the first decades of the 11th century) and partly by the *Mon. gr.* 310 (10th century);²⁴ it can be also found in the orthographical work by Nicetas of Heraclea,²⁵ and in the lexicon transmitted by the mss. *Laur.* 59.16 + *Ambros.* B 12 sup., as well as in the rules preserved in the ms. *Vindob. phil. gr.* 321.²⁶

Several items of this collection had been already transcribed and discussed by Reitzenstein in the *Index lectionum* of the 1890/91 and later in his still invaluable book on the Byzantine *Etymologica*;²⁷ more recently, a large pool of this material has been edited by Klaus Alpers and Jean Schneider.²⁸

Nonetheless, there is still room for future work on this material: a firm assessment on the collection will only be reached after a full review of the manuscript evidence; apart from the main manuscripts (**V** and **L**) and the lexeis preserved in **B** (collated by Cramer, albeit not always flawless) we need a systematic exploration of **Me** (partially checked by Reitzenstein) and of **Ma**.²⁹ In addition, other items in **V** and **L** (both of orthographical and synonymic content) have escaped scholarly attention thus far.

²⁴ For the manuscripts see Lucà 2003, 196 and Ronconi 2008, 150–172; 180–183 (on the *Crypt.* and the *Mon. gr.* 310 respectively). For the text cf. also Theodoridis 1976, 53–60. The statement of Reitzenstein (accepted by Egenolf 1888, 34) can be confirmed because some items culled from the τεμηνικά-section may be found here: cf. e.g. Βαρνεῖον· τόπος παρ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν. τὸ νεῖ· διφθογγος (*Crypt.* f. 23r, missing in the *Mon.*) as in **V**, f. 41r (marg. inf.) = **L**, f. 43r (with the spelling Βαρζεῖον, on which I shall return in my forthcoming edition of the collection).

²⁵ On this work see Antonopoulou 2003 (with previous bibliography).

²⁶ The first two mss. contain the so-called *Lexicon Ambrosianum* (the name derives from the main witness, the *Ambros.* B 12 sup. which should be dated within the 12th cent.; on this lexicon see Adler 1931, 693–695, Schneider 1999, 559–572 with Alpers 2004, 39–40); for the orthographic work in the *Vindob.* see Schneider 1999, 581–598. As the version of the *Lexicon Ambrosianum* in *Laur.* 59.16 + *Ambros.* B 12 sup is 'ein erweiterter Diogenianauszug' (see n. 10), one cannot rule out that the similarities involve items taken directly from Diogenianus. At any rate, any judgement on this issue should be suspended, as a reliable collation of these mss is still lacking, to confirm or dismiss Reitzenstein's view. I note also that orthographic items already in our *collectio* are still present in several works: e.g. the gloss on ζώντειον referred to above (n. 20) can be tracked down until the orthographical compilation by Constantinos Arabites (15th century?), now fully edited in Nousia 2016, 161–209; however this does not prove that Arabites took it directly from our collection. A reasonable caution on this point is now advocated by Corcella 2017a, 416 n. 11.

²⁷ Reitzenstein 1890–1891, 4–5, 1892–1893, 7–8 and 1897, 296–298; 313–315.

²⁸ Alpers 1981, 84 and Schneider 1999, 38–40 (to be consulted with the complementary remarks by Alpers 2004).

²⁹ *Specimina* from this codex in Schmidt 1858–1862, IV, 344–451 and Drachmann 1936, 60–139.

2 An unexplored glossa quoting Pindar and Hippocrates

The aim of the second section of this paper is to briefly discuss a hitherto (to the best of my knowledge) unpublished annotation singled out from this large body of lexeis:³⁰ it contains a reference to Pindar and Hippocrates, which does not seem to be devoid of interest. The text runs as follows (pl. **1ab**):

<V f. 149r marg. inf. = L f. 147r> μύλαι κυκλήσκονται αἱ ἐν ταῖς σιαγόνσιν ἔνδον κείμεναι διὰ τὸ δίκην μύλου ἀληθούσας λεπτύνειν πᾶν τὸ προστυχόν· οἱ δὲ πρὸ τῶν χειλέων ὀδόντες ὡς προθραύοντες τὰ τῷ·σ· στόματι ἐνιέμενα καὶ παρὰ τὸν οὐδὸν ἰδρυθέντες ὡς φασὶ Πίνδαρός τε καὶ Ἱπποκράτης.

1 ἐν ταῖς σιαγόνσιν V: †εντειαιστ̄ σιαγ(ό)νων L corruptum ut videtur: ἐν ἑκατέραις e.g. || 2 ἀληθούσας LV fort. corrigendum in ἀληθούσης || 3 οἱ δὲ - ὡς προθραύοντες; textum fortasse lacunosum aut incertum in hoc loco codd. praebent | προθαύοντες L | τὸ στόματι V || 3 post ἐνιέμενα καὶ fort. <οἱ ὀδόντες κυκλήσκονται ὡς vel sim. supplendum est

‘molars’ are called the teeth lying inside the mandibles, because they crush everything that meets them just like a grinding millstone does. Those in front of the lips are called ‘teeth’, because they are the first to shatter what is thrown in the mouth and are located near to the threshold (sc. of the mouth), as Pindar and Hippocrates say.

The annotation gives us an etymological interpretation of some varieties of teeth (molars and cutters: one can reasonably wonder whether the original version encompassed also the canines).

Let us analyse the item more closely:

- (1) The text in the mss. seems to be corrupt and possibly abridged:
 - i. we have the masculine μύλος linked with the participle ἀληθούσας (to be corrected in ἀληθούσης?), arguably to be taken as feminine through an interference with the more common ἡ μύλη;
 - ii. the item puts in connection one variety of teeth (the grinders) with the incisors, here generally called ‘teeth’ and not by their proper name, well attested in other sources. One is tempted to add something as e.g. τομεῖς κυκλήσκονται ἀπὸ τοῦ τέμνω after οἱ δὲ πρὸ τῶν χειλέων ὀδόντες in order to have two parallel sentences, in which the proper names of the teeth (molars and incisors) and their function (ὡς προθραύοντες τὰ τῷ·σ·

³⁰ Schneider 1999 takes into account only the orthographic material found in V.

στόματι ἐνιέμενα) are clearly shown off.³¹ However, the whole passage is puzzling, because what follows (καὶ παρὰ τὸν οὐδὸν ἰδρυθέντες) looks like an etymological explanation of the all-inclusive noun ὀδόντες.³² Unless the item suffered a harsher abridgement, it seems easier to posit that the entry quoted the incisors, overtly here at stake, by mentioning their function, by calling them barely 'teeth' and by stressing the etymology of this generic name. Even so, however, there seems to be a difference between the meaning of the first participle (with final value: the teeth are located in front of the lips *in order to* shatter) and that of the following one, a causal participle which explains the etymology. It could imply that something like *e.g.* κικλήσκονται ὡς or οἱ ὀδόντες κικλήσκονται ὡς (they are named 'teeth' as...) may have been dropped out from the original source in order to justify this last section, which is in fact a sort of para-etymology (ὀδούς < *οὐδός/ὀδός with the common usage of παρὰ, usually alongside with τό, in the meaning of 'from/derive from' which is very common in lexicography).³³

- iii. the passage falls short of a mention of the canines (cut away during the textual transmission?).
- (2) some elements of the language are reminiscent of *koiné*/non-Attic usage: μύλος as millstone or grinder is attested not earlier than the Hellenistic age; ἀλήθω (already in Hipp. *Vict.* 1.20.3 [6.494.5 Littré]) was banned by severe Atticist lexicographers and re-evaluated by those who shared a more tempered view on style and language.³⁴

What about Pindar and Hippocrates? As for Hippocrates, we have argued that he may be evoked because of the suggested para-etymology culled from any given

31 προθαύοντες seems to be a *hapax*; other compounds are διαθαύω in Plat. *Soph.* 246c1 κατὰ μικρὰ διαθαύοντες, παραθαύω in Anon. *Diss. log.* 1.12 D.-K. καὶ παραθαύεσθαι τῷ μὲν ναυκλήρῳ κακόν, Demad. fr. 116.3 De Falco τὴν εἰρήνην ψηφίσματι πολέμου παραθαύουσιν and later on in Christian and Byzantine texts.

32 παρὰ τὸν οὐδὸν evokes a Homeric-epic cluster (cf. Hom. *Il.* 9.404 etc.), but the Ionic form οὐδός is attested also in Hipp. *Mochl.* 38.32 (4.384.16 Littré) τῶν ποδῶν πρὸς οὐδὸν and *Art.* 78.23 (4.314.4 Littré) τὸ μὲν παρὰ τὸν οὐδὸν ἐρείδεται. It is less probable that we are dealing with the high-*koiné* form οὐδόν (employed by second-century authors as Luc. *Dom.* 18.8; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 271C) matching the use of another *koiné*-form as ἀληθούσης.

33 Cf. *EM* 1.54–55 Gaisford Ἄβαλ· ἐπίρρημα. Παρὰ τὸ βάλλω, κατὰ ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ λ καὶ τοῦ ω, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἐπιτατικοῦ ἄλφα. Note that in Meletius (and also in Leo Medicus) we have an etymology of 'teeth' from 'to eat' (see below): on this use of παρὰ see also Dickey 2007, 117.

34 See Phryn. α 121 Fischer Ἀλεῖν ἐρεῖς, οὐκ ἀλήθειν· καὶ ἤλει, οὐκ ἤληθεν· ἀλοῦσα and compare Antiatt. α 78 Valente Ἀλήθειν· οὐκ ἀλεῖν; for other passages cf. Stephanus 1831–1865, s.v. ἀλήθω.

‘Hippocratic’ work. But are we entitled to assume that Pindar too is quoted for what is specifically said immediately before or for something else within the whole lemma?

The association between Pindar and Hippocrates is not unparalleled elsewhere. Both of them are quoted in at least two other passages well rooted in the medical exegetical tradition. Let us have a glance at them:

(1) Erotian. *Vocum Hippocraticarum Collectio* α 70, pp. 20.18–21 - 21.1–5 Nachmanson αἰών· ὁ νωτιαῖος μυελός· φησὶ γάρ (sc. Hippocrates) ‘ἐσφακελίσθη τὸν αἰῶνα’· κὰν τῷ Περὶ βελῶν καὶ τραυμάτων φησὶ· ‘τὸν αἰῶνα νοσήσας τις ἐβδομαῖος ἀπέθανεν’.³⁵ Καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν Ὑπορχήμασι λέγων· (fr. 111 Sn.-M.) ἐνέπισε κεκραμένα ἐν αἵματι πολλὰ δ’ ἔλκαε πλευρὰς ἔμβαλλεν ὦμον τραχὺ ρόπαλον τέλος δ’ αἰείρας πρὸς στιβαρὰς ἐπάραξε πλευρὰς, αἰὼν δὲ δι’ ὁστέων ἐρραίσθη.³⁶

(2) Melet. *de natura hominis* (AO 3.89.28 Cramer; unde Leo Med. *de nat. hom.* syn. 57, p. 44.16–18 Renehan [X 4 CMG] = Philox. fr. 106.19–21 Theodoridis)³⁷ θώραξ οὖν ὁ δεκτικὸς τῆς τροφῆς τόπος· τὸν γὰρ οἴνων ἐμπιπλάμενον θωρίζασθαι λέγομεν· καὶ Ἱπποκράτης· λιμὸν θώρηξιν λύει (Aphor. 21 [4.476.5 Littré]) τὴν πολυποσίαν λέγων· ὥς καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ Πίνδαρος διθυράμβῳ (fr. 72 Sn.-M. = Lavecchia)· ἀλόγῳ ποτὲ θοριχθεὶς ἐπέχεν ἀλλότρια.

35 The first quotation was credited to be from the lost part of the *Mochlicon* by Nachmanson 1917, *ibid.*, but see Grensemann 1964 and 1968 who argued that the lemma is likely to derive from the *Mochlicon*, but the citation may be slightly corrupted from *De fract.* 11.19 (3.454.9 Littré). As for the second, it is probably culled from *Epid.* 7.122 (5.468.1 Littré = 117.13–14 Jouanna), a book not otherwise quoted by Erotianus (on the issue see now Roselli 2004, 280–281 and Anastassiou-Irmer 2006 and 2012, 403). If this is the case, the alteration of the *difficilior* φθινήσας in νοσήσας already in Erotianus (or in his source?) must predate Diogenianus-Hesychius. For Erotianus, active during Neron’s age and his sources, cf. Manetti 2014, 241–247 and 2015, 1145–1150.

36 I have checked the text in the *Vat. gr.* 277, f. 3v. On this fragment, partially overlapping with POxy. 26.2447, fr. 1 (published after Nachmanson’s edition), see Zuntz 1967 and Cannatà 2011. For Erotianus’ lemmata cf. also Nachmanson 1917, 356. 526. 543.

37 For Meletius’ dating to around the 9th century see Holman 2008, 81–82 even if Renehan 1984 did not cautiously rule out a larger period spanning from the mid-7th century up to the late 12th or 13th centuries. Meletius’ resemblance with other Byzantine *Etymologica* can be explained by the fact that he made use of Soranus’ περὶ ἐτυμολογιῶν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου probably through Orion’s *Etymologicum* and not vice versa (as stated by Winter 1893). In Theodoridis’ view, the ultimate source of the doctrine may well be Philoxenus (see Theodoridis 1976, 69–70; the passage is in fact fr. 106.19–21 in Theodoridis’ edition). As for Soranus, the collection of fragments in Daremberg/Ruelle is to be complemented with Voigt 1882 and Scheele 1884 (and see *infra*). *En passant*, I remark how schol. Nic. *Alex.* 32d2 (42.1 Geymonat) may in fact derive from Meletius (or from a common source).

More interestingly, the passage from Erotianus can be paralleled by a lemma in Hesychius which runs as follows:³⁸

Hesych. (ex Diogen.) α 2216 Cunningham αἰών· ὁ βίος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁ τῆς ζωῆς χρόνος ἄνερ, ἀπ' αἰῶνος νέος ὤλεο (Hom. Ω 725). Τινὲς δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων τὸν νωτιαῖον «μυελόν» ἀπέδωκαν, ὡς Ἱπποκράτης· τὸν αἰῶνά τις νοσήσας ἐβδομαῖος ἀπέθανε. Ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μακροῦ χρόνου νοεῖται. Καὶ ὁ ἐν παντὶ τῷ σώματι μυελός, Εὐριπίδης δὲ Φιλοκτήτῃ (fr. 801 Kannicht = 12 Müller) αἰῶνα τὴν ψυχὴν λέγει· ἀπέπνευσεν αἰῶνα.

Cf. Σ^a α 209 Cunningham; Phot. α 677 (ex Diog. et Σ) Theodoridis, Suid. α 255 Adler, *EGen*. α 263 Lasserre-Livadaras = *Epid*. 7.122 Ὁ τὸν αἰῶνα φθινήσας ἐβδομαῖος ἀπέθανεν (5.468.1 Littré = 117.13–14 Jouanna).

νέος ὤλεο corr. Mus. probante Alberti (ὤλεω Scaliger, ὄλεο Schrevel): λιος ὤλεο H || νεωτέρων corr. Mus.: τὸν νεότερον H | νωτιαῖον corr. Mus.: νοτιαῖον H | μυελόν add. Mus || Ἱπποκράτης: -τους prop. Alberti || καὶ ὁ corr. Mus.: καὶ ὁ H || μυελός corr. Mus.: μελός H || Φιλοκτήτῃ corr. Musurus: Φιλοκτίτῃ H || λέγει corr. Mus.: λέγε H || ἀπέπνευσεν H, probante Mus.: ἀπέσκευσεν Schrevel, Georg d'Arnaud corr. in ἀπέπνευσεν, sed ἀπεσκόλευσεν non secludendum, ἀπεσκεύασεν d'Abresch (ap. Alberti 1746, col. 180).

Hesychius' lemma, after the *interpretamenta*, conflated two sections: (i) a strictly technical lemma on αἰών overlapping with the medical tradition merged in Erotianus,³⁹ and (ii) an idiosyncratic use of the noun in poetry: if there Pindar was quoted, here the example is taken from Euripides. Therefore, it seems reasonable to surmise that *both* poetical quotations in Hesychius/Diogenianus and Erotianus derive from a common source (Didymus?), in which a set of occurrences of αἰών taken from poets was provided.⁴⁰

All considered, one is tempted to suggest that the mentions of Pindar and Hippocrates in **VL** were equipped with quotations dropped out because of the abrupt abridgment suffered by the entry. Pindar may well have been quoted for a (lost) passage where he was referring to the teeth in general (or less likely to a

³⁸ The passage is quoted according to Cunningham's revised edition of Latte (Cunningham 2017), but it has been checked against Hesychius' *codex unicus* (Marc. gr. 622, f. 21r, here **H**, as in Latte and Cunningham). The editor princeps M. Musurus (Venice 1514) is abbreviated as 'Mus'.

³⁹ The issue of the attribution of the quotation is discussed by Anastassiou/Irmer 2006, 480 nn. 1.2 (and see also 477 n. 4–5; a collection of these loci is in Anastassiou/Irmer 2012, 222–223).

⁴⁰ The view is reinforced by the presence of the same Hippocratic quotation (corrupted) in a branch of Ps.Cyrillus' lexicon (the so-called *familia quarta* according to Drachmann 1936, 13; among them I checked the *Vall*. E 37, f. 5bisr completed in 1317 by Πέτρος Τουσκάνος in Southern Italy: see *RGK* III/557 and Orsini 2016) harshly interpolated by Diogenianus (thus Latte 1953, L; see also Hansen 2008, XXXI n. 3).

particular variety of them); Hippocrates could have mentioned – or was supposed to be referring to – the para-etymology.

2.1 Some parallels in lexicography

The doctrine and the quotations are unparalleled so far. A set of similar, although not identical, passages is to be found elsewhere, both in lexicography (i–ii) and in medical literature of the Roman and Byzantine age (iii–iv);⁴¹ I quote in full the most relevant:

- (i) Poll. 2.91–4 Bethe (= Ruf. Eph. 116 Daremberg-Ruelle)⁴² οἱ δὲ ὀδόντες ταῖς γένυσιν ἔμπεφύκασιν δύο καὶ τριάκοντα, ἑκακίδεκα ἑκατέρωρ σιαγόνι ἐγγεγομφωμένοι. ὧν οἱ μὲν μέσοι τέτταρες καλοῦνται **τομεῖς** καὶ γελασίνοι καὶ διχαστήρες καὶ κτένες, τὸ μὲν ὅτι τέμνουσι τὴν τροφήν, τὸ δ' ὅτι γυμνοῦνται γελῶντων, τὸ δ' ὅτι τὸ προσπεσὸν διαιροῦσι, τὸ δ' ὅτι κτείνουσιν ὃ ἂν λάβωσιν· οἱ δ' ἑκατέρωθεν ἐν ἑκατέρῃ τῇ σιαγόνι δύο **κυνόδοντες** διὰ τὴν ὀξύτητα, ὡς τοῖς τῶν κυνῶν προσεικότες. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν μιᾶς ρίζης ἔκπεφύκασιν, παράκεινται δὲ τούτοις ἐξηρητημένοι δύο ῥιζῶν οἱ γόμφιοι, πέντε ἑκατέρωθεν, ὧν τὸ προὔχον μῦλαι διὰ τὸ λεαίνειν ἴσως τὴν τροφήν ὡς ἡ σιτουργὸς μύλη [...] ||
- (ii) Orion, *Etym.* 100.26–27 Sturz Μύλαι· τῶν ὀδόντων λέγονται, διὰ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῶν λεαίνεσθαι, ἥτοι τρίβεσθαι τὴν τροφήν (from Soranus, *Etymologies*?) || Suid. μ 1406 Adler μύλαι· οἱ ἔνδον ὀδόντες οἷς λεπτύνειν εἰώθασι ἄνθρωποι τὴν τροφήν || Moschop. *Scholia* Hes. *Op.* 529.4–5 Grandolini μύλαι γὰρ αἱ ἀλήθουςαι τὴν τροφήν ὀδόντες, ἀφ' ὧν πάντας λέγει τοὺς ὀδόντας καὶ τὰς σιαγόνας.
- (iii) Gal. *In Hippocratis librum de articulis et Galeni in eum commentarii* II (= 18a.429.16–18 – 430.1–3 Kühn) διὸ κἂν ἐν τῷ συνάγειν τὸ στόμα τούτων χρῆζομεν, ὡς ἂν κάπειδαν ἐνδάκνοντές τι τοῖς προσθίοις ὀδοῦσιν ἀποθραύουσιν, ἣν βουληθῶμεν ἀποθλάσαι τι διὰ τῶν κυνοδόντων ὀνομαζομένων. ὅταν δὲ ταῖς μύλαις ἐπιβάλλοντες τὰ σιτία καταθραύειν τε καὶ λεαίνειν αὐτὰ προελώμεθα, μάσησις μὲν καλεῖται τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔργον [...] || Gal. *De ossibus ad tirones* (2.753–754 Kühn = 58.16–59.14 Garofalo; partim in Orib. *coll.* 35.6

⁴¹ The teeth names in the Greek and Latin sources are conveniently collected in Cootjans/Gourevitch 1983.

⁴² Rufus of Ephesus is one of the main sources of Pollux (book 2) see Haupt 1869, Zarncke 1884; on Rufus and his work *status quaestionis* in Sideras 1994, 1122–1135 and Sideras 2011; a selected case-study on Poll. 2.93 and Rufus is discussed in Conti Bizzarro 2013, 12–13.

[Raeder 54.20–28]: καλοῦνται δὲ οὐχ οὕτως μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μύλαι θηλυκῶς, ἐκ μεταφορᾶς, οἶμαι, τοῦνομα λαβόντες, ὅτι τρίβομεν [ἐν secl. Garofalo] αὐτοῖς καὶ λειοῦμεν τὰ σιτία, καθάπερ ταῖς μύλαις τοὺς δημητριακοὺς καρπούς. Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κυνόδοντες, ὁμοιότατοι τοῖς τῶν κυνῶν ὑπάρχοντες, ἀπ' ἐκείνων ὠνομάσθησαν. Οἱ δὲ τομεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ τέμνειν αὐτοὺς, ὥσπερ σμίλη, ὅσα δύναται τέμνεσθαι σιτία. δύναται δὲ δηλονότι τὰ μαλακά, πρὸς ἃ δὴ γεγόνασιν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως, ὥσπερ καὶ πρὸς τὰ σκληρὰ τοὺς κυνόδοντας ἐποίησεν, οὐ τέμνειν, ἀλλὰ θλᾶν ἱκανοὺς. Ἐγγεγόμεφονται δ' ἅπαντες ἐν τοῖς τῶν φατνίων βοθρίοις. Φάτνια μὲν γὰρ αὐτὰ τὰ περιέχοντα αὐτοὺς ὅσῃ, βόθρια δὲ αἱ κοιλότητες, ἐν αἷς ἐμπεπήγασιν, ὀνομάζονται. *Alia similia leguntur ap. Gal. Comm. Epid. 6.1.3* (17a.822 Kühn = 18.21–25 Wenkelbach; *Orib. 25.6–9* (54.28–55.34 Raeder)).

- (iv) Melet. *de natura hominis* (AO 3.81.30 Cramer = Leo Med. 50 [40.17–26 Renehan]) Ὀδόντες εἰσὶν οἱ διαιροῦντες τὴν τροφήν, καὶ κατεργαζόμενοι αὐτήν, συνεργοῦντες καὶ τῇ διαρθρώσει τῆς φωνῆς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τέμνουσι τὰ σιτία· οἱ δὲ λεαίνουσι· οἱ καὶ μύλαι λεγόμενοι, ἢ μυλῖται· ἐκ τοῦ ἔδω τὸ ἐσθίω οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενοι· τριακονταδύο δὲ εἰσι τὸν ἀριθμόν· ἕξ καὶ δέκα καθ' ἑκατέραν γένυν ὄντων· τέσσαρες μὲν ἔμπροσθεν, οἱ τομεῖς λεγόμενοι, μονόρριζοι πάντες· ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ αὐτῶν δύο, οἱ κυνόδοντες· μονόρριζοι καὶ οὗτοι· εἴτα οἱ γόμφιοι· τούτων ἐξῆς ἀνὰ πέντε· τρίρριζοι μὲν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἄνω γενύῃ· δυοῖν δὲ ῥιζῶν οἱ ἐν τῇ κάτω· εὐρηνται δὲ καὶ τετράρριζοι· γόμφιοι δὲ λέγονται διὰ τὴν κάμψιν· ἐπικεκαμμένοι γὰρ εἰσὶν αἱ συνέχουσιν αὐτοὺς σιαγόνες.⁴³

Echoes of doctrine of similar kind are found elsewhere.⁴⁴ But most importantly, we do not have mention of Pindar and/or Hippocrates in Galen or in Pollux.

⁴³ I quote from Cramer's edition, but there are more mss. of this work: cf. Helmreich 1918 and Canart 1974, 561.

⁴⁴ Another more intriguing suggestion can be reasonably offered by Artemidorus' *Oneirocritica* (1.31 οἶκον μὲν γὰρ ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ τὸ στόμα, τοὺς δὲ ὀδόντας τοὺς κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ἀνθρώπους. [...] οἱ τομεῖς λεγόμενοι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οἱ ἐμπρόσθιοι ὀδόντες), where I suspect the author relied on a lexicographical or medical source. There are other passages in the *Oneirocritica* where a lexicographical source can be lurking behind, especially when the author quotes the *syntheia*, as in e.g. 1.6.13; 2.45.2: see Kasprzyk 2010 for a survey on the quotations in the *Oneirocritica*; unconvincingly Harris-McCoy 2012 argued that Artemidorus would have used the expression ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ only for introducing proverbial sayings.

2.2 Pindar and the teeth

We are left with this new mention of Pindar. What should we do with it? No extant passage of the epinicians may be accounted for a para-etymology which might give reason of our sentence. If we move to Pindar's fragments, a hypothetical scenario within a descriptive section could be the jawbones of Diomedes' mares (see fr. 169a.24–25 Sn.-M.),⁴⁵ but also the painstaking description of Heracles' grisly banquet of oxen near Coronae (fr. 168b Sn.-M.) deserves appropriate mention.⁴⁶

Nor could we rule out the possibility that Pindar used different words rather than the terminology preserved in our item: poets can well use γομφίος, unattested in lyric so far, for the Attic σιαγών; and γομφίος is interestingly recorded in a passage from an unknown play by Epicharmus, in which Heracles' gluttony is mocked (fr. 21.2–4 K.–A. βρέμει μὲν ὁ φάρυγξ ἔνδοθ', ἀραβεῖ δ' ἄ γνάθος / ψοφεῖ δ' ὁ γομφίος, τέτριγε δ' ὁ κυνόδων, / σίζει δὲ ταῖς ῥίνεσσι, κινεῖ δ' οὐατα).⁴⁷ An association akin to the one found here is in a line by the poet Pancrates (600.3 SH) quoted in Athen. 7.321f. οὐνεκα γαστέρι φῦκος ἀεὶ ἀλέουσιν ὁδοῦσιν.

3 Some (provisional) conclusions: is Diogenianus the ultimate source?

By way of conclusion: despite the resemblance of our gloss to similar entries in lexica on synonyms/homonyms, it stands to reason that its occurrence in **VL** directly traces it back to one of the main sources of the collection **ω**. If we are to speculate on it by taking stock of the collected evidence, Diogenianus (subsequently reworked) and not Timotheus, on the basis of the passage of Hesychius (α 2166 Cunn.) discussed above, stands out as the most attractive and likeliest solution.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ On the fragment see Ferrari 1991, 405 ff. and Gigante 1993, 331–332.

⁴⁶ Furthermore, the jawbones are involved also in fr. 177g Sn.-M. (ἀντιγνα παρθένου' ἐξ ἀγριῶν γνάθων), yet from another song of uncertain genre, but the context (about the Sphynx?) is not appropriate: see Turyn 1952 *ad loc.* and Pardini 1999.

⁴⁷ On Heracles' gluttony in the comedy see bibliography in Pellegrino 2015, 44–45.

⁴⁸ Passages from the Hippocratic corpus likely quoted in Diogenianus (and now in the current version of Hesychius) are listed by Anastassiou/Irmer 2006, 477–478. As for Pindar, leaving aside the entries which quote *verbatim* the Theban poet (see e.g. δ 1928a Cunningham, κ 1332 Latte) there are some corrupted lemmata in Hesychius which might also be derived from Pindar: see Dettori 1984–1985. There is another entry (attested only in **L**, f. 123r) in our collection of

As far as the new mentions of Hippocrates and Pindar are concerned, the precise context is no longer recoverable. Hippocrates' mentions in lexicography that are absent or not unanimously identified in the extant medical corpus under his name are not unusual; and the same might have happened for Pindar.⁴⁹ However, one should not rule out that a future look at the currently unexplored material lurking in medical and lexicographical (*lato sensu*) texts, either Greek or Latin, might perhaps shed new light on this difficult, albeit intriguing passage.⁵⁰

Bibliography

Adler, A. (1931), "Suidas", in *RE* IV A 1 (1931), coll. 675–717.

Alpers, K. (1981), *Das attizistische Lexicon des Oros. Untersuchung und kritische Ausgabe der Fragmente* (SGLG 4), Berlin/New York.

scholia with a quotation of Pindar (*Ol.* 1.90) arguably from Diogenianus, which I will print in my forthcoming edition.

49 See n. 48. A similar case for Hippocrates is Hesych. σ 3106 Hansen σωφρονιστήρες τῶν ὀδόντων τινὰς οὕτω λέγουσιν where the word is hapax in the *Corpus Hippocraticum* and may derive – through Diogenianus – from *Carn.* 13.28 [8.602. 11 Littré] (see Anastassiou/Irmer 2012, 168). A related case in point is Hesych. κ 3943 Latte κραντήρες ὀδόντες· οἱ ὕστερον φυόμενοι, οἱ λεγόμενοι σωφρονιστήρες and Psell. *Poem.* 6.462–467 Westerink Σκύταν καλεῖ τὴν κεφαλὴν πολλὰκις Ἰπποκράτης...κραντήρας τοὺς ὀδόντας (= 61.5 Westerink and see Ps.Zon. 1252.8 Tittmann); κραντήρες in the meaning of 'teeth' (maybe 'wisdom-teeth'?) seems to be absent in the *Corpus*: on Pollux's parallel passage see Conti Bizzarro 2013, 13–14. Psellus' poem is likely built on an etymological or a lexicographical source, from which the structure of the verse (X is named Y) derives. On the issue of lost works in the Hippocratic tradition see now Roselli 2016.

50 It does not seem to be out of place to mention the possibility that lexicographical material ostensibly traced back to Diogenianus could be retrieved in the bulk of scholiastic material on Greek medicine still unexplored thus far (see the case of some scholia to Dioscorides and Oribasius with direct mention of Diogenianus and Helladius: cf. Alpers 1981, 185 and Roselli 2004); the same could be said for Rufus and his work *De partibus corporis humani* equipped with an interesting set of etymological scholia traced back to Soranus and edited in Daremberg-Ruelle 1879, 237–246 from a Vatican manuscript labelled as 'fonds Colonna n° 12' which is likely to be identified with the *Vat. gr.* 2304 (I am grateful to Dr. P. Vian – BAV for an useful discussion on the issue; conversely Touwaide 2016, 269 identified it with *Ottob. gr.* 235). Only recently I have noticed that Jouanna 2016, 98–99 has independently come to the same conclusion on the ms. 'Colonna n° 12'. For scholia of similar content see also the material on Hipp. *Epid.* VI arranged by the 6th-century commentator Palladius (ed. in Dietz 1834, 2.11.3–5: οἱ ὀδόντες οὐ φέρονται κατ' ἀλλήλων, οἱ τομεῖς οὐ κατὰ τὸ μέσον, οἱ κυνόδοντες οὐ κατὰ τῶν κυνοδόντων, οὐχ αἱ μύλαι κατὰ τῶν μυλῶν).

- Alpers, K. (1991), "Ein Handschriftenfund zum Cyrill-Glossar in der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen", in Hörandner, W./Trapp, E. (eds.), *Lexicographica Byzantina, Beiträge zum Symposium zur Byzantinischen Lexicographie* (Wien, 1.–4. 3. 1981), Wien, 11–52.
- Alpers, K. (2004), "Die griechischen Orthographien aus Spätantike und byzantinischer Zeit", in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 97, 1–50.
- Alpers, K. (2005), "Corrigenda et addenda to Latte's Prolegomena to Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon vol. I: A – Δ", in *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*. 3, Π–Σ, ed. post K. Latte continuans rec. et em. P.A. Hansen (SGLG 11,3), Berlin/New York, XV–XXIII.
- Alpers, K. (2008), "Lexicon I (griechisch)", in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, 23, 1252–1268.
- Amato, E. (2013–2014), "Sur l'identité de Timothée, commanditaire de la fresque de Gaza" in *Revue des Etudes Tardo-antiques* 3, 69–86.
- Anastassiou, A./Irmer, D. (2012), *Testimonien zum Corpus Hippocraticum*. Teil III: *Nachleben der hippokratischen Schriften in der Zeit vom 4. bis zum 10. Jh.* Göttingen.
- Antonopoulou, Th. (2003), "The Orthographical Kanons of Nicetas of Heraclea" in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 53, 171–185.
- Antonopoulou, Th. (2010), "The Date of Theognostos' Orthography: A Reappraisal" in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 103, 1–12.
- Bandini, A.M. (1764–1770), *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, Florentiae (repr. *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*. Accedunt supplementa tria ab E. Rostagno et N. Festa congesta necnon additamentum ex inventariis Bibliothecae Laurentianae depromptum accuravit Fridolf Kudlien, Lipsiae 1961).
- Canart, P. (1974), "Notes sur quelques manuscrits grecs des bibliothèques de Pologne", in Keller, J. (ed.), *Serta Turyniana. Studies in Greek Literature and Palaeography in Honor of Alexander Turyn*, Urbana/Chicago/London, 547–563.
- Cannatà Fera, M. (2011), "Anteo, da Pindaro a Filostrato", in Aloni, A./Ornaghi, M. (eds.), *Tra panellenismo e tradizioni locali: nuovi contributi*, Messina, 202–219.
- Cavallo, G. (2000), "Scritture informali, cambio grafico e pratiche librerie a Bisanzio tra i secoli XI e XII", in Prato, G. (ed.), *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito. Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca* (Cremona, 4–10 ottobre 1998), Firenze (Papyrologica Fiorentina, 31), I, 219–238; III, tavv. 1–28.
- Conti Bizzarro, F. (2013), *Ricerche di lessicografia greca e bizantina*, Alessandria.
- Cootjans, G./Gourevitch, D. (1983), "Les noms des dents en grec et en latin" in *Revue de Philologie*, 57, 189–201.
- Corcella, A. (2016) "La scuola di Gaza. I. Coricio, Timoteo, Zaccaria: ca. 1930–2010", in *Lustrum* 58, 7–248.
- Corcella, A. (2017a) "Timoteo di Gaza: un grammatico fra tradizione e innovazione", in Amato, E./Corcella, A./Lauritzen, D. (eds.), *L'École de Gaza: espace littéraire et identité culturelle dans l'antiquité tardive. Actes du Colloque International de Paris, Collège de France, 23–25 mai 2013*, Leuven/Paris/Bristol ("Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta" 249 = "Bibliothèque de Byzantion" 13), 413–453.
- Corcella, A. (2017b), "Le trappole di Cirillo", in *Eikasmos* 28, 225–234.
- Cunningham, I.C. (ed.) (2017), *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon. Volumen I: A–Δ*, recensuit et emendavit K. Latte, editionem alteram curavit I.C. Cunningham, Berlin.
- Daremberg, Ch./Ruelle, Ch.É. (eds.) (1879), *Œuvres de Rufus d'Éphèse*, Paris.

- Darrouzès, J. (ed.) (1981), *Notitiae episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, texte critique, introduction et notes, Paris.
- D'Agostino, M. (2005), "La legatura 'ad asso di picche' nei papiri greci e latini", in *Segno e Testo* 3, 147–155.
- Dettori, E. (1984–1985), "Hesychiana", in *Museum Criticum* 19–20, 247–258.
- Dickey, E. (2007), *Ancient Greek Scholarship. A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises, from their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period*, Oxford/New York.
- Dickey, E. (2014), "A Catalogue of Works Attributed to the Grammarian Herodian" in *Classical Philology* 109, 325–345.
- Dietz, F.R. (ed.) (1834), *Scholia in Hippocratem et Galenum*, vol. 2, Königsberg (repr. Amsterdam 1966).
- Drachmann, A.B. (1936), *Die Überlieferung des Cyrill-Glossars*, Copenhagen.
- Egenolff, P. (1888), *Die Orthographischen Stücke der byzantinischen Litteratur*, Progr. Heidelberg, Leipzig.
- Erbse, H. (1955), "rev. of *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, ed. K. Latte, vol. I, Hauniae 1953", in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 48, 130–138.
- Ferrari, F. (1991), "Tre papiri pindarici", in *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 119, 385–407.
- Gamillscheg, E. (2014), "Demosthenes in Konstantinopel. Zur Lokalisierung von Cod. Paris. gr. 2934", in Grusková, J./Bannert, H. (eds.), *Demosthenica libris manu scriptis tradita. Studien zur Textüberlieferung des Corpus Demosthenicum (Internationales Symposium in Wien, 22.–24. September 2011)*, Wien, 191–194.
- Gigante, M. (1993), *Nomos Basileus*, Napoli.
- Grensemann, H. (1964), "Zu den Hippokratesglossaren des Erotianus und Galen", in *Hermes* 92, 505–507.
- Grensemann, H. (1968), "Weitere Bemerkungen zu den Hippokratesglossaren des Erotianus und Galen", in *Hermes* 96, 177–190.
- Hajdù, K./Schneider, P. (2016), "'Die Bächlein aus der Griechen Quelle'. Untersuchungen zum Cod. Graec. 298 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek aus dem Kloster S. Angelo dei Greci in Monopoli und seinem Otrantischen Umfeld", in *Segno e Testo* 14, 137–168.
- Hansen, P.A. (2008), *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon - Volumen III [Π–Σ]*, recensuit et emendavit P.A. Hansen, Berlin.
- Harris-McCoy, D.E. (2012), *Artemidorus' Oneirocritica. Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Oxford.
- Haupt, M. (1867), "Analecta", in *Hermes* 2, 1–15.
- Haupt, M. (1869), "Analecta", in *Hermes* 3, 224–228.
- Hellmann, O. (2015), "On the Interface of Philology and Science: The Case of Zoology", in Montanari, F./Matthaios, S./Rengakos, A. (eds.) *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*, Leiden/Boston, II, 1235–1266.
- Helmreich, G. (1918), *Handschriftliche Studien zu Meletius*, Berlin.
- Hernández Muñoz, F. (2017), "El Léxico demosténico del Matr. Comp. 30", in *Eikasmos* 28, 247–260.
- Holman, S.R. (2008), "On Phoenix and Eunuchs: Sources for Meletius the Monk's Anatomy of Gender", in *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16, 79–101.
- Hutter, I. (2009), "Patmos 33 im Kontext", in *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 46, 73–126.
- Irigoien, J. (1975), "La culture grecque dans l'Occident latin du VII^e au XI^e siècle", in *La cultura antica nell'Occidente latino dal VII all'XI secolo*, Spoleto (Settimane di Studio del Centro

- ital. di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 22), 425–446 (= *La tradition des textes grecs. Pour une critique historique*, Paris 2003, 467–479).
- Jazdzewska K. (2018), “Plutarch's 'Greek Questions': Between Glossography and Problemata-Literature”, in *Hermes* 146, 41–53.
- Jouanna, J. (2016), “Du serment Hippocratique en vers à l'hexamillon Byzantin dans un manuscrit de Galien: le *Laurentianus Plut.* 74, 3 (fol. 191v–192r). Au carrefour de voix oubliées et de voies qui s'ignorent”, in *Revue des Études Grecques* 130, 91–122.
- Kasprzyk, D. (2010), “Belles-Lettres et science des rêves: les citations dans l'*Oniroticon* d'Artémidore” in *L'Antiquité Classique* 79, 17–52.
- Kaster, R. (1988), *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley.
- Lucà, S. (1994), “Il lessico dello Ps.-Cirillo (redazione V1): da Rossano a Messina”, in *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n. s., 31, 45–80.
- Lucà, S. (2003), “Appunti sulla collezione manoscritta greca di Grottaferrata”, in *Tra Oriente e Occidente. Scritture e libri greci fra le regioni orientali di Bisanzio e l'Italia*, a cura di L. Perria, Roma (Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici, 14), 145–224.
- Lucà, S. (2012), “Guglielmo Sirlento e la Vaticana”, in *La Biblioteca Vaticana tra riforma cattolica, crescita delle collezioni e nuovo edificio (1535–1590)*, a cura di M. Ceresa, Roma, 135–188.
- Lucà, S. (2016), “Sul Teodoro Studita *Crypt. Gr.* 850 (olim *Crypt. B.α.LIX*, nr. II)”, in Creazzo, T./Crimi, C./Gentile, R./Strano, G. (eds.), *Studi bizantini in onore di Maria Dora Spadaro*, Acireale/Roma, 245–275.
- Manetti, D. (2014), “Alle origini dell'Ippocratismo: fra IV e III secolo”, in Jouanna, J./Zink, M. (eds.), *Hippocrate et les hippocratismes: médecine, religion, société*, Paris, 231–252.
- Manetti, D. (2015), “Medicine and Exegesis”, in Montanari, F./Matthaios, S./Rengakos, A. (eds.) *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*, Leiden/Boston, II, 1126–1215.
- Mango, C. (1991), “Greek Culture in Palestine after the Arab Conquest”, in Cavallo, G./De Gregorio, G./Maniaci, M. (eds.), *Scritture, libri e testi delle aree provinciali di Bisanzio: Atti del Seminario di Erice, 18–25 settembre 1988*, Spoleto, 149–160 (repr. in Cavallo, G. (ed.), *Bisanzio fuori di Bisanzio*, Palermo 1991, 37–47).
- Martini, E. (1902), *Catalogus codicum Graecorum qui in Bibliotheca Vallicellana Romae adservantur*, Milano.
- Mioni, E. (1972), *Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum codices Graeci manuscripti. III, Codices in classes nonam, decimam, undecimam inclusas et supplementa duo continens*, Romae.
- Nachmanson, E. (1917), *Erotianstudien*, Upssala.
- Naoumides, M. (1968), “New Fragments of Ancient Greek Poetry”, in *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 9, 267–290.
- Naoumides, M. (1974), “The Shorter Version of Pseudo-Zonaras, Lexicon”, in Keller, J. (ed.), *Serta Turyniana. Studies in Greek Literature and Palaeography in honor of Alexander Turyn*, Urbana/Chicago/London, 436–488.
- Naoumides, M. (1979), “The v-Recension of St. Cyril's Lexikon”, in *Illinois Classical Studies* 4, 94–135.
- Nickau, K. (ed.) (1966), *Ammonii qui dicitur Liber de adfinium vocabulorum differentia*, Lipsiae.
- Nousia, F. (2016), *Byzantine Textbooks of the Palaeologan Period*, Città del Vaticano.
- Orsini, P. (2016), “Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Vall. E 37”, in *Nuova Biblioteca Manoscritta* (on line: <http://www.nuovabibliotecamanoscritta.it>).
- Orth, Ch. (2017), *Aristophanes, Aiolosikon – Babylonioi. Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar (Fragmenta Comica 10.3)*, Heidelberg.

- Palmieri, V. (1981), "Eranius Philo, De differentia significationis", in *Revue d'histoire des textes* 11, 47–80.
- Palmieri, V. (1981–1982), "Ptolemaeus, De differentia vocabulorum", in *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Napoli* 24, 154–233.
- Palmieri, V. (1984), "L'anonima epitome sinonimica Laurenziana" in *Rendiconti della Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti, Napoli* 59, 79–86.
- Palmieri, V. (1986), "Anonimo excerptum casanatense sinonimico inedito", in *Bollettino dei Classici*. s. III, 5, 150–168.
- Palmieri, V. (ed.) (1988), Herennius Philo, *De diversis verborum significationibus*, Napoli.
- Pardini, A. (1999), "Sei responsioni pindariche. (Priscian. metr. Ter. 427 Keil=Pind. fr. 177 Maehler)", in *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 41, 201–207.
- Pavlidou, K. (2005), *Ein frühbyzantinisches Glossar zu den Briefen des Apostels Paulus. Handschriftliche Überlieferung und kritische Ausgabe (Serta Graeca. Beiträge zur Erforschung griechischer Texte, 22)*, Wiesbaden.
- Pellegrino, M. (ed.) (2015), *Aristofane. Frammenti*, Lecce.
- Perria, L. (1992), "La minuscola 'tipo Anastasio'", in Cavallo, G./De Gregorio, G./Maniaci, M. (eds.), *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio, Atti del Seminario di Erice (18–25 settembre 1988)*, Spoleto, 271–318.
- Prato, G. (1986) = (1994), "Attività scrittoria in Calabria tra IX e X secolo. Qualche riflessione" in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 36, 219–228 (= *Studi di paleografia greca*, Spoleto 1994, 1–11).
- Primavesi, O./Alpers, K. (2006), "Empedokles im Wiener Herodian-Palimpsest", in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 156, 27–37.
- Re, M./Gamillscheg, E. (2001), "Ein Handschriften-fragment (saec. IX–X) im Tipo Anastasio aus Sizilien", in *Codices Manuscripti*, 37–38, 7–9.
- Reitzenstein, R. (1888), "Die Überarbeitung des Lexicons des Hesychios", in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, n.F. 43l, 443–460.
- Reitzenstein, R. (1890–1891), *Inedita poetarum Graecorum Fragmenta, 2, Index lectionum in Academia Rostochiensis semestri hiberno A. MDCCCXC/XCI ab die XVI M. Octobris publice privatimque habendarum*, Rostochii.
- Reitzenstein, R. (1892–1893), *Index lectionum in Academia Rostochiensis semestri hiberno A. MDCCCXCII/XCIII ab die XVI M. Octobris publice privatimque habendarum*, Rostochii.
- Reitzenstein, R. (1894), "Zu den Pausanias-scholien", in *Hermes* 29, 231–239.
- Reitzenstein, R. (1897), *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologica*, Leipzig (rist. Amsterdam 1964).
- Renehan, R. (1984), "Meletius' Chapter on the Eyes: An Unidentified Source," in *Dumbarton Oaks papers*, 38, 159–160.
- Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten (RGK), 800–1600*, 1. Teil: *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Großbritanniens*; 2. Teil: *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Großbritanniens*; 3. Teil: *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan* – Fasz. A, *Verzeichnis der Kopisten*, erstellt von Gamillscheg, E. – Harlfinger D. (III A erstellt von E. Gamillscheg unter Mitarbeit von Harlfinger D. – Eleuteri P.); Fasz. B, *Paläographische Charakteristika*, erstellt von Hunger H.; Fasz. C, *Tafeln*, Wien 1981, 1989, 1997 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik III/1–3 A-C).
- Ronconi, F. (2008), *I manoscritti greci miscellanei. Ricerche su esemplari dei secoli IX–XII*, Spoleto.

- Ronconi, F. (2012), "Quelle grammaire à Byzance? La circulation des textes grammaticaux et son reflet dans les manuscrits", in De Gregorio, G. (ed.), *La produzione scritta tecnica e scientifica nel Medioevo: libro e documento tra scuole e professioni. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Fisciano-Salerno, 28-30 settembre 2009*, Spoleto, 63-110.
- Roselli, A. (2004), "Un frammento del trattato di Ippocrate Sulle ferite (mortal) in Psello ed Eustazio", in Cerasuolo, S. (ed.), *MATHESIS E MNEME. Studi in memoria di Marcello Gigante*, Napoli, 275-281.
- Roselli, A. (2016), "The Gynaecological and Nosological Treatises of the Corpus Hippocraticum: The Tip of an Iceberg", in Colesanti, G./Lulli, L. (eds.), *Submerged Literature in Ancient Greek Culture. Case Studies*, Berlin/New York, 187-203.
- Roussou, St. (2017), "The Reception of Herodian in the Byzantine Period: The Case of Theognostus", in *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 57, 482-506.
- Roussou, St. (ed.) (2018), *Pseudo-Arcadius' Epitome of Herodian's De Prosodia Catholica*, Edited with an Introduction and Commentary by St. Roussou, Oxford.
- Scheele, L. (1884), *De Sorano Ephesio Medico Etymologo*, Strassburg.
- Schmidt, M. (1858-1862), *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, I-IV, Jena.
- Schneider, J. (1999), *Les Traités orthographiques grecs antiques et byzantins (Corpus Christianorum, Lingua Patrum III)*, Thurnhout.
- Schoemann, G. (1889), *De Etymologici Magni fontibus. 3, De Diogeniano*, in *Commentationes in honorem Guilelmi Studemund*, Argentorati, 121-128.
- Sideras, A. (1994), "Rufus von Ephesos und sein Werk", in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 37, 2, 1077-1253.
- Sideras, A. (2011), "Oreibasios und Pseudo-Rufus. Ihr gemeinsames Exzerpt aus der Schrift des Rufus von Ephesos *Über die Benennung der Körperteile des Menschen* und ihr Abhängigkeitsverhältnis", in Perilli, L./Fischer, K.-D./Brockmann, Ch./Roselli, A. (eds.), *Officina Hippocratica. Beiträge zu Ehren von Anargyros Anastassiou und Dieter Irmer*, Berlin/Boston, 221-254.
- Sôtêroudês, P. (1998), *Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Ἰβήρων. Κατάλογος Ἑλληνικῶν Χειρογράφων, Α' (1-100), Καρυές - Ἅγιον Ὅρος*.
- Speranzi, D. (2014), "Il copista del Lessico di Esichio (Marc. gr. 622)", in Bianconi, D. (a cura di) *Storia della scrittura e altre storie*, Roma, 101-146.
- Spiro, F. (ed.) (1903), *Pausanias Graeciae Descriptio*, 3, Lipsiae.
- Theodoridis, Ch. (ed.) (1976), *Die Fragmente des Grammatikers Philoxenos*, Berlin/New York.
- Touwaide, A. (2016), *A Census of Greek Medical Manuscripts. From Byzantium to the Renaissance*, London/New York.
- Turyn, A. (ed.) (1952), *Pindari Carmina*, Oxonii.
- Ucciardello, G. (in press), "Il Vall. E 11 e i suoi *marginalia*: sondaggi per la storia del codice in età bizantina" in Hernández Muñoz, F.G./Martínez Manzano, T. (eds.), *Encuentro internacional de crítica textual griega "Del manuscrito antiguo a la edición crítica de textos griegos: Homenaje a la Prof^a Elsa García Novo"*, Madrid.
- Valente, S. (2014), "Orthography (orthographía). Ancient Theories of." in Giannakis, G.K. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics* (www. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com).
- Valente, S. (2015), "Eine 'neue' Handschrift der v-Rezension des Cyrill-Lexikons: der Pragensis X F 50 (+ 1 Da 5)", in Tziatzis, M./Montanari, F./Billerbeck, M./Tsantsanoglou, K. (eds.), *Beiträge zum Gedenken an Christos Theodoridis*, Berlin, 394-408.

- Villani, E. (2004), "Un nuovo lessico polisemantico bizantino (*Ambr. C 222* inf., ff. 210v–212r)", in *Aevum* 78, 441–515.
- Voigt, P. (1882), *Sorani Ephesii liber de etymologiis corporis humani*, Diss. Greifswald.
- Weber, H. (1883), "Untersuchungen über das *Lexicon* des Hesychios", in *Philologus Suppl.* 3, 449–624.
- Winter, A. (1893), "Meletius und Orion", in *Festschrift für 250jähr. Jubelfeier des St. Maria Magdalena Gymnasium zu Breslau*, Breslau, 93–124.
- Xenis, G. (ed.) (2014), *Iohannis Alexandrini Praecepta Tonica*, Berolini et Novi Eboraci.
- Zarncke, E. (1884–1885), *Symbolae ad Iulii Pollucis tractatum De partibus corporis humani*, Leipzig.
- Zuntz, G. (1957), "A Pindar Fragment", in *Hermes* 85, 401–413.

Plates

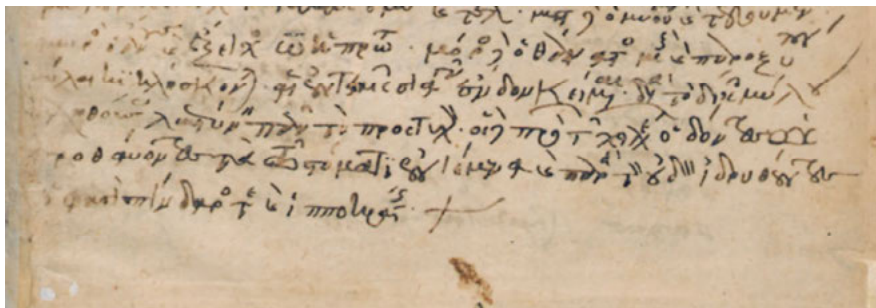


Plate 1: © Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, pl. 59.49, f. 147r / su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle Attività culturali e del Turismo

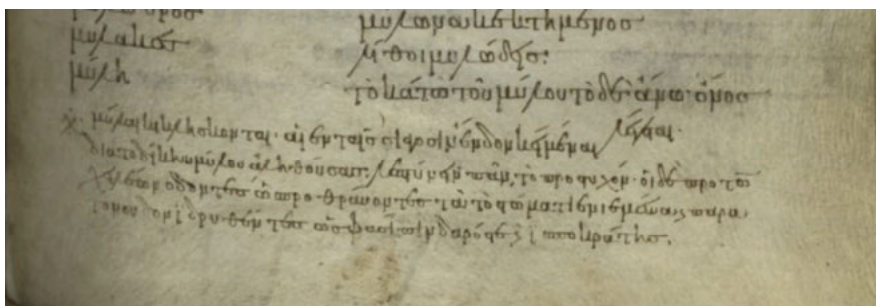


Plate 2: © Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, E 11, f. 149r marg. inf. /su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle Attività culturali e del Turismo

Marco Ercoles

The imaginative poet: Aeschylus' *phantasiai* in ancient literary criticism

Abstract: The term *phantasia* has been used by ancient scholars to point out different aspects of Aeschylean poetry, from the false mental image of a character caused by a disturbed state of mind (*schol. Sept.* 182–183a S.), to the icastic visualization realized by the poet through a skillful use of lexis (*Anon. Subl.* 3.1, 15.3–6, *schol. Eum.* 246b S.), to the (supposedly) spectacular visual effects of the stage production (*scholl. Eum.* 64b, 94a S.). For these three meanings different backgrounds are suggested, each reflecting some significant moment of Aeschylus' *Nachleben* from the Hellenistic age onwards.

That the visual dimension was an important aspect of ancient Greek tragedy was already clearly recognized by ancient critics, who tried to recover and reconstruct the staging of plays to the best of their ability.¹ The task was made easier by the strict link existing between word and action: as Taplin (2003, 1) put it, «behind the words of Greek tragedy there is action». The stage itself was often clarified by the words, as well as extra-scenic space and action, which were 'built' before the spectators' eyes through the vividness of the words. The ability of the poet to visualize objects, persons, situations, emotions and then to convey them to the public was therefore an important artistic requirement. This aspect survived the loss of the performative elements and attracted the attention of ancient literary critics, who considered it an important ingredient of the grand style (αὐστηρὰ λέξις), represented, among tragic poets, by Aeschylus.²

How ancient literary critics and commentators evaluated his poetic images is my main concern here, with particular reference to *Seven against Thebes* (§ 3.1) and *Eumenides* (§ 3.2). Before examining these judgments, however, it is worthwhile to consider carefully the ancient notion of *phantasia*, a key term of rhetorical vocabulary concerning the visual quality of a literary text.

¹ See esp. the scholia concerning the stage action of tragic and comic plays, on which cf. e.g. Taplin 1977, 21f., 435–438; Falkner 2002; Nünlist 2009, 338–365; Easterling 2015.

² Cf. esp. Stanford 1942, 1–13; Luzzatto 1983, 50–56; Castelli 1990, 35–45; 2000, 33–40; Hunter 2009, 5.

1 Between philosophy and rhetoric: the ancient notion of *phantasia*

In ancient literary criticism, the term *phantasia* assumes slightly different meanings, which depend upon the perspective adopted by the critic from time to time and the use of a more or less rhetorically specialized lexicon.³ The best way to approach this complex issue is perhaps to start with the observations made by ‘Longinus’ in *Subl.* 15.1f.

ὄγκου καὶ μεγαληγορίας καὶ ἀγῶνος ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὧ νεανία, καὶ αἱ φαντασίαι παρασκευαστικώταται· οὕτω γοῦν <τὰς> εἰδωλοποιίας αὐτὰς ἔνιοι λέγουσι· καλεῖται μὲν γὰρ κοινῶς φαντασία πᾶν τὸ ὅπως οὖν ἐννόημα γεννητικὸν λόγου παριστάμενον. ἥδη δ’ ἐπὶ τούτων κεκράτηκε τοῦνομα ὅταν ἃ λέγεις ὑπ’ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ πάθους βλέπειν δοκῇ καὶ ὑπ’ ὅψιν τιθῇ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν.⁴

Weight, grandeur, and urgency in writing are very largely produced, dear friend, by the use of visualizations (*phantasiai*). That is how some people call the *eidolopoiiai* themselves. For the term *phantasia* is applied in general to anything presenting to the mind, no matter how, a thought which engenders speech, but the word has also come to be customary in those cases when, inspired by strong emotion, you seem to see what you describe and bring it vividly before the eyes of your audience.⁵

‘Longinus’ makes it clear that, by his time, the word had two main values: (1) the common meaning of mental representation derived through sense-impression and conveyed in speech and (2) the more technical meaning of the icastic representation of something seen by an author under the effect of inspiration and emotion. The first meaning is clearly derived from Stoic epistemology, particularly from the notion of rational *phantasia* (λογικὴ φαντασία), a kind of mental representation in which what is ‘printed’ in the human soul has a propositional

³ On the concept of *phantasia* (and the related notion of *enargeia* or ‘graphic quality’) in ancient literary criticism cf. Armisen-Marchetti 1980; Zanker 1981; Rispoli 1984 and 1985; Meijering 1987, 18–52; Watson 1988; Flory 1996; Manieri 1998; Beil 2003; Aygon 2004; Dross 2004; Otto 2008, 67–134; Nünlist 2009, 153–155, 194–198; 2015, 754.

⁴ The Greek text follows C.M. Mazzucchi’s edition (Milano 2010²).

⁵ All the translations from *On the Sublime* are by W.H. Fyfe, rev. by D.A. Russell (London/Cambridge, Mass. 1995). The translation of this passage has been adapted to the Greek text adopted here (see previous note), where the second sentence follows the manuscript tradition. On the meaning of *vñ* and *κρατέω* in this context see Bühler 1964, 109–111 (who translates the last sentence with “aber das Wort hat sich auch bei den Fällen eingebürgert, wenn”) and, more recently, Togni 2013–2014, 218–221.

content and can therefore be expressed through words (cf. Sext. Emp. *Math.* 8.70 ἡξιούν οἱ Στωικοὶ ... λογικὴν δὲ εἶναι φαντασίαν καθ' ἣν τὸ φαντασθὲν ἔστι λόγῳ παραστῆσαι).⁶ Such a philosophical usage – which was widespread well beyond the limits of the Stoic school in the early Imperial age (cf. καλεῖται ... κοινῶς)⁷ – «seems, however, to be mentioned [by 'Longinus'] merely to explain and justify the extended meaning of the term in poetry and in rhetoric: both these arts are concerned with the effective use of language, and *phantasia* in its original definition, he says, was closely connected with speech» (Watson 1988, 67).⁸

From the perspective of literary theory, vivid mental images are regarded as particularly useful for effective speech, since an author who is able to conceive them is also able to put them before the audience's eyes.⁹ Moreover, this ability allows the author to represent icastically even what he has not actually seen, but only believes he has seen “under the effect of inspiration and emotion” (ὑπ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ πάθους). This new conception of *phantasia* «donnait une valeur positive à ce qui, d'un point de vue cognitif, n'en avait pas selon les stoïciens» (Labarrière 2006, 78). For them, all the vivid mental images arising not from sense impressions, but from abnormal states of mind or from strong passions, could not constitute any criterion of truth, since, in these cases, the human mind loses its capacity to discriminate between cognitive and incognitive impressions and perceives mere figments of the imagination as real objects. The classic example used by the Stoics to portray this condition was that of Euripidean Orestes who, in a fit of madness, believes he sees the Erinyes (see below § 3.1). It can hardly be coincidental that this is also the first example of poetic *phantasia* quoted by 'Longinus'. According to him, the description of the Erinyes at *Or.* 255–257 is a successful case of icastic representation: «in this passage the poet himself saw Furies and compelled the audience almost to see what he had visualized» (*Subl.* 15.2f. ἐνταῦθ' ὁ ποιητὴς αὐτὸς εἶδεν Ἑρινύας· ὃ δ' ἐφαντάσθη, μικροῦ δεῖν

6 On this Stoic concept see Long/Sedley 1987, 236–241; Sedley 2002. For the *phantasia* as a printing in the soul cf. Plut. *Adv. Stoic.* 1084f–1085a (SVF 2.847), Diog. Laert. 7.49–51 (SVF 2.52, 55, 61), Aet. 4.11.1–4 (SVF 2.83). For the importance of the Stoic notion of *phantasia* in 'Longinus' see e.g. Striller 1886, 56f.; Russell 1964, 120; Watson 1988, 67; Imbert 1992, 89–93; Flory 1996, 153–155; Manieri 1998, 50–52; Otto 2008, 91–103; Mazzucchi 2010, 211; Togni 2013–2014.

7 This is not surprising, since «by this date Stoicism has become a lingua franca for technical writers who are not themselves Stoics», as Long (1992, 47) observes, with reference to the age of Heraclitus the Allegorist, which he assumes to be the first or second century AD. See also Dross 2004, 76f. and Labarrière 2007, 90–92.

8 Cf. also Webb 2009, 118.

9 On this development of the concept see also Armisen-Marchetti 1980; Watson 1988; Flory 1996, esp. 157f.; Manieri 1998, 27–75, esp. 48ff.; Beil 2003, 928–932.

θεάσασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἠνάγκασεν).¹⁰ Through his words, Euripides fully accomplishes the aim of poetic *phantasia*, which ‘Longinus’ identifies with ἔκπληξις, ‘surprise’ or ‘fright’,¹¹ and distinguishes from the object of rhetorical *phantasia*, which is identified with ἐνάργεια, or ‘graphic quality’.¹²

Ideas like those of ‘Longinus’ were probably current in the first century AD, as is suggested by the author himself in general terms (cf. *Subl.* 15.1 ἥδη ... κεκράτηκε τοῦνομα ὅταν κτλ.) and confirmed by a passage from Quintilian, «who may have been a younger contemporary of ‘Longinus’, but cannot be shown to have read him» (Watson 1988, 68).¹³ According to the author of *Institutio oratoria*, the orator is able to stir emotions in his audience only if he is able to be moved himself.¹⁴ To this end, he should be naturally εὐφραντασίωτος, that is to say a man who *sibi res uoces actus secundum uerum optime finget* (*Inst.* 6.2.30). But one can also cultivate in himself this ability by turning a common vice (*animi vitium*, *Inst.* 6.2.30), the spontaneous habit of daydreaming, into a rhetorical virtue. The process of visualization is described by Quintilian in these terms: *quas φαντασίας Graeci uocant (nos sane uisiones appellemus), per quas imagines rerum absentium ita repraesentantur animo ut eas cernere oculis ac praesentes habere uideamur*,

10 On the compelling force of a vivid image see *Subl.* 15.2f. (quoted above) and 15.9, with Meijering 1987, 25 and Dross 2004, 74f. This second scholar points out «une analogie fonctionnelle entre la *phantasia kataleptike* stoïcienne, dont l’évidence nous “tire par les cheveux” vers l’assentiment, et la *phantasia* littéraire, qui [...] asservit l’auditeur et le presse inéluctablement à l’assentiment».

11 Cf. Russell 1964, 122. On ἔκπληξις as a rhetorical term cf. Pace 2008, 232–234, with further references.

12 Cf. *Subl.* 15.2 ὡς δ’ ἕτερόν τι ἢ ῥητορικὴ φαντασία βούλεται καὶ ἕτερον ἢ παρὰ ποιηταῖς οὐκ ἂν λάθοι σε, οὐδ’ ὅτι τῆς μὲν ἐν ποιήσει τέλος ἐστὶν ἔκπληξις, τῆς δ’ ἐν λόγοις ἐνάργεια. ἀμφοτέραι δ’ ὁμῶς τό τε <παθητικόν> (vel <ἐναγώνιον>) ἐπιζητοῦσι καὶ τὸ συγκεκινημένον. The distinction drawn by ‘Longinus’ does not mean that poetic visualizations are not icastic, but that they are also moving. On this aspect, see Morpurgo-Tagliabue 1967, 268–270, who observes that the examples of poetic images quoted by ‘Longinus’ are characterized both by ἐνάργεια and by ἐνέργεια (‘activity’, ‘energy’).

13 On the chronology of ‘Longinus’ (probably first half of the first century AD) see Wilson 1964, XXII–XXX; Donadi 1991, 49–62; Mazzucchi 2010, XXIX–XXXVII. On the probable dependence of ‘Longinus’ and Quintilian from a (Greek) common source see, among others, Bompaigne 1973; Armisen-Marchetti 1980, 12 n. 34. A Greek source is suggested both by ‘Longinus’ words (quoted above) and by the very use of Greek terms made by Quintilian (φαντασία, εὐφραντασίωτος, ἐνάργεια). *Contra* Lana 1951, who thought of ‘Longinus’ as direct source of Quintilian.

14 See e.g. *Inst.* 6.2.26 *summa enim, quantum ego quidem sentio, circa mouendos adfectus in hoc posita est, ut moueamur ipsi*.

has quisquis bene ceperit is erit in adfectibus potentissimus (*Inst.* 6.2.29f.).¹⁵ As Russell (1964, 121) has observed, «there can be no doubt that this chapter of Quintilian – which, be it noted, is *περὶ παθῶν* – uses much the same material as L(ongi-nus)». ¹⁶ This agreement clearly points to the rhetorical background of the ‘new’ concept of *phantasia*,¹⁷ which takes over from Stoic epistemology the link between mental images, vividness (*enargeia*) and emotions, but changes the nature of the relationship among these three elements. The Stoics’ emphasis lay on the vividness of the speaker’s mental image as a guarantee of its adherence to the outside world, excepted in those cases when the speaker’s mind is affected by strong passions and cannot adequately evaluate the reliability of mental representations. The rhetoricians’ emphasis, on the other hand, falls on the ability to conceive icastic mental images of absent things and effectively communicate them to the audience, conveying the emotions associated with them.

In this rhetorical concept an important role is played by the technique of ‘placing before the eyes’, which goes back to Aristotle,¹⁸ who discussed the power of metaphor to place its subject immediately *πρὸ ὀμμάτων* (*Rh.* 1411b24f.) and recommended to the tragic poet a conscious process of visualization to work out his plots (*Poet.* 1455a22–26): «by seeing things most vividly [*ἐναργέστατα*], as if present at the actual events, one will discover what is apposite and not miss contradictions». ¹⁹ In the same passage of *Poetics*, Aristotle also recommended a method

15 The effect of the *phantasiai* on the audience is clearly described at *Inst.* 6.2.32: *insequetur ἐνάργεια, quae a Cicerone inlustratio et euidentia nominatur, quae non tam dicere uidetur quam ostendere, et adfectus non aliter quam si rebus ipsis intersimus sequentur.*

16 On the agreements between these two authors in matter of *phantasia* see also Lana 1951, 44–47; Armisen-Marchetti 1980, 12–22; Dross 2004, 66; Webb 2009, 96–103; Mazzucchi 2010, 211; Cavarzere 2011, 136–138. Of course, there are also some important differences between the two authors, but they do not affect the main argument. For a synthetic assessment see Armisen-Marchetti 1980, 21f.: «tandis que Quintilien n’établit qu’un lien empirique entre imagination et émotion, et considère que le recours aux passions dans la technique oratoire est contraire aux principes des philosophes, l’auteur du *Traité* montre que *phantasia*, *pathos* et ὕψος vont de pair et ne peuvent exister dans le discours en l’absence de “grandeur d’âme”, c’est-à-dire de vertu».

17 Greek rhetoricians should be the people generically referred to at *Subl.* 15.1 as responsible for the use of the term φαντασία to designate the εἰδωλοποιίαι (see below). The use of Greek terms by Quintilian (φαντασία, εὐφαντασίωτος, ἐνάργεια) points to a Greek source too.

18 See esp. Morpurgo-Tagliabue 1967, 256–266; Armisen-Marchetti 1980, 9–12; Meijering 1987, 18–25.

19 δεῖ δὲ τοὺς μύθους συνιστάναι καὶ τῇ λέξει συναπεργάζεσθαι ὅτι μάλιστα πρὸ ὀμμάτων τιθέμενον· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἐναργέστατα [ὁ] ὁρῶν ὥσπερ παρ’ αὐτοῖς γιγνόμενος τοῖς πραττομένοις εὐρίσκοι τὸ πρέπον καὶ ἥκιστα ἂν λανθάνοι [τὸ] τὰ ὑπεναντία. Transl. by S. Halliwell. For a possible link of this passage with *De an.* 427b17–21, where the philosopher says that anyone can make deliberate use of *phantasia* to see imaginary pictures (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὸ πάθος [*scil.* ἡ

of conveying emotions through a skillful use of speech and its figures: «so far as possible, one should also work out the plot with rhetorical figures, since a natural affinity makes those in the grip of emotions the most convincing, and the truest distress or anger is conveyed by one who actually feels these things. Hence poetry is the work of a gifted person, or of a manic: of these types, the former have versatile imaginations, the latter get carried away» (*Poet.* 1455a29–34).²⁰ There are several common elements with the technique of visualizing and inducing an emotional reaction described by ‘Longinus’ and Quintilian. However, as has been argued by Halliwell (1987, 147), «we must guard against the temptation to assimilate what Ar[istotle] says about the poet’s experience of emotion to later theories of artistic expression. It is not [so much] the poet’s own emotion which is in question, [as] the emotion which he portrays in his characters²¹: everything said in the present passage presupposes the fundamental concept of mimesis, which for Ar[istotle] means the fictional representation, ideally dramatic in form, of human behaviour. Whereas expressionist theories stress the source of artistic material in the artist’s own psyche, Ar[istotle] is concerned only to emphasise the need for

φαντασία] ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ἐστίν, ὅταν βουλώμεθα – πρὸ ὁμμάτων γὰρ ἔστι τι ποιήσασθαι, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημονικοῖς τιθέμενοι καὶ εἰδωλοποιοῦντες, «this affection is within our power whenever we wish, for we can produce before our eyes just as those placing things in memory feats and image making [εἰδωλοποιοῦντες]», transl. by R. Polansky), see Meijering 1987, 18f.; Otto 2009, 94; *contra* Labarrière 2007. On this much debated passage of *On soul* see especially Schofield 1992, 260; Frede 1992, 280 with n. 3; Manieri 1998, 34–37; Ferrarin 2005, 96f.; Labarrière 2007; Riu 2009, 30–34. It is worth noting, as Frede does, that the «active use of imagination, the *eidōlopoiein* in 427b20 (that is up to us and is *neither true nor false*) is the sense of *phantasia* that is ruled out in 428a2 as *kata metaphoran*, since it never recurs in *De Anima* and does not suit the cognitive use which Aristotle wants to ascribe to *phantasia*: i.e. as a capacity according to which we judge and are right or wrong (*kath’ has krinomen kai alētheuomen ē pseudometha*, 428a3), and which does affect us emotionally (cf. 432b8 as against 427b24). Most importantly, free phantasmizing does not fit the definition of *phantasia* that is soon to follow: a motion in the soul caused by sense–perception».

20 ὅσα δὲ δυνατόν καὶ τοῖς σχήμασιν συναπεργαζόμενον· πιθανώτατοι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως οἱ ἐν τοῖς πάθεσιν εἰσιν, καὶ χειμαίνει ὁ χειμαζόμενος καὶ χαλεπαίνει ὁ ὀργιζόμενος ἀληθινώτατα. διὸ εὐφροῦς ἢ ποιητικὴ ἐστίν ἢ μανικὸν· τούτων γὰρ οἱ μὲν εὐπλαστοὶ οἱ δὲ ἐκστατικοὶ εἰσιν. Transl. by S. Halliwell, with some modifications. For σχήματα as stylistic figures in *Poet.* 1455a29f., cf. Else 1957, 489–493 and Cavarzere 2011, 110f., who both recall *Rh.* 1408a 10–24, where a close link is established between appropriate style (οἰκεία λέξις) and persuasive representation of a feeling or of a character. On the types of εὐφροῆς and μανικός as components of the same psychological category (see *Rh.* 1390b27–31 and [*Prob.*] 954a32) cf. Lucas 1968, 177 and Lanza 1987, 43f.

21 The words added between square brackets are mine: I have preferred to attenuate the sentence in the light of *Poet.* 1455a32–34. On pathetic style see also *Rh.* 1408a16–25.

the poet to form a clear mental picture of the dramatic situation which his action requires at each point, and then to conjure up as vividly as possible the feelings of the agents which he aims to embody in their language».²²

Therefore, even if the main elements of the theory of literary *phantasia* can be found separately in Aristotle, there is not yet a complete system in his works. It is not easy to find who was responsible for it, since 'Longinus' hints at this question in very vague terms, saying that the word *phantasia* «has also come to be customary in those cases when, inspired by strong emotion, you seem to see what you describe and bring it vividly before the eyes of your audience». But he also says that some people (ἔνιοι) use the term to refer to the εἰδωλοποιαί themselves (*Subl.* 15.1), implying that εἰδωλοποιία refers to something specific.

In literary criticism, at least starting from Aristarchus,²³ this word (and the related verb εἰδωλοποιεῖν) was used to designate the personification of an abstract notion by a living being. «It comes closest to the technical term of φαντασία [...] when such an abstraction is described as a being with concrete, visual features», as Meijering (1987, 28) has pointed out.²⁴ This is the case, for example, with *schol.* Eur. *Or.* 256, which comments upon the effective description of the Erinyes as αἱματωποί, "having blood-shot eyes": τὰ συμβαίνοντα τοῖς πάσχουσι τι τοῖς προεστώσι τοῦ πάθους θεοῖς ἀνατιθέασιν οἱ ποιηταί· οἷόν τι καὶ Ὅμηρός φησι περὶ τῶν Λιτῶν (*Il.* 9.503)· «χωλαὶ τε ῥυσαὶ τε παραβλῶπές τ' ὀφθαλμῷ»· ἔκ

²² On the differences between Aristotle and 'Longinus' see also Halliwell 1986, 311 n. 39.

²³ Cf. *schol.* A *Il.* 11.4 Erbse (Ariston.) ἀργαλέην, πολέμοιο <τέρας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσιν>: ὅτι πολέμοιο τέρας τὸν εἰδωλοποιούμενον πόλεμον, τὸν ποιητικὸν τοῦ ἐνεργουμένου πολέμου, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις (*scil.* *Il.* 5.593) κυδοιμοῦ εἰδωλὸν φησι τὴν Ἐννῷ ἔχειν· «ἡ μὲν ἔχουσα κυδοιμὸν ἀναΐδα δηϊότητος». As is well known, Aristonicus' treatise on signs was a compilation of excerpts from Aristarchus, who can be reasonably credited with the identification of the "portent of war" (πολέμοιο τέρας) held by Eris with War personified, the cause and origin of the actual war.

²⁴ In later rhetorical treatises the term refers specifically to the personification of dead persons or impersonal matters: cf. e.g. Cocondr. *RhG* 3.241 Sp. εἰδωλοποιία ἐστὶν ἀνάπλασις προσώπων ἢ ἐπὶ πραγμάτων ἢ ἐπὶ ζώων λογικῶν μὲν, ἀποικομένων δέ (this second meaning is the more widespread in rhetorical and scholarly treatises: cf. e.g. [Hermog.] *Prog.* 9, p. 20.14–18 Rabe, Aphth. *RhGr* 10.34.10–13 Rabe, Platon. *Diff. char.* p. 38.11–15 Perusino), ἢ ἀλόγων, λογοποιουμένων δέ. On this rhetorical figure see especially Lausberg 1973, 826; Meijering 1987, 27–29; Manieri 1990, 82–85, with further bibliographic references. For εἰδωλοποιεῖν in the sense of 'visualizing', 'representing in a vivid way' see also Plut. *Glor. Ath.* 347a τῶν ἱστορικῶν κράτιστος ὁ τὴν διήγησιν ὡς περὶ γραφὴν πάθει καὶ προσώποις εἰδωλοποιήσας. ὁ γοῦν Θουκυδίδης αἰεὶ τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς ταύτην ἀμιλλᾶται τὴν ἐνάργειαν, οἷον θεατὴν ποιῆσαι τὸν ἀκροατὴν κτλ., with the comments of Wilson 1964, 120f. and Meijering 1987, 31. Other rhetorical terms referring to vivid, pictorial descriptions are διατύπωσις and ὑποτύπωσις, on which see Zanker 1981, 302f.; Meijering 1987, 29; Mazzucchi 2010, 211f.

τῶν ἀποβαινόντων παθῶν εἰδωλοποιήσας ... καὶ νῦν “αἵματωπούς” εἶπε τὰς Ἑρινύας ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἐκ τοῦ τοῦς μαινομένους ὕφαιμον βλέπειν καὶ ταραχῶδες, κτλ.²⁵ According to the scholiast, the personified Prayers of *Il.* 9.503 are «lame, wrinkled and squinting» for they are given the concrete features of the people who usually pray,²⁶ and the same happens with the Erinyes, whose eyes are like those of bloodthirsty, deranged people. It should be noted that this Euripidean *eidolopoia* is also the first example of poetic *phantasia* given by ‘Longinus’. Moreover, many of the *phantasiai* quoted at *Subl.* 15.3–10 are, in fact, icastic personifications, such as Lycurgus’ palace possessed by Bacchic frenzy (Aesch. fr. 58 R.), the Mount Cithaeron taking part in Bacchae’s furor (Eur. *Ba.* 726), the phantom of Achilles appearing to the Greek warriors (Simon. *PMG* 557, Soph. fr. 523 R.²⁷), the battle of Chaeronea writing the decree for the enfranchisement of the slaves (Hyp. fr. 28 Jen.).²⁸

All this confirms that the first meaning of *phantasia* given by ‘Longinus’ (φ. = εἰδωλοποιία) is a specialized usage, no doubt introduced by some literary critics and rhetoricians (simply referred to as ἔνιοι). However, it is also evident that the rhetorical notion of *eidolopoia* is not considered by ‘Longinus’ to be coextensive with that of *phantasia*, but only of a special kind, as is shown by the general definition of *phantasia* given at the end of *Subl.* 15.1 and by the example taken from Euripides’ *Phaethon*: the lines come from a messenger’s speech reporting Phaethon’s ride in the Sun’s chariot and it is not any vivid personification, but the pictorial effect of the narrative which is in question here (*Subl.* 15.4 «would you not say that the writer’s soul is aboard the car, and takes wing to share the horse’s peril? Never could it have visualized such things, had it not run beside those heavenly bodies»).

After these general remarks, it is now time to turn our attention to the treatment of Aeschylus’ *phantasiai*.

²⁵ For other examples see Meijering 1987, 28f. The scholar does not quote any example from the scholia on Aeschylus, although they do not constitute an exception, as will be shown below.

²⁶ See also *schol. bT Il.* 9.503b Erbse.

²⁷ Note that in this case ‘Longinus’ uses the verb εἰδωλοποιεῖν (*Subl.* 15.8): κατὰ τὸν ἀπόπλουν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τὰχιλλέως προφαινομένου τοῖς ἀναγομένοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ τάφου, ἦν οὐκ οἶδ’ εἴ τις ὄψιν ἐναργέστερον εἰδωλοποίησε Σιμωνίδου.

²⁸ The passages are listed according to their order of appearance in ‘Longinus’s treatise.

2 'Longinus' on Aeschylus' *phantasiai*

Most of the poetic examples of visualization presented in *On the sublime* are taken from tragedy, particularly from Euripides (in the order: *Or.* 255–257, *IT* 291, *frr.* 799 and 62 K., *Ba.* 726). It is in discussing the *phantasiai* of this tragic poet (*Subl.* 15.3–6) that 'Longinus' comes to speak of Aeschylus' poetic images, a stylistic aspect which has also attracted the attention of modern scholars, for their daring and astonishing character.²⁹

The ancient critic observes that Euripides is more inclined to dramatize love and madness, in which he succeeds more brilliantly than with any other emotion, but that he nonetheless applies himself to other kinds of visualizations and «in many places forces [his natural genius] into the tragic mould» (15.3). Sometimes, he even tries to compete with Aeschylus in imaginings of the heroic kind (15.5f.):

τοῦ δ' Αἰσχύλου φαντασίαις ἐπιτολῶντος ἥρωικωτάταις, ὥσπερ καὶ <οἱ> ἐπτά ἐπὶ Θήβας παρ' αὐτῷ (*Sept.* 42–46) – “ἄνδρες (φησὶν) ἐπτά θούριοι λοχαγέται, / ταυροσφαγούντες εἰς μελάνδετον σάκος, / καὶ θιγγάνοντες χερσὶ ταυρείου φόνου, / Ἄρη τ' Ἐνυὼ καὶ φιλαίματον Φόβον / ὠρκωμότησαν”, τὸν ἴδιον αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους δίχα οἴκτου συνομνύμενοι θάνατον – ἐνίοτε μέντοι ἀκατεργάστους καὶ οἰονεὶ ποκοειδεῖς τὰς ἐννοίας καὶ ἀμαλᾶκτους φέροντος, ὅμως ἑαυτὸν ὁ Εὐριπίδης κάκείνοις ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας τοῖς κινδύνους προσβιβάζει. καὶ παρὰ μὲν Αἰσχύλῳ (*frr.* 58 R.) παραδόξως τὰ τοῦ Λυκούργου βασιλεία κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ Διονύσου θεοφορεῖται· “ἐνθουσιᾷ δὴ δῶμα, βακχεύει στέγη”. ὁ δὲ Εὐριπίδης (*Ba.* 726) τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦθ' ἐτέρως ἐφηδύναε ἐξεφώνησε· “πᾶν δὲ συνεβάκχευεν ὄρος”.

Since Aeschylus ventures upon the most heroic imaginings, as the seven heroes against Thebes are, for example, in his work – “seven resistless captains”, he says, “o'er a shield / black-bound with hide have slit a bullock's throat, / and dipped their fingers in the bullock's blood, / swearing a mighty oath by War and Havoc / and Panic, bloodshed's lover” and all pledge themselves to each other to die apart from pity – even though he sometimes introduces unworked ideas, all woolly, as it were, and tangled, nonetheless Euripides' competitiveness leads him also to embark on the same perilous path. Aeschylus uses a startling phrase of Lycurgus' palace, magically possessed at the appearance of Dionysus: “the palace is possessed, the roof turns bacchanal”. Euripides expresses the same idea differently, softening it down: “and all the mountain / turned bacchanal with them”.³⁰

Quotations from Aeschylus are not very common in the surviving rhetorical treatises from the Hellenistic and Imperial ages, no doubt due to the difficulty of his

²⁹ Cf. Stanford 1942, 86–111; Earp 1948, 150–155; Rosenmeyer 1982, 117–142.

³⁰ Fyfe–Russell's translation has been modified in the first section: the quotation is considered here an example of Aeschylus' heroic *phantasiai*. For ὥσπερ καὶ, with καὶ referring «not to the content of the main clause, but to other, unspecified examples», see Denniston, *GP*² 296.

style and language, a feature which made the poet an unsuitable model for orators.³¹ These examples are therefore particularly precious. The first comes from *Seven against Thebes*,³² a play particularly rich in *phantasiai*, since the bulk of the action takes place in the extra-scenic space and is described by the Messenger through icastic language.³³ 'Longinus' selects the impressive presentation of the seven Argive heroes in the first *rheis* (vv. 42–48), a passage quite famous in antiquity as the *locus classicus* of taking an oath in the heroic manner (cf. Ar. *Lys.* 187–189; Stob. 3.7.10). This is a grand and sublime scene, which makes immediately evident the quality of the ἡρωικώταται φαντασίαι conceived by the poet. Note the language of 'risk' used here by the rhetor (ἐπιτολμώντος), a language which «was to remain a recurrent feature of ancient discussions of the 'grand style'» (Hunter 2009, 29; also 31).

The second example is introduced to show in what sense some of Aeschylus' visualizations are unrefined and harsh or, with a metaphor taken from spinning, «woolly» and «tangled». The line (fr. 58 R.) comes probably from the lost *Hedones*, the first play of the *Lycurgeia* trilogy, and presents Lycurgus' palace personified as a possessed worshipper of Dionysus: no doubt, a striking and effective image,³⁴ but also – 'Longinus' observes – one contrary to the reader's expectations (παράδόξως) for its bold exaggeration. The comparison with the similar *phantasia* elaborated by Euripides in his *Bacchae* (v. 726) is in favour of this second poet, since he has softened (ἐφηνόνας) the image through the use of the compound form *συμβακχεύω*, with the preverb making the whole Cithaeron participate in the enthusiastic rites celebrated by the Bacchae on the mountain.³⁵ In other words, a metonymic procedure is here at work, with the result that the visualization appears to be less harsh and more refined. As Hunter (2009, 31 n. 52) rightly observes, «it is presumably also relevant that the idea of a mountain, the

31 Cf. Castelli 1990, 35–45; 2000, 148.

32 Russell (1964, 124) considers the icastic description to be not an example of Aeschylus' *phantasiai*, but «a description of Aeschylus himself», a didactic trick to illustrate the character of the poet (and of his style). According to the scholar, «this gives a point to καὶ after ὥσπερ and a less impeded train of thought», but for ὥσπερ καὶ used to introduce examples see above n. 30; as for the train of thought, it seems not really much impeded in the other line of interpretation, quite the contrary (in which sense are the Argive heroes making an oath like Aeschylus?).

33 It may be observed that many of the examples of tragic *phantasiai* quoted by 'Longinus' come from messenger speeches, a place where words particularly need to have a pictorial quality (see Meijering 1987, 49–51).

34 This is the aim of the poetic *phantasia* according to 'Longinus' (15.2): τῆς μὲν ἐν ποιήσει τέλους ἐστὶν ἐκπληξίς (see above n. 12).

35 This is the most persuasive interpretation of the preverb: see Dodds 1960, 166 *ad loc.* and Russell 1964, 125.

standard site of bacchic revelling, joining in the revels is less *paradoxon* than a royal palace doing so».

‘Longinus’s presentation of the Aeschylean style inscribes itself within the critical tradition beginning with Aristophanes’ *Clouds* (v. 1367) and *Frogs* (esp. vv. 822ff., 924ff., 939ff., 961ff., 1059), where the poet of the *Agamemnon* is characterized as «the really ‘risky’ poet, at least where poetical style is concerned», and is opposed to the more ‘simple’ and refined Euripides.³⁶ Icastic imaginings are an integral part of such a grand and bombastic style, which, however, does not find favour with the ancient critic, for whom even in tragedy, «which is essentially a majestic matter and admits of bombast, misplaced tumidity is none the less unpardonable» (*Subl.* 3.1). This criticism follows a tragic fragment whose authorship is debated (the name of the poet is missed in the large lacuna preceding the passage), even though the attribution to Aeschylus (fr. **281 R., from the *Orithyia*) is today admitted by most scholars as the likeliest possibility.³⁷ In these lines the speaker is Boreas, who says: «and they check the chimney’s towering blaze. / For if I see one hearthholder alone, / I’ll weave one torrent coronal of flame / And fire his homestead to a heap of ash. / But not yet have I blown the noble strain». The features criticised are, in particular, the turbid phrasing and the *phantasiai*, which «make for confusion rather than forcefulness» (3.1 τεθόλωται γὰρ τῇ φράσει καὶ τεθορύβηται ταῖς φαντασίαις μᾶλλον ἢ δεδείνωται): both the excesses make the passage «paratragic» in character, and no more tragic (οὐ τραγικὰ ἔτι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ παρατράγωδα).³⁸ This is perhaps the most severe criticism of Aeschylus’

³⁶ Cf. esp. Luzzatto 1981; Hunter 2009, 29ff., 128–134 (quotation from p. 29); Porter 2016, 324–326.

³⁷ On the basis of the commentary by John of Sicily on Hermog. *Id.* 1.6 (*RhG* VI 225.9–29 Walz), depending on Cassius Longinus’ *Φιλολόγων ὁμιλῖαι* (see below n. 38); cf. e.g. Radt, *ad loc.* (*TrGF* 2.378); Luzzatto 1981; Mazzucchi 2010, 138–140. For a different view, more favorable to Sophocles’s authorship, see Russell 1964, 67f.

³⁸ Two centuries later, the same passage will be criticised, for the same reason, by Cassius Longinus in his *Φιλολόγων ὁμιλῖαι* (ap. Ioh. Sic. in Hermog. *Id.* 1.6, *RhG* 6.225.9–29 Walz; *schol.* Hermog. *Id.* 1.6, *RhG* 7.963.12–964.4 Walz: even if not a single line is quoted from the tragedy in both these *testimonia*, the reference to a Boreas blowing on the sea as an aulete blowing in the aulos shows that the passage is the same). When Cassius says that Aeschylean words possess *phantasiai*, the term does not refer to visualizations, as in ‘Longinus’, but, more generally, to the bombastic character of the phrasing (after quoting Ar. *Nu.* 1367, John of Sicily observes: στόμφাকা, κρημνοποιόν, ὡς φαντασίας ἐχόντων <τῶν ρημάτων αὐτοῦ, ὄντων δὲ> [e.g. *suppl.* Luzzatto 1981, 53 n. 3, *coll. schol.* *RhG* 7.963.12–964.4] κρημνωδῶν καὶ φραγμωδῶν, ὡς κὰν τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι [v. 11]: “γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζων κέαρ”. ἡ γὰρ λέξις σκληρὰ, καὶ ὁ ἦχος πάντων τοιοῦτος, φαίνεται δὲ ἡ ἀτοπία τοῦ ποιητοῦ μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ τῆς Ὀρειθυίας δράματι, ὅπου ταῖς δυσὶ σιαγόσι φουσῶν ὁ Βορέας κυκᾷ τὴν θάλασσαν, οὐ γὰρ φέρω ἐπὶ μνήμης τὰ ἱαμβικά ἐπιλαθόμενος). Cf. also *schol. vet.* Ar. *Nu.* 1367 Holwerda. According to Luzzatto (1981, esp. 72–100), this judgment on

style in the treatise *On the sublime* and, no doubt, the clearest evidence of the distance between the conventions of the word–scenery of classical drama, conceived for an audience, and the stylistic sensibility of a critic of the Augustan Age, accustomed to a bookish culture.

3 Ancient scholia on Aeschylus' *phantasiai*

Beside the treatise *On the sublime* some interesting observations on Aeschylus' visualizations can be found in the ancient *scholia* on his tragedies, particularly on *Seven against Thebes* and *Eumenides*. Here the term *phantasia* assumes different values, ranging from the 'philosophical' to the 'rhetorical', as the following discussion will show.

3.1 *Seven against Thebes*

The *scholia vetera* on this tragedy resort to the term *phantasia* while commenting on the speech of the Messenger at the beginning of the play (vv. 39–77) and on the immediately following *parodos* (vv. 79–181). The first section is that commented upon by 'Longinus', but there is no hint of his observations in these *scholia*; more generally, one can note that the treatise *On the sublime* seems not to have been among the (remote) sources of the preserved scholiastic *corpus* on the poet.

The passage of the Messenger's *rhesis* considered by the scholiasts follows the solemn oath made by the Argive heroes (i.e. the lines quoted by 'Longinus') and is no less pathetically strong: they adorn the chariot of Adrastus with mementoes of themselves to take home to their parents and cry without any word of pity (vv. 49–51):

μνημεῖά θ' αὐτῶν τοῖς τεκοῦσιν ἐς δόμους
πρὸς ἄρμ' Ἀδράστου χερσὶν ἔστεφον, δάκρυ
λείβοντες· οἶκτος δ' οὔτις ἦν διὰ στόμα.

Aeschylus goes back to Caecilius of Caleacte, who criticised the tragic poet, together with other authors (Gorgias, Plato, Egesias, etc.), in a passage inspired by anti-Asianic polemic; this should be recognized as the common source of 'Longinus' and Cassius Longinus, but also of Hermog. *Id.* 1.6.

schol. vet. Sept. 51a δακρύνοντες μὲν διὰ τὸ δύσελπι καὶ τὴν τῶν οἰκείων φαντασίαν, ἐλεεινολογίαν δέ τινα μὴ προΐεμενοι ἀποθελύνουσιν τὴν ὁρμήν. I¹

The marginal note transmitted by the ms. I (*Ath. Iber.* 209, *olim* 161)³⁹ explains heroes' tears by invoking their hopelessness and their thoughts of their relatives: *phantasia* refers here to the mental vision conceived by the warriors in their minds through memory, a notion recalling the common value of the term derived – as has been noted (§ 1) – from philosophical usage. From Plato and Aristotle to the Hellenistic dogmatic schools, the link posited between *phantasia* and memory was quite strong: Chrysippus, for example, regarded μνήμη as a θησαυρισμὸς φαντασιῶν (*SVF* 2.56; cf. also Zeno *SVF* 1.64).⁴⁰ As time went by, this way of considering the memory-images spread well beyond the limits of the philosophical schools, as 'Longinus' clearly testifies (*Subl.* 15.1, quoted above).

This meaning of 'mental image' can be recognized also in the other occurrences of φαντασία, or the relative verb φαντάζεσθαι, in the *scholia* on the *parodos*, where the Theban women composing the Chorus express all their worry and terror for what is happening outside the walls: they hear the din of Argive horses and armour and see the dust rising in the air, clear signs of the imminent attack against the city. In order to avert the catastrophe, the women address the gods protecting the city with desperate prayers for salvation.

According to the scholiast(s), what the Chorus say they see or hear is not real, but only imagined – a line of interpretation shared also by some modern scholars (e.g. Kranz 1933, 208), even if «there is nothing to suggest this strange conception to the audience; and [vv.] 59–64 make it particularly improbable»⁴¹ (the Messenger tells Eteocles that «the Argive army, fully equipped, is already coming close, raising the dust, and white foam from the horses' lungs is dripping and staining the soil»)⁴². The relevant comments are the following ones, transmitted by, among the others, ms. M, the main (and eponymous) representative of the so called *recensio Medicea* of the old *scholia*:⁴³

³⁹ The standard edition for the scholia on *Seven against Thebes* is Smith 1982. On the ms. see Ercoles/Franchi and Franchi in this volume.

⁴⁰ On the relationship between *phantasia* and memory in ancient Greek philosophy, from Plato to the Stoics, see Camassa 1988, 49; Watson 1988, 7, 27–31, 53f.; Manieri 1998, 31, 38 n. 81, 46, with further bibliography. For Hellenistic philosophical schools, see Striker 1974 and 1977; Long 1991, 74–76 (on the Epicureans), 167–171 (on the Stoics); Long/Sedley 1987, 77f., 88f., 241. The relevant passages are Plat. *Phlb.* 38e–40b, Arist. *Mem.* 449b 15–451a 18, Zeno *SVF* 1.64 = Chrysipp. *SVF* 2.56, Lucret. 4.722–822, Diog. Laert. 10.33.

⁴¹ Against this interpretation see Hutchinson 1985, 57.

⁴² Vv. 59–61; transl. by A. Sommerstein (London/Cambridge, Mass. 2009).

⁴³ Cf. Smith 1982, XIVf.; Dickey 2007, 36.

schol. vet. Sept. 79a <μεθεῖται στρατός>· οἷον ἀφεῖται ὁ ὄχλος ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, οἷον ἤδη τὴν ὁρμὴν ποιοῦνται ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμοι. ταῦτα δὲ φανταζόμεναι λέγουσιν ὡς ἀληθῆ. κτλ. **M (NcP³ YaYb)**⁴⁴

The army has been let loose] That is to say, the mass moves away from the camp, or the enemies are already attacking our city. They (*scil.* the Theban women) imagine this and speak as if it were true.

Sept. 80j πρόδρομος ἱππότης· πολὺς ἔμπροσθεν λαὸς ἱππότης. φαντάζονται δὲ ταῦτα πάντα. κτλ. **M (NcVYa Yb)**

(This great host) of horses is pouring forward at the gallop!] The large group of riders is ahead. They imagine all this.

Sept. 100a ἀκούετ' ἢ οὐκ ἀκούετ'· ἐπεὶ ἀγνώτες εἰσι τοῦτό φασιν· ἄρα φανταζόμεθα ἢ ἀληθῶς ἀκούομεν; **I' M (P¹PdsJYaYb)**

Do you hear or do you not (the clatter of shields?)] Since they are ignorant (of the events) they say: "Are we imagining or do we really hear?"

This line of interpretation finds an explanation on philosophical grounds in a subsequent *scholion* commenting on Eteocles' reaction to the agitated words of the Chorus:

schol. vet. Sept. 182–183a ὑμᾶς ἐρωτῶ θρέμμα(τα)· εἰώθασιν οἱ ποιηταὶ δόγματά τινα εἰς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ἀκουόντων εἰσφέρειν· οὕτως καὶ ὁ Αἰσχύλος ἐνταῦθα εἰσάγει τὸν Ἑτεοκλέα ἀπαγορεύοντα μετὰ ἀπειλῆς μὴ ἀπάγειν τὸν ὄχλον εἰς δειλίαν, ὥστε διὰ φόβον αὐτοὺς φυγεῖν. ἀλόγοις δὲ ζώοις παρέβαλε τὰς παρθένους, ὅτι ἐν φαντασίᾳ γεγόνασι πρῶτων μὲν γυναικεῖα καὶ δειλῇ, δεύτερον δὲ οὐκ ἀληθεῖ. εἰσὶ γὰρ φαντασίαι ἀληθεῖς. **I' M**

I ask you, you insufferable creatures] Poets are accustomed to present some philosophical doctrines to the listeners' benefit; so even Aeschylus introduces here Eteocles menacingly prohibiting to induce the army to cowardice, so that the soldiers flee in fear. He compared the girls to irrational animals, for they were victims of imaginings, above all feminine and cowardly, secondly untrue. There exist, in fact, true images.

These words make sufficiently clear that *phantasia* is used here with reference to a misleading mental image caused by a strong emotion, the fear of the enemy attack. According to the scholiast (or his source), such an event is not still happening at this point of the play, but is only imagined by the Theban women, who

⁴⁴ Cf. also the Triclinian *scholion ad loc.* (78d Smith): ὅτι ἡ τῶν παρθένων ἡλικία εὐπτόητος οὖσα, καταλιποῦσα τοὺς οἴκους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀφίκετο· καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα ἐν τῷ ἐκεῖ ναῷ ταῦτά φησι φανταζομένη. **T**

act as irrational animals, unable to judge correctly the situation and to react in the proper, rational way. As I have tried to show elsewhere,⁴⁵ the philosophical doctrine (δόγμα) underlying this explanation of the women's behaviour is the Stoic theory of knowledge, whose influence extended beyond the philosophical sphere into rhetoric and literary criticism (see above § 1). This process was favoured by the circumstance that the Stoics, particularly Chrysippus,⁴⁶ frequently used literary examples to illustrate or support their theories. With regard to the concept of *phantasia*, Chrysippus (SVF 2.54 ap. Aet. Plac. 4.12.1) resorted to the Euripidean representation of Orestes' madness (Or. 255–257) – the same passage quoted by 'Longinus' (Subl. 15.2: see above § 1) – to demonstrate that there are some mental images which seem to stem from actual perception but are, in fact, mere imaginings not corresponding to any real object: when the son of Agamemnon believes that he sees the Erinyes, he does not actually see anything. Indeed, it is his disturbed mind which produces such a vivid, deceptive representation, called φάντασμα ('figment') by the philosopher of Soli in order to distinguish it from impressions (φαντασίαι) deriving from something that really exists. In his words, «a figment is that to which we are attracted in the empty attraction of imagination (φανταστικόν)» and «occurs in people who are melancholic and mad».⁴⁷

The scholiast on *Seven against Thebes* does not employ Chrysippean terms to distinguish true impressions from deceptive imaginings, but explains in the same way as the Stoic philosopher the fictional representation of the external reality that the Chorus form in their mind: it depends upon the strong emotional condition affecting the Theban women, making them unable to judge the veracity of what they (believe they) see and hear.

⁴⁵ Cf. Ercoles forthcoming.

⁴⁶ See, e.g., Gal. Plac. Hipp. Plat. 3.4.15s. De Lacy (= SVF 2.907).

⁴⁷ φανταστικόν δέ ἐστι διάκενος ἔλκυσμός, πάθος ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀπ' οὐδενὸς φανταστοῦ γινόμενον καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ σκιαμαχοῦντος καὶ κενοῖς ἐπιφέροντος τὰς χεῖρας· τῇ γὰρ φαντασίᾳ ὑπόκειται τι φανταστόν [i.e. un oggetto sensibile], τῷ δὲ φανταστικῷ οὐδέν. φάντασμα δέ ἐστιν ἐφ' ὃ ἐλκόμεθα κατὰ τὸν φανταστικὸν διάκενον ἔλκυσμόν· ταῦτα δὲ γίνεται ἐπὶ τῶν μελαγχολώντων καὶ μεμνηόντων· ὁ γοῦν τραγικὸς Ὀρέστης ὅταν λέγῃ [Or. 255–257]: “ὦ μήτηρ, ἰκετεύω σε, μὴ 'πίσειέ μοι / τὰς αἱματωποὺς καὶ δρακοντώδεις κόρας· / αὗται γάρ, αὗται πλησίον θρώσκουσί μου”. λέγει μὲν αὐτὰ ὡς μεμνηνός, ὅρᾳ δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ μόνον· διὸ καὶ φησιν αὐτῷ Ἥλέκτρα [vv. 258s.]: “μὲν', ὦ ταλαίπωρ, ἀτρέμα σοῖς ἐν δεμνίοις, / ὅρᾳς γὰρ οὐδὲν ὧν δοκεῖς σάφ' εἶδέναι”. The translation presented above is by Long/Sedley (1987, 237). Cf. also Sext. Emp. Math. 8.67 and, furthermore, 7.242–246 (= Chrysipp. SVF 2.65); on this last passage, with a slightly different explanation of Orestes' visions, see Løkke 2015, 57s. with n. 33, 116.

All in all, it seems not unlikely to hypothesize that this way of interpreting the Aeschylean passage has a Stoic origin. A philosophical concern with the epistemological problem of the existence of the so called κριτήριον τῆς ἀληθείας (“criterion of truth”) can be recognized in the last sentence of the *scholion* (εἰσὶ γὰρ φαντασίου ἀληθεῖς, “there exist, in fact, true images”), and it is well known that the debate on this crucial issue involved, for a long time, the Sceptics, on the one side, and the Stoics, on the other.⁴⁸ The present *scholion* could echo such a polemic, in which some poetic passages were adduced to corroborate or contrast philosophical arguments.

The philosophical background of the above explanation, which may go back to the Hellenistic age, is not any more recognizable in the *schol. Sept.* 186a:

αὔειν λακάζειν· ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρνέων λέγεται· ἀλόγοις οὖν ζώοις παρενέβαλε τὰς παρθένους ὅτι ἐν φαντασίᾳ γεγόνασι, πρῶτον μὲν γυναικεῖα καὶ δειλῆ, δεύτερον δὲ οὐκ ἀληθεῖ. λακάζειν δὲ λέγεται τὸ ἡχεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ληκῶ ῥήματος, λακάζω κατὰ τροπὴν τοῦ η εἰς α καὶ κατὰ παραγωγὴν. **NcP¹PdSjVYYaYb.**

aeuein (‘crying out’), *lakazein* (‘shouting’): they are used with reference to birds; (Eteocles) compared the girls to irrational animals, for they were victims of imaginings above all feminine and cowardly, secondly untrue. *Lakazein* (‘shouting’) is said of sounding, from the verb *leko*, (which becomes) *lakazo* through the change of *e* in *a* and the addition of a syllable.

This probably opened the way to the banalization of the explanation which can be found in the *schol. Sept.* 158s, pertaining to Thomas Magister’s recension (also known as *scholia B*):⁴⁹

[...] ταῦτα δὲ λέγει ὁ χορὸς οὐχ ὅτι ἀληθῶς ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ’ Αἰσχύλος ἐξεπίτηδες τοῦτο ποιεῖ τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν παριστῶν φύσιν, ἥνικα ταραχθεῖεν φόβῳ καὶ τὰ οὐκ ὄντα φανταζομένων.
θ

⁴⁸ Cf. Sext. Emp. *Math.* 8.64, 8.67s. On this debate see Long 1991, 120–123, 126–128; Ioppolo 1986; Schofield 1999. The last two scholars, in particular, took part in the debate on «whether Arcesilaus argues solely *ad hominem* or adopts scepticism *in propria persona*» (in Schofield’s words: *o.c.* 324 n. 6). The first view is represented by P. Couissin, G. Striker, M. Frede and Schofield himself; the second one by A.M. Ioppolo, H. Maconi, R. Bett, R.J. Hankinson.

⁴⁹ See also *schol. Tricl. Sept.* 158m, transmitted by ms. **T** (*Neap.* II F 31), where the Thoman origin of the explanation is confirmed (the initial letter of the *scholion* is larger than the following ones and protrudes from the column of the marginal commentary, indicating that Demetrius Triclinius found this comment among Thoman *scholia*; on this notational system see esp. Smith 1975, 35).

The Chorus says these things not because they really happened; Aeschylus deliberately represents this situation in order to show the nature of the women, who conceive even things which do not exist when they are upset by fear.

Here no trace of the ancient philosophical *dogma* survives and the behaviour of the Chorus is generically justified as an instance of feminine fear – a stereotypical concept.

3.2 *Eumenides*

The ancient *scholia* on this tragedy are particularly rich in observations concerning the staging of the play, mainly of its first part, where the Pythian Priestess enters Apollo's temple and immediately rushes back, terrified, vividly describing the horrifying Erinyes, who afterward become visible on stage to the audience. The marginal comments focus on the clever trick of introducing the Priestess talking emotionally about what is happening offstage (*scholl.* 1a–b); on the stage left empty for a while after the Priestess enters the temple (*schol.* 33a); on the appearance of Apollo, Orestes and the Erinyes on stage, made possible by the mechanical devices (*scholl.* 64b–c); on the epiphany of Clytaemestra's ghost urging the Erinyes to persecute Orestes (*scholl.* 94a–b) and the first reaction of the Chorus to her words, a moaning (μυγμός, ὤγμός) according to the stage direction (παρεπιγραφή) following the queen's intervention (*schol.* 117); on the lifelike way in which the Erinyes wake up, one after the other, and begin to sing in a pathetic style (*scholl.* 140b, 144, 145; cf. *Vit. Aesch.* 9).⁵⁰

The description of the Priestess is a clear example of poetic *phantasia* as described by 'Longinus', since she speaks having been inspired by a strong emotion and conveys what she has seen to the audience, putting it before their eyes. The aforementioned *scholia*, however, do not point out this aspect; rather, they highlight the difference between this pathetic way of relating the offstage happenings and the more sober and rhetorically refined style adopted by the younger tragedians, especially by Euripides (*schol.* 1a ἡ δὲ προφητις ... ἀπροόπτως δὲ ἰδοῦσα τὰς Ἑρινύας κύκλω τοῦ Ὀρέστου καθευδούσας πάντα μὲν τῶν θεατῶν, οὐχ ὡς διηγουμένη τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν – τοῦτο γὰρ νεωτερικὸν <καὶ> Εὐριπίδειον – ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐκπλήξεως τὰ θορυβήσαντα αὐτὴν

⁵⁰ On these *scholia* cf. Meijering 1987, 21, 195f., 289 n. 226; Lundon 1999, 507 with n. 3; Manieri 1998, 89–94; Grisolia 2001, 24–27; Nünlist 2009, 107, 348.

καταμηνύουσα φιλοτέχνης).⁵¹ Here the concept of *phantasia* is referred to while commenting upon the change of stage setting after the *prologos* (vv. 1–63):

schol. Eum. 64b <οὔτοι προδώσω>] ἐπιφανεῖς Ἀπόλλων συμβουλευεῖ Ὀρέστη καταλιπεῖν μὲν τὸ μαντεῖον, φυγεῖν δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας. καὶ δευτέρα δὲ γίνεται φαντασία· στραφέντα γὰρ μηχανήματα ἔνδηλα ποιεῖ τὰ κατὰ τὸ μαντεῖον ὡς ἔχει. καὶ γίνεται ὄψις τραγική· τὸ μὲν ξίφος ἡμαγμένον ἔτι κατέχων Ὀρέστης, αἱ δὲ κύκλῳ φρουροῦσαι αὐτόν.⁵² M

Apollo appears and recommends that Orestes abandon the oracle and flee to Athens. Then there is a second *phantasia*: mechanical devices activated by winches make visible the situation inside the oracle. It is a tragic spectacle: Orestes, still holding the bloody sword, and those (i.e. the Erinyes), in a circle, guarding him.

According to *schol. Eum.* 1a, at the beginning of the play the stage represented the exterior of Apollo's oracle at Delphi (φαίνεται ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τὸ μαντεῖον). When the Pythia leaves, the other characters are presented to the audience's sight through two subsequent *phantasiai*: the first involves Apollo and Orestes, the second (καὶ δευτέρα δὲ γίνεται φαντασία) also includes the Erinyes. In other words, there is a change of stage setting, which is made possible by some mechanical devices (μηχανήματα) activated by winches (στραφέντα). These should open the doors of the temple in two distinct moments, allowing the audience to see firstly Apollo and his protégé, then the Erinyes surrounding Orestes.⁵³

In this context *phantasia* clearly means 'scene which is concretely brought before the eyes of the public', with the result that the term virtually comes to coincide with the Aristotelian notion of ὄψις (cf. *Poet.* 1450b 15–20) – as it is also suggested by the following parallel sentence: καὶ γίνεται ὄψις τραγική.⁵⁴ The

⁵¹ On the meaning of φιλοτέχνης see esp. London 1999. On the Euripidean prologues in ancient scholiastic tradition, cf. Garzya 1989, 8.

⁵² Very similar to this is *schol. Eum.* 64c, transmitted by E (*Salm.* BU 233, 15th century), one of the manuscript representants of the proto-Triclinian recension of the Aeschylean text (cf. Smith 1993, XII–XIV). The standard edition for the scholia on *Eumenides* is Smith 1993.

⁵³ On the mechanical devices quoted by the scholiast and the technical meaning of the participle στραφέντα see now Casanova 2017, 26f., who thinks that Apollo's epiphany was made possible by the *ekkyklema*. For the use of this device in *Eumenides* see also Brown 1982, 26f. and Sommerstein 1989, 33, 93; for the opposite view see Taplin 1977, 369–374, 442f. and Di Benedetto/Medda 1997, 89f., 98s. (with further bibliography). In any case, it is noteworthy to observe that «crane and *ekkyklema* seem to have fired ancient critics' imagination, with the result that they find rather more occasions for their use than is actually necessary or practical. This seems to apply to no less a scholar than Aristophanes of Byzantium [fr. 390 Slater = *schol. Eur. Hipp.* 171]» (Nünlist 2009, 357).

⁵⁴ Cf. Meijering 1987, 21 (who renders *phantasia* as «that which is, literally, being shown on the stage»); Manieri 1998, 89–93; Grisolia 2001, 44f. For a different interpretation of the term

implication is that the poet's imagining is translated into visual language: a concrete application of the *πρὸ ὁμμάτων*-principle formulated by the philosopher of Stagira.⁵⁵ As seen above (§ 1), he recommended that the poets construct their plots and work them out in diction with the material as much as possible in the mind's eye, in order to discover what is apposite and not miss contradictions (*Poet.* 1455a 22–25).⁵⁶ As Di Marco (1989, 47) argued, for Aristotle the mental image of the poet can be considered as an instance of *ὄψις* only if understood as a purely imagined spectacle, a sort of mental prefiguration of the (future) actual staging. In any case, this does not erase the distinction between the two notions, the mental image (*φαντασία*), which must be rendered by the poet through the *lexis* and its figures (*σχήματα*),⁵⁷ and the visual dimension of tragedy (*ὄψις*).⁵⁸ The scholiast on Aeschylus (or his unknown source) seems to go a step further and to make *φαν-τασία* synonymous with *ὄψις*.

This meaning of the term is perhaps also detectable in another, less studied scholion to the *Eumenides* focusing on stage setting:

schol. vet. Eum. 94a εὐδοιτ' ἄν] ὁ μὲν Ὀρέστης φυγῇ οἴχεται Ἀθήναζε πειθόμενος, αἱ δὲ Ἑρινύες μόναι καθεύδουσιν ὑπὸ πόνου ἴσως καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, τοῦ τραγωδοποιοῦ τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύσαντος ἵνα διὰ τούτου ἐμφαίνῃ τὸ ἄγριον αὐτῶν καὶ χαλεπόν. πῶς δὲ διεγείρονται; οὐχ ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος οὐδὲ ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἄλλῃ φαντασίᾳ· ἐφίσταται γὰρ τὸ εἶδωλον Κλυταιμίστρας καὶ μεμψάμενον ἀνεγείρει, ὥστε ποικίλαις φαντασίαις πεπύκνωται. **M**

Do please sleep on!] Orestes obeys (Apollo) and flees to Athens, while the Erinyes, left alone, sleep from exhaustion and, equally, at the hand of Apollo – the dramatist makes this deliberately, so that their wildness and harshness emerge. How do they wake up? Not at the hand of Apollo or by themselves, but in a different *phantasia*: the ghost of Clytemestra arrives and wakes them with words of blame, with the result that (the scene) is full of various icastic personifications.

φαντασία in this context see Arnott 1962, 81f. (re-appearance of the Pythia at v. 34) and Taplin 1977, 370 with n. 1 (second epiphany of Apollo).

55 On the notion of 'putting before the eyes' suffice it here to refer to Morpurgo-Tagliabue 1967, 256–266.

56 Transl. by S. Halliwell (London/Cambridge, Mass. 1995).

57 For *σχήματα* as stylistic figures see above n. 20.

58 On the meaning of *phantasia* in Aristotle, with reference to poetical and rhetorical activity, cf. Armisen-Marchetti 1980, 5–12; Meijering 1987, 18–21; Manieri 1998, 34–40; Labarrière 2007; Riu 2009. On the *ὄψις*, considered by the philosopher as an element substantially extrinsic to the poetic art (cf. *Poet.* 1450b 18–21, 1453b 1–7), the bibliography is too vast to be referred to here (see Schrier 1998 and the ongoing on-line repertoire by M. Heath at <<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/classics/resources/poetics/poetbib.htm>>); suffice it here to quote Di Marco 1989; Halliwell 2002; Sifakis 2013.

Following Orestes' departure, the Erinyes are left alone, implying that, according to the scholiast, Apollo too leaves after v. 93.⁵⁹ In this way, the stage is occupied only by the horrific goddesses, still silent (until the repeated moaning starting after v. 117), sleeping because of their tiredness and by the action of Apollo.⁶⁰ an artistic trick devised by the tragedian in order to show the wild and monstrous nature of the Erinyes. The sentence τοῦ τραγωδοποιοῦ τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύσαντος ἵνα διὰ τούτου ἐμφαίνει τὸ ἄγριον αὐτῶν καὶ χαλεπὸν makes clear that the scholiast is here focusing on the *mise en scène*, especially on the visual aspect, since the goddesses are mostly silent in this scene.

This consideration of the dramatic technique of Aeschylus is followed by an observation concerning the way in which the Chorus wakes up, which involves the epiphany of a new, striking character: the ghost of Clytaemestra. In this context, the term *phantasia* refers to the vivid scene mentally conceived by the poet and actually transferred to the stage.⁶¹ This interpretation is suggested also by the conclusive consecutive proposition: the combined presence of the revenge goddesses and of the dead queen on the stage makes the scene dense (πεπύκνωται)⁶² with personifications of various kind, whose visual features are concretely put before the eyes of the audience. Therefore, the meaning of the plural *phantasiai* appears to be here not only synonymous with that of *eidolopoiiai*, in the rhetorical sense of vivid prosopopoeia of a dead or an abstract object (see above § 1), but also close to the notion of *opseis*, «primarily [...] *prosôpa*/masks (and secondarily [...] costumes, sets and stage-properties)»,⁶³

⁵⁹ This is accepted by most modern scholars (cf. e.g. Taplin 1977, 365; Sommerstein 1989, 100); for a different view, see Di Benedetto 1987, 137–139.

⁶⁰ Virtually an inference from vv. 67f. (Apollo speaks to his protégé: καὶ νῦν ἀλούσας τάσδε τὰς μάργους ὄρᾳς / ὕπνῳ πεσοῦσαι δ' αἱ κατάπυστοι κόραι) and 148–150 (the Erinyes speak: ὕπνῳ κρατηθεῖσ' ἄγρην ὤλεσα. // ἰὼ παῖ Διός· ἐπὶ κλοπος πέλη, / νέος δὲ γραΐας δαίμονας καθιπτάσω).

⁶¹ Grisolia (2001, 26) understands ἐν ἄλλῃ φαντασίᾳ as «col ricorso ad un altro scatto della facoltà dell'immaginazione creatrice del poeta», with more emphasis on the mental faculty of imagining than on its product; more conveniently, the scholar recognizes in the last sentence a reference to actual staging (his paraphrase of the text reads: «la successione degli avvenimenti 'immaginata' dall'autore, e t e a t r a l m e n t e a t t u a t a, viene ad essere costituita da un addensarsi di realizzazioni sceniche artisticamente elaborate»).

⁶² For (κατα)πυκνόνω in a similar context see 'Long.' *Subl.* 9.12, on the *Odyssey*: οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τοῖς Ἰλιακοῖς ἐκείνοις ποιήμασιν ἴσον ἐνταῦθα σφύζει (*scil.* Homer) τὸν τόνον ... οὐδὲ τὸ ἀγχίστροφον καὶ πολιτικὸν καὶ ταῖς ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας φαντασίαις καταπεπυκνωμένον ("no longer does he preserve the sustained energy of the great *Iliad* lays [...], the versatile rapidity and actuality, dense with images drawn from real life", transl. S. Halliwell).

⁶³ Sifakis 2013, 8. For the concrete meaning of the plural ὄψεις in Aristotle's *Poetics* (see esp. 1450b10f.) cf. also Bonanno 2000, 407–410 (= 2016, 28–31), who makes reference to Anon.

since the personifications of Clytaemestra and the Erinyes are considered as actually represented on stage (through proper masks, languages and movements). As for the adjective ποικίλος, it seems to point not so much to artistic elaboration (of the *phantasiai*)⁶⁴ as to the principle of variation, «a cornerstone of ancient literary criticism that is applied in many forms and contexts» and that, «as an interpretative principle, became particularly important in the Hellenistic period».⁶⁵ What seems to be at issue here is the accumulation of several and various personifications: a dead person and the embodiments of revenge.

That Aeschylean tragedy was superspectacular and full of *opseis* is a feature emphasized particularly by the ancient *bios* of the poet, transmitted by mss I and M and going back probably to a Peripatetic source.⁶⁶ At § 7 (T 1.25s. Radt), this biography testifies that the poet «used visual effects and plots for the sake of portentous shock rather than for the sake of deceiving the audience» (ταῖς τε γὰρ ὄψεσι καὶ τοῖς μύθοις πρὸς ἑκπληξιν τερατώδη μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀπάτην κέχρηται)⁶⁷, while at § 14 (T 1.53–57 R.) it records that he «was the first to [...] decorate the stage–building and astound the spectators' gaze with splendour, paintings and machines, altars and tombs, trumpets, ghosts and Erinyes, and he gave the actors long sleeves, increasing their size with long robes and raising them up on bigger boots». Many of the visual effects quoted here seem to be drawn, though not exclusively, from *Eumenides*: the above examined *scholia* on this tragedy pointed to the use of a particular machine, the *ekkyklema*, and to the presence of Clytaemestra's ghost and the Erinyes; moreover, Taplin (1977, 393 n. 2) has linked the reference to the trumpets with *Eum.* 566–569.⁶⁸ This play was perceived in antiquity as particularly spectacular, as is confirmed by the same biographer at § 9 (T 1.30–32 R.), when he states that «some say that at the performance of *Eumenides*, when he led on the Chorus one by one, he frightened the people so

(Psell.?) *Trag.* 1, p. 26.2–4 Perusino (οἷς δὲ μιμεῖται [*scil.* ἡ τραγωδία] μῦθος, διάνοια, λέξις, μέτρον, ῥυθμός, μέλος, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις αἱ ὄψεις, αἱ σκηναί, οἱ τόποι, αἱ κινήσεις).

⁶⁴ So, e.g., Grisolia: see previous footnote.

⁶⁵ Nünlist 2009, 198–202: quotation from p. 201. On the principle of variation or *poikilia* see also Meijering 1987, 167–171 and Heath 1987, 105f.

⁶⁶ Cf. Podlecki 1969, 131–137; Taplin 1977, 46; Rosenmeyer 1982, 373.

⁶⁷ Transl. by S. Burges Watson (Durham 2014, <https://livingpoets.dur.ac.uk/w/Life_of_Aeschylus?oldid=2529>), slightly modified: ἀπάτη has been interpreted as 'deceit' according to Pace (2008, esp. 251), who argues for a negative sense of the term in this context on the basis of *Ar. Ra.* 908–910, where Euripides charges Aeschylus with deceiving his public through his dramas made of long silences of the actors and extended choral songs.

⁶⁸ The ancient scholion on this passage focuses only on the anachronism of the scene, not on its staging.

much that some children lost consciousness and unborn babies were aborted» (τινὲς δὲ φασιν ἐν τῇ ἐπιδείξει τῶν Εὐμενίδων σποράδην εἰσαγαγόντα τὸν χορὸν τοσοῦτον ἐκπλῆξαι τὸν δῆμον ὥστε τὰ μὲν νήπια ἐκψῦξαι, τὰ δὲ ἔμβρυα ἐξαμβλωθῆναι).

It is noteworthy that both the ancient *bios* and the above *scholia* share the same interest in actual staging and the same perception of Aeschylean tragedy as superspectacular. Such a perception is not to be found in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, where, «except for the reference to chariots, Aeschylus is regarded as monstrous and astounding in his words not his production» (Taplin 1977, 45); on the contrary, it appears to be later than fifth-century Athens, and probably conditioned by reproductions of the tragedies characterized by interpolated spectacular effects, which could have contributed to attach to their staging the effects attributed by Aristophanes to their language and style.⁶⁹ The cited *scholia* could be rooted in such a cultural context, but it is impossible to identify their possible source with any precision.

Finally, there is a third *scholion* which deserves some attention. It comments upon the gory image conjured up by the Chorus leader at the beginning of her *rhexis*, pronounced upon her arrival at Athens in pursuit of Orestes (vv. 244–247):

εἶέν· τόδ' ἐστὶ τάνδρὸς ἐκφανὲς τέκμαρ,
ἔπου δὲ μηνυτῆρος ἀφθέγκτου φραδαῖς.
τετραυματισμένον γὰρ ὡς κύων νεβρὸν
πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σταλαγμὸν ἐκματεύομεν.

Aha! This is the clear track of the man! Follow the guidance of the voiceless informant! Like a hound on the trail of a wounded fawn, we are tracking him down by the drip of blood.

An ancient commentator explains the simile of the hound hunting a wounded fawn in the following terms:

schol. vet. Eum. 246b τετραυματισμέ(νον)· τὸ μὲν ἀπορρεῖν τὸ αἷμα παραδοξολογίας ἐστὶ τραγικῆς. ὅρα δὲ μὴ ἐκβαίνειν τὴν πίστιν ὁ ἀπὸ Ἄργους εἰς Δελφούς ἦκων, εἴτα ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἔτι αἷμα στάζων ἀπὸ τοῦ ξίφους. φαντασία οὖν ἀμήχανος· ἀλλὰ καὶ συγκέχυται τῇ παραδοξολογίᾳ. **M**

wounded] The drip of blood is typical of tragic paradoxology. Be careful that he who from Argo arrives at Delphi, and from there at Athens, with his sword still dripping blood does not violate credibility. The scene is therefore impossible, and is also blended with paradoxology.

⁶⁹ For this hypothesis see Taplin 1977, 45–49.

The Erinyes are the hound, while the bleeding fawn is Orestes, whose sword is still dripping blood (cf. *schol. Eum.* 64b τὸ μὲν ξίφος ἡμαγμένον ἔτι κατέχων Ὀρέστης). Such a hunting scene is qualified by the scholiast as a φαντασία ἀμήχανος, with reference to the implausible detail of the blood still trickling long after the murder. Here is a clear instance of those visualizations classified by 'Longinus' (*Subl.* 15.8) as poetic *phantasiai* inasmuch as they are characterized by «an exaggeration which belongs to fable and far exceeds the limits of credibility». More precisely, the implied category is that of the *adynaton* or 'impossibility',⁷⁰ which Aristotle treated as a tolerated exception in poetry, within certain boundaries (cf. *Poet.* 1460a11–b5). He considered the impossible or marvelous more feasible in epic than in tragedy, since the first is a narrative and allows one to overlook implausible scenes or details,⁷¹ which is more difficult in the second genre because of its dramatic nature. If, however, a tragedian⁷² introduces irrational incidents to his plays, he should at least put them "outside the plot-structure (ἔξω τοῦ μυθεύματος), such as Oedipus' not knowing the manner of Laius' death" (1460a29–31) or other tragic instances later quoted by the philosopher. In *Eum.* 244–247 this limitation does not appear to be observed, for the Erinyes describe what they see, with the result that the *adynaton* is not 'sweetened' in any way and, therefore, violates credibility (ὄρα δὲ μὴ ἐκβαίνειν τὴν πίστιν κτλ.).⁷³

A final aspect to consider regards the characterization of the Aeschylean παραδοξολογία as specifically 'tragic' – a specification which finds no parallels elsewhere, as far as I know. The easier hypothesis is that the reference is to the (peculiarly tragic) effect of fear caused by the horrific detail of the bloody sword, a particular instance of the general effect of ἐκπληξίς produced by poetic images according to 'Long.' *Subl.* 15.2.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Cf. Lausberg 1973, 515 § 1180, 538f. §§ 1216–1218; Manzo 1988, esp. 87–27. For another instance of *adynaton* in Aeschylus see 'Long.' *Subl.* 15.6 (quoted above, § 2).

⁷¹ Cf. Else 1957, 621–631. For a concrete application of this principle see *schol. bT Il.* 21.269a, where the question of the plausibility is explicitly addressed and solved by admitting that the readers do not even notice the problem: ὅλον τὸ πεδίον πέλαγος γεγενημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ (*scil.* the river god Scamander) ἔδειξεν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ὤμους ἐπικλύζειν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως. καὶ π ρ ὁ ς μ ἐ ν ἄ λ ἡ θ ε ι α ν τ α ὕ τ α ο ὐ π ι θ α ν ἄ τί γὰρ ἐ π ρ ᾶ τ τ ε τ ο περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας; ἀ π ῖ θ α ν ο ν γὰρ μόνον τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῦτα πάσχειν. ὥς δὲ ἐν ποιήσει παραδεκτά. On this and other similar scholia cf. Meijering 1987, 65–70; Nünlist 2009, 174–184.

⁷² However, the question involves epic poets too (cf. e.g. Rostagni 1945, 152; Else 1957, 627 with n. 114; Lucas 1968, 230 *ad* 1460a31).

⁷³ For another example of impossibilities within a tragic plot cf. *Poet.* 1461b19–21, about Aegaeus' scene in Eur. *Med.* 663ff.

⁷⁴ As noted above (n. 12), 'Longinus' distinguishes 'poetic imagining' (ἡ παρὰ ποιηταῖς φαντασία) from 'rhetoric imagining' (ῥητορικὴ φαντασία): the aim of the former is to enthrall the

4 Concluding remarks

The survey above shows that the term *phantasia* has been used to point out different aspects of Aeschylean poetry, from the false mental image of a character caused by a disturbed state of mind, to the icastic visualization realized by the poet through a skillful use of *lexis*, to the (supposedly) spectacular visual effects of the stage production.

These three main meanings point to different backgrounds. The first seems to go back to Hellenistic epistemology and, very likely, to the Stoic theory of deceptive impressions, which appear to be true, but are in fact the effect of strong passion or madness. Some *scholia* on the first part of *Seven against Thebes* betray such a philosophical concern and seem to be rooted in the debate between Stoics and Sceptics about the criterion of truth – a debate also based on the evidence provided by many literary examples.

The second meaning of *phantasia*, on the other hand, points to a rhetorical milieu, one particularly interested in the choice of ancient models to be emulated. ‘Longinus’, in particular, regarded Aeschylus’ visualizations as a powerful example of artistic grandeur and the ability to enthrall and strike the audience through unexpected or implausible scenes, but not without a severe criticism of the stylistic flaws he encountered, such as tumidity and harshness. This shows that the poet «was in fact a problematic figure for critics of the sublime» (Hunter 2009, 130). This notion of *phantasia* makes its appearance also in the ancient *scholia*, for example in the note on *Eum.* 246, where the representation of Orestes pursued by the Erinyes features an implausible detail, namely the sword still dripping blood long after the murder – a detail which is regarded as apt to produce the peculiarly tragic effect of fear (the effect which ‘Longinus’ did not concede to Boreas’ imaginative *rhexis* in the *Orithyia*).⁷⁵

In some *scholia*, this interest in the graphic quality of the language is associated with an eagerness for the actual production of the drama (generally recovered by the poetic words themselves). This aspect is attested to, for example, by some comments on the staging of the first part of the *Eumenides* (*scholl. vett.* 64a and 94a), where *phantasia* refers to a scene or a personification mentally conceived by the poet and concretely represented on stage, bringing the term

audience and its main feature is «an exaggeration which belongs to fable and far exceed the limits of credibility» (15.8 τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς μυθικωτέραν ἔχει τὴν ὑπερέκπρωσιν, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ πάντα τὸ πιστὸν ὑπεραίρουσαν).

⁷⁵ *Subl.* 3.1 καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν (*scil.* the phrasing and the images) πρὸς αὐγὰς ἀνασκοπῆς, ἐκ τ ο ὕ φ ο β ε ρ ο ὕ κατ’ ὀλίγον ὑποννοστεῖ πρὸς τὸ εὐκαταφρόνητον.

close to the Aristotelian concept of *opsis*. Such a concern is shared with the older *Vita Aeschyli*, probably of Peripatetic origin, and could partly reflect the practice of post-classical reperformances of Aeschylean tragedies, in so far as complex mechanical devices are involved.⁷⁶

In sum, it can be observed that the different values of the term *phantasia* appear to reflect some significant moments of Aeschylus' *Nachleben* from the Hellenistic age onwards and the perspective from which his tragedies – or, at least, some passages from them – were read and utilized in philosophical and in rhetorical contexts.

Bibliography

- Armisen-Marchetti, M. (1980), “La notion d’imagination chez les Anciens. II – La rhétorique”, in *Pallas* 27, 3–37.
- Arnott, P.D. (1962), *Greek Scenic Conventions in the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford.
- Aygon, J.-P. (2004), “«Imagination» et description chez les rhéteurs du I^{er} s. ap. J.-C.”, in *Latomus* 63, 108–123.
- Beil, U.J. (2003), “Phantasie”, in G. Kalivoda/H. Mayer/F.-H. Robling (eds), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, 6, Tübingen, 927–943.
- Bonanno, M.G. (2000), “Opsis e opseis nella Poetica di Aristotele”, in G. Arrighetti (ed.), *Letteratura e riflessione sulla letteratura nella cultura classica*, Roma, 401–411.
- Bonanno, M.G. (2016), *Aristotele ambiguo? Qualche riflessione sulla Poetica*, Trieste.
- Brown, A.L. (1982), “Some problems in the Eumenides of Aeschylus”, in *JHS* 102, 26–32.
- Bühler, W. (1964), *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Schrift vom Erhabenen*, Göttingen.
- Camassa, G. (1988), “Phantasia da Platone ai Neoplatonici”, in M. Fattori/M. Bianchi (eds.), *Phantasia – Imaginatio*. V^o Colloquio internazionale, Roma 9–11 gennaio 1986. Atti, Roma, 23–55.
- Casanova, A. (2017), “La macchina teatrale chiamata *ecciclèma*”, in *Prometheus* 43, 3–42.
- Castelli, C. (1990), “Eschilo, Sofocle, Euripide nella tradizione tecnico-retorica greca. I. Eschilo”, in *Aevum* 64, 33–45.
- Castelli, C. (2000), *Μήτηρ σοφιστῶν. La tragedia nei trattati greci di retorica*, Milano.
- Cavarzere, A. (2011), *Gli arcani dell'oratore. Alcuni appunti sull'actio dei Romani*, Padova.
- Csapo, E./Slater, W.J. (1995), *The Context of Ancient Drama*, Ann Arbor.
- Di Benedetto, V. (1987), “Le Eumenidi. Una tragedia di interni e senza σκηνή”, in AA.VV., *Filologia e forme letterarie*. Studi offerti a Francesco della Corte, 1, Urbino, 121–139.

⁷⁶ For such an interest in tragic staging cf. also *P. Mich.* inv. nr. 36 (3rd century AD), published by Luppe 1992, and the *scholia* collected and commented upon by Meijering 1987, 130–132; Csapo/Slater 1995, 26–30; for *schol. Eur. Hipp.* 171 = Ar. Byz. fr. 390 Slater, see above n. 53. On the influence of post-classical reperformances on ancient scholars of Greek drama see Taplin 1977, 22–24, 40, 47, *passim*; Falkner 2002; Nünlist 2009, 361f.

- Di Benedetto, V./Medda, E. (1997), *La tragedia sulla scena*, Torino.
- Dickey, E.D. (2007), *Ancient Greek Scholarship. A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises, from their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period*, Oxford/New York.
- Di Marco, M. (1989), “Ὀψις nella Poetica di Aristotele e nel Tractatus Coislinianus”, in L. De Finis (ed.), *Scena e spettacolo nell'antichità*. Atti del convegno internazionale di studio, Trento 28–30 marzo 1988, Firenze, 129–148.
- Dodds, E.R. (1960), *Euripides. Bacchae*, second edition, Oxford.
- Dross, J. (2004), “De la philosophie à la rhétorique : la relation entre « phantasia » et « enargeia » dans le traité « Du sublime » et l'« Institution oratoire »”, in *PhilosAnt* 4, 61–93.
- Earp, F.R. (1948), *The Style of Aeschylus*, New York.
- Easterling, P. (2015), “Space in the tragic scholia”, in R. Green/M. Edwards (eds), *Images and Texts. Papers in Honour of Professor Eric Handley*, London, 1–12.
- Easterling, P./Hall, E. (eds) (2002), *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, Cambridge/New York.
- Else, G. (1957), *Aristotle's Poetics: The Argument*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Ercoles, M. (forthcoming), “Dottrine filosofiche ellenistiche negli scolî antichi a Eschilo”, in E. Cingano (ed.), *Il commento ai testi greci. Problemi, metodi e tendenze dell'erudizione antica e bizantina / Commentaries on Greek texts. Problems, methods and trends of ancient and Byzantine scholarship*, Roma.
- Falkner, T. (2002), “Scholars versus actors: text and performance in the Greek tragic scholia”, in Easterling/Hall 2002, 342–361.
- Ferrarin, A. (2005), “Aristotle on φαντασία”, in *Proceedings of the Boston Area Colloquium in Ancient Philosophy* 21, 89–123.
- Flory, D. (1996), “Stoic Psychology, Classical Rhetoric, and Theories of Imagination in Western Philosophy”, in *Ph&Rh* 29, 147–167.
- Frede, D. (1992), “The Cognitive Role of Phantasia in Aristotle”, in Nussbaum/Rorty 1992, 280–295.
- Garzya, A. (1989), “Éléments de critique littéraire dans les scholies anciennes à la tragédie”, in *Vichiana* 18, 3–11.
- Gill, C. (1984), “The “ethos/pathos” distinction in rhetorical and literary criticism”, in *CQ* n.s. 34, 149–166.
- Grisolia, R. (2001), *Oikonomia. Struttura e tecnica drammatica negli scolî antichi ai testi drammatici*, Napoli.
- Halliwel, S. (1986), *Aristotle's poetics*, London.
- Halliwel, S. (1987), *The Poetics of Aristotle. Translation and commentary*, London.
- Halliwel, S. (2002), “Aristotelianism and Anti-Aristotelianism in Attitudes to the Theatre”, in E. Theodorakopoulos (ed.), *Attitudes to Theatre from Plato to Milton*, Bari, 57–75.
- Heath, M. (1987), *The Poetics of Greek Tragedy*, Stanford.
- Hunter, R. (2009), *Critical Moments in Classical Literature. Studies in the Ancient View of Literature and its Uses*, Cambridge/New York.
- Hutchinson, G.O. (1985), *Aeschylus. Septem contra Thebas*, Oxford.
- Imbert, C. (1992), *Phénoménologies et langages formulaires*, Paris.
- Ioppolo, A.M. (1986), *Opinione e scienza. Il dibattito tra Stoici e Accademici nel III e nel II secolo a.C.*, Napoli.
- Labarrière, J.-L. (2006), “Faut voir à voir ! : considérations pseudo-longiniennes”, in *Métis* n.s. 4, 71–93.

- Labarrière, J.-L. (2007), "Phantasia et mimèsis. D'Aristote à Batteux... et retour", in T. Lenain / D. Lories (eds), *Mimèsis. Approches actuelles*, Bruxelles, 75–101.
- Lana, I. (1951), *Quintiliano, il «Sublime» e gli «Esercizi preparatori» di Elio Teone*, Torino.
- Lausberg, H. (1973), *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, second edition, München (quoted from the Engl. transl. by M.T. Bliss/A. Jansen/D.E. Orton, Leiden/Boston/Köln).
- Løkke, H. (2015), *Knowledge and Virtue in Early Stoicism*, New York/London.
- Long, A.A. (1974), *Hellenistic Philosophy. Stoics, Epicureans e Sceptics*, London (quoted from the Ital. transl. by A. Calzolari, Bologna 1991).
- Long, A.A./Sedley, D.N. (1987), *The Hellenistic Philosophers*, 1, Cambridge.
- Lucas, D.W. (1968), *Aristotle. Poetics*. Oxford.
- Lundon, J. (1999), "L'avverbio φιλοτέχνης nel contesto di tre scoli tragici", in *Athenaeum* 87, 507–514.
- Luppe, W. (1992), "Ein Fragment aus einer unbekannten Abhandlung über Theateraufführungen (mit neuem Kompositum ὑψιπέτης?)", in *ZPE* 93, 166f.
- Luzzatto, M.T. (1981), "Pseudo Longino e Cecilio di Calatte; a proposito di un giudizio su Eschilo", in *SIFC* 53, 50–100.
- Luzzatto, M.T. (1983), *Tragedia greca e cultura ellenistica: l'Or. LII di Dione di Prusa*, Bologna.
- Manieri, A. (1998), *L'immagine poetica nella teoria degli antichi. Phantasia ed enargeia*, Pisa/Roma.
- Manzo, A. (1988), *L'adynaton poetico-retorico e le sue implicazioni dottrinali*, Genova.
- Mazzucchi, C.M. (2010), *Dionisio Longino. Del Sublime*, second edition, Milano.
- Meijering, R. (1987), *Literary and Rhetorical Theories in Greek Scholia*, Groningen.
- Morpurgo-Tagliabue, G. (1967), *Linguistica e stilistica di Aristotele*, Roma.
- Nannini, S. (1986), *Omero e il suo pubblico nel pensiero dei commentatori antichi*, Roma.
- Nünlist, R. (2009), *The Ancient Critic at Work. Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia*, Cambridge/New York.
- Nünlist, R. (2015), *Poetics and Literary Criticism in the Framework of Ancient Greek Scholarship*, in F. Montanari/S. Matthaios/A. Rengakos (eds), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*, Leiden/Boston, 706–755.
- Nussbaum, M.C./Rorty, A.O. (eds.) (1992), *Essays on Aristotle's De Anima*, Oxford.
- Otto, N. (2009), *Enargeia. Untersuchung zur Charakteristik alexandrinischer Dichtung*, Stuttgart.
- Pace, C. (2008), "Tragedia, ἐκπλήξις e ἀπάτη nell'anonima Vita di Eschilo", in *SemRom* 11, 229–254.
- Podlecki, A.J. (1969), "The Peripatetics as literary critics", in *Phoenix* 23, 114–137.
- Porter, J.I. (2016), *The Sublime in Antiquity*, Cambridge.
- Rispoli, G.M. (1984), "Φαντασία ed ἐνάργεια negli scoli all'Iliade", in *Vichiana* 13, 311–339.
- Rispoli, G.M. (1985), *L'artista sapiente. Per una storia della fantasia*, Napoli.
- Riu, X. (2009), "Percezione, phantasia, mimèsis in Aristotele", in D. Fausti/F. Marzari (eds.), *L'inganno dei sensi: costruire i limiti naturali della percezione corporea*. Atti delle giornate internazionali di studio. Siena, 2–3 dicembre 2008, in *QRO* 2, 18–35.
- Rosenmeyer, T.G. (1982), *The Art of Aeschylus*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London.
- Rostagni, A. (1945), *Aristotele. Poetica*, second revised edition, Torino 1945.
- Russell, D.A. (1964), *'Longinus'. On the Sublime*, Oxford.
- Schofield, M. (1992), "Aristotle on the Imagination", in Nussbaum/Rorty 1992, 249–277 [originally published in G.E.R. Lloyd/G.E.L. Owen (eds) (1978), *Aristotle on Mind and the Senses*. Proceedings of the Seventh Symposium Aristotelicum, Cambridge, 99–141].

- Schofield, M. (1999), *Academic epistemology*, in K. Algra/J. Barnes/J. Mansfeld/M. Schofield (eds.), *Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*, Cambridge, 323–351.
- Schrier, O.J. (1998), *The Poetics of Aristotle and the Tractatus Coislinianus: a bibliography from about 900 till 1996*, Leiden.
- Sedley, D.N. (2002), *Zeno's definition of phantasia kataleptike*, in T. Scaltsas/A.S. Mason (eds.), *The Philosophy of Zeno*, Larnaca, 135–154.
- Sifakis, G.M. (2013), *The misunderstanding of opsis in Aristotle's Poetics*, Leiden/Boston 2013 [re-edition with some corrections and additions of the paper published in G.W.M. Harrison/V. Liapis (eds.), *Performance in Greek and Roman Theatre*, Leiden/Boston, 46–58].
- Smith, O.L. (1975), *Studies in the Scholia on Aeschylus*, 1, *The recensions of Demetrius Triclinius*, Leiden.
- Smith, O.L. (1982), *Scholia in Aeschylum quae exstant omnia*, 2, *Scholia in Septem adversus Thebas*, Leipzig.
- Smith, O.L. (1993), *Scholia in Aeschylum quae exstant omnia*, 1, *Scholia in Agamemnonem, Choephoros, Eumenides, Supplices*, second edition, Leipzig (1972¹).
- Sommerstein, A.H. (1989), *Aeschylus. Eumenides*, Cambridge/New York.
- Stanford, W.B. (1942), *Aeschylus in His Style. A Study in Language and Personality*, Dublin.
- Striker, G. (1974), “Κριτήριον τῆς ἀληθείας”, in *NGG* 2, 47–110 (now in Striker 1996, 22–76, whence I quote).
- Striker, G. (1977), “Epicurus on the Truth of Sense Impressions”, in *AGPh* 59, 125–142 (now in Striker 1996, 76–91, whence I quote).
- Striker, G. (1996), *Essays on Hellenistic Epistemology and Ethics*, Cambridge.
- Striller, F. (1886), *De Stoicorum studiis rhetoricis*, 1, Breslau.
- Taplin, O. (1977), *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus*, Oxford.
- Taplin, O. (2003), *Greek Tragedy in Action*, London/New York.
- Togni, P. (2013–2014), “*Enargeia e Phantasia* nel capitolo 15 del trattato *Sul sublime*. Le fonti dello Pseudo Longino”, in *Incontri di Filologia Classica* 13, 217–238.
- Watson, G. (1988), *Phantasia in Classical Thought*, Galway.
- Webb, R. (2009), *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, Farnham.
- Zanker, G. (1981), “*Enargheia* in the ancient criticism of poetry”, in *RhM* n.F. 124, 297–311.

Renzo Tosi

Aeschylus' scholia in ms. *Ath. Iber.* 209: Two examples

Abstract: Among the scholia to Aeschylus' *Persae* preserved by the ms. *Ath. Iber.* 209 (12th–14th century), the one to v. 14 takes over a glossographic exegesis of the words ἰππότης and ἰππηλάτης as φυγάς, using it for an ἵππεύς which probably left the interpreters uncertain of the difference between ἄγγελος and ἵππεύς. The scholium on vv. 869–871 recalls two passages of Eustathius' commentary to the *Iliad*, with a clear simplification; it belongs to a section, in the ms., which offers mostly scholia belonging to the A-family, which, according to Smith, derive from a lost commentary by Tzetzes, who, in turn, would have recalled Eustathius' commentary to the *Iliad*. Nevertheless, a thorough analysis of this particular case shows that the situation is more complex. Finally, in this scholium we find the fragment of an anonymous author, which could be tragic, and, in particular, Euripidean.

Aeschylus' scholia in ms. *Ath. Iber.* 209 (*olim* 161) are still not edited. M. Ercoles and C. Franchi read them and discovered that many hands wrote them¹. Therefore, Smith's assumption that it is possible to distinguish only two hands that wrote the scholia is erroneous. In particular, until f. 70 they are almost similar to those of *Laur.* pl. 32,9 (10th century). After f. 70 the scholia were written by many Byzantine scholars, who sometimes took and copied former scholia or lexicographical items, in order to explain as obscure an author as Aeschylus was. One of these Byzantine scholars had the same source as the A-scholia.

1. The first section is similar to the *optimus codex*. However, some scholia are interesting. For example, *Pers.* 14f. οὔτε τις ἄγγελος οὔτε τις ἵππεύς / ἄστν τὸ Περσῶν ἀφικνεῖται is explained by the gloss φυγεύς in some manuscripts (**YaHU** : φυγάς **Ya**)². In *Ath. Iber* 209 there is a wider scholion (ἵππεύς: φυγεύς, παρὰ τὸ “ἵπποτα Νέστωρ”· καὶ ἐκεῖνο γὰρ οἱ γλωσσογράφοι ἀντὶ τοῦ φυγάς τιθέασιν), together with a reference to the Glossographers. Many fragments of the Glossographers survive because of the criticism of Aristarchus:³ one of them is

1 For the sigla **I^b** and **I^f** see Ercoles-Franchi 2017 §2.2 (with n. 5) and §2.3.

2 See also Tosi 2016.

3 They were edited by Dyck 1987. According to Lehrs (1865, pp. 37f.) the Glossographers were schoolmasters of the 4th century CE. Latte (1925), Pfeiffer (1973, p. 147) and Nikitas (1978, p. 75)

concerned with our topic. Its main source is Eustathius' commentary to *Il.* 2.625 (305.4–8 = 1.472 V.): οὐ γὰρ Δουλιχιεύς ἀνέκαθεν ὁ Φυλεύς, ἀλλὰ χόλον παθὼν κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μετώκησεν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Ἥλιδα τόπων εἰς τὸ Δουλίχιον. διὸ καὶ ἱππότης νῦν εἰρῆσθαι δοκεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντὶ τοῦ φυγᾶς· κεῖται γάρ ποτε τὸ ἱππότης ὄνομα κατὰ τοὺς Γλωσσογράφους (fr. 12 Dyck) καὶ ἐπὶ τοιοῦτου σημαινομένου. Another source is Tz. *in* [Hes.] *Scut.* 216 (*ap.* Dyck), that explains ἱππότης Περσεύς: ἔοικε κατὰ τοὺς Γλωσσογράφους ἱππότην ἀκούειν τὸν φυγάδα, ἐπεὶ ὁ πάππος Ἀκρίσιος ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν. οὐ γὰρ εἰσάγεται ἵππῳ χρώμενος ὁ Περσεύς. It is evident that the Glossographers explained ἱππότης, 'rider', by φυγάς, 'runaway', 'exile'. This explanation is very odd, but there is also trace of it in the Homeric scholia. In particular, see:

- a) Aristonicus' scholion to *Il.* 14.117 ἱππότης Οἶνεύς· ὅτι ἐλέγχονται οἱ τὸν ἱππότην ἀποδιδόντες φυγάδα· ὁ γὰρ Οἶνεύς κατέμεινε ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος and 14.119 ὁ ἱππότης (cf. v. 117) ἄρα οὐ φυγάς, ἀλλ' ἱππικός. καὶ ὁ Ἡσίοδος (fr. 228 M.–W.) δὲ οὕτως ἀκήκοεν· “ἰδὼν δ' ἱππηλάτα Κῆρυξ”, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἱππικός
- b) *scholia maiora* to *Il.* 18.331 ἱππηλάτα· ἱππικός, **b[BC]** **T** οὐ φυγάς, ὡς οἱ νεώτεροι. **T** ἄκρως δὲ ἀντιτίθησι τῷ Μενoitίῳ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα, ὅτι οὐ μόνος τὰ ὅμοια πείσεται τῷ φίλῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ ὅμοια καρτερήσουσι τῷ Μενoitίῳ. **b[BCE⁴]** **T**
- c) *schol.* D to *Il.* 2.336 van Thiel Ἱππότης. Ἀντὶ τοῦ ἱππικός. νῦν δὲ, φυγάς. ὁ γὰρ ποιητής νῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ φυγάδος κέχρηται. Ἡρακλῆς ἐπιστρατεύσας τῇ Πύλῳ, διὰ τὸ μὴ καθαρθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Νηλέως τὸν Ἰφίτου φόνον, καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν Νηλεΐδων ἀφροσύνην, πολὺς ἦν πορθῶν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν Περικλύμενος ὁ Νηλέως ἔζη, δυσάλωτος ἦν ἡ πόλις. ἀμφίβιος γὰρ ἐγένετο ἐκεῖνος. καὶ δὴ γενόμενον αὐτὸν μέλισσαν, καὶ στάντα ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἄρματος, Ἀθηνᾶ εἰκάσασα Ἡρακλεῖ, ἐποίησεν ἀναιρεθῆναι. τότε Νέστωρ ἐν Γερήνῳις τρεφόμενος, πορθηθείσης τῆς Πύλου, καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ ἀναιρεθέντων, μόνος περιελείφθη. διὸ καὶ Γερήνῳις ὠνομάσθη. ἱστορεῖ Ἡσίοδος ἐν καταλόγοις (fr. 33b M.–W.)
- d) *schol. ex. Od.* 3.68d Pontani Γερήνῳις ἱππότης Νέστωρ· εἰ μὲν νοεῖται τὸ “Γερήνῳις” ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ “Γερήνη” <ή> νῆσος, νοητέον καὶ τὸ “ἱππότης” ὡς φυγάς· τὸν γὰρ μετ' ἵππου φυγόντα “ἱππότην” ἐκάλουν κατὰ τινὰ διάλεκτον. εἰ δὲ τὸ “γερήνῳις” ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ “γέρας” ἡ τιμή, νοητέον καὶ τὸ “ἱππότης” ὡς ὅτι στρατηγικός καὶ χρώμενος τοῖς ἵπποις. ἱστορεῖται δὲ ὅτι τοῦ Ἡρακλέους

thought that they were later. In my opinion the expression 'glossographer' does not indicate a true school of commentators, but generically indicates some early scholars whom Aristarchus argued with in polemics against an impressionistic way of explaining Homer. See also Degani 1995, pp. 506f. (= 2004, pp. 791f.), and Tosi 1997.

ποιήσαντος φόνον καὶ μέλλοντος ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Νηλέως χώραν διὰ κάθαρσιν, ὁ Νηλεὺς παροτρυνθεὶς παρὰ τῆς Ἥρας οὐκ ἐδέξατο αὐτόν, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς Λαπίθας, καὶ ὕστερον μετὰ τὸ σχεῖν καθάρσιον τοῦ φόνου, ἐστράτευσε κατὰ τῶν μὴ δεξαμένων αὐτόν, καὶ ἐγένετο φυγὰς εἰς Γερήνην νῆσον ὁ Νέστωρ καὶ ἀνετράφη ἐκεῖ.

This strange *interpretamentum* is also present in lexicographical texts:

- a) Ap. Soph. 92 B. ἵπποτα· οἱ μὲν νεώτεροι ἵππότην τὸν φυγάδα [ἵππότην] λέγουσιν. “ἵπποτα Φοῖνιξ”, ὅτι φυγὰς ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος πρὸς Πηλέα ἦλθεν. ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος οὐκ ἔοικεν ἐπὶ τούτου τάσσειν. ἔστιν οὖν ὁ ἵπποτης ἱππικός κατὰ πόλεμον, ὡς Νέστωρ καὶ Οἰνεύς. The source of this entry should be a *iunctura* ἵπποτα Φοῖνιξ, that is not attested in any Homeric passage. In my opinion, Lehrs was right in thinking that the source was a passage with γέρων ἱππηλάτα Φοῖνιξ (cf. *Il.* 9.432, 16.196, 19.311). In that case, the Homeric text known by Apollonios had a *varia lectio* γερήνιος ἱπποτα Φοῖνιξ.
- b) Three glosses of Hesychius are interesting. In ι 794, ἱππεύς· [φυγὰς]. καὶ εἶδος κοροσκομίου. καὶ ὁ [ἐπὶ] ἱππικῆς ἐπιστήμων, Latte bracketed φυγὰς. According to him, this *interpretamentum* derived from ι 797 ἱππηλάτης· ἵππον ἐλαύνων ἱππικός φυγὰς. The same *interpretamentum* is present in ι 854 ἵπποτα· ἵππότης, ἱππικός. οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι φυγὰς. οὐκ εὖ. κάλλιον γὰρ ἐπιστήμων ἱππικῆς, ἱππικώτατος **Av(g)**. ἄλλοι ἱππηλάτης. Such a situation is frequent in Hesychius' lexicon: what was an originally complex structure is divided into many simple glosses. Sometimes this process causes mistakes, and it is always difficult to understand the original structure. In our case the glosses derive from a text similar to *schol. Il.* 14.117f., where ἱππηλάτης and ἵπποτης were explained in two different ways.⁴
- c) *Et. M.* 474.6–10 ἵπποτα· ὄνομα ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵπποτης, κατὰ μεταπλασμόν, ἵπποτα, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἱππικός. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ, “ἵπποτα Νέστωρ”, ἀντὶ τοῦ φυγάδος ἐστὶν quotes ἵπποτα Νέστωρ and explains it by the phrase ἀντὶ τοῦ φυγάδος.

⁴ I studied similar cases in Tosi 2015. In particular, *schol. Tricl. Aesch. Ag.* 200b Smith πρόμοισιν: τοῖς προμάχοις, τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν has two *interpretamenta* that derive from a controversy between the Glossographers and Aristarchus: see *scholl. A Il.* 3.44 πρόμον· ὅτι κατὰ συγκοπὴν τὸν πρόμαχον εἵρηκεν, οὐχ ὡς οἱ Γλωσσογράφοι (fr. 28 Dycck) τὸν βασιλέα, *Il.* 7.75a πρόμος ἔμμεναι “Ἐκτορι δίω· ὅτι ἰδίως ὡς περὶ ἐτέρου. καὶ ὅτι πρόμον τὸν πρόμαχον κατὰ συγκοπὴν. καὶ ὅτι ἀκαίρως δῖον ἑαυτὸν ὁ “Ἐκτωρ, *Il.* 7.116b πρόμον· ὅτι πρόμον τὸν πρόμαχον κοινῶς λέγει, *Il.* 7.136a πρόμος· ὅτι ἀντὶ τοῦ πρόμαχος κοινῶς, *Il.* 15.293 πρόμος ἴσταται ὡς μενοινῶν· ὅτι πρόμος σαφῶς ὁ πρόμαχος, *Il.* 22.85c μὴ δὲ πρόμος ἴστασο τούτῳ· ὅτι σαφῶς πρόμος ὁ πρόμαχος, οὐχ ὁ βασιλεὺς. In *schol. Tricl. Aesch. Ag.* 200b nothing of the original structure survives: the two *interpretamenta* are simply presented as synonyms of the lemma.

This expression is quoted by our Aeschylean scholion and is the lemma of *schol. D Il. 2.336* and *schol. ex. Od. 3.68d*.

The term ‘Glossographers’ is sometimes used generically and does not indicate the ancient Homeric commentators. In particular, A.R. Dyck observed (1987, pp. 120f.) that «several passages in which Eustathius, evidently on his own authority, employs the term of authors of studies of dialect glosses» do not concern the Glossographers’ pre-Aristarchean exegesis. Dyck established two criteria for identifying the true fragments of ancient Homeric exegesis: their presence in the Homeric scholia, and the traces of Aristarchean polemic. Both conditions are satisfied in our case. There are Homeric scholia containing the *interpretamentum* φυγάς and Aristonicus’ scholia demonstrate that Aristarchus argued against it. However, it is very difficult to understand which is the passage that is being explained in such a strange way. On this point an important element is that ancient commentators – in particular the Glossographers – derived their exegesis from the immediate context.⁵ In *Il. 2.628f.* Διὶ φίλος ἱππότη Φυλεύς, / ὅς ποτε Δουλίχιον δ’ ἀπενάσσατο πατρὶ χολωθείς the hero Phyleus is characterized as having quarreled with his father and left his native land. Therefore Φυλεύς was truly a φυγάς and it is possible that the Glossographers linked the epithet ἱππότη with this characterizing element. Perhaps, the paronomastic play Φυλεύς ~ φυγεύς favoured this association. However, many mythical heroes (for example Οἰνεύς and Πηλεΐδης) had to leave their native land in their youth. It is a typical ‘mythologeme’. Therefore the exegesis ἱππότης = φυγάς was extended to other heroes and to passages where there was no link to the context.⁶

The presence of the quotation ἱππότη Νέστωρ in our scholion demonstrates that it does not derive either from Eustathios or from Tzetzes. Therefore its source lies in the Homeric scholiastic tradition, where the glossographic explanation of ἱππότης and ἱππηλάτης with φυγάς was still present. Of course it is also possible that this derivation should be explained with recourse to an etymological lexicon such as the *Et. M.* (quoted above). This lexicon seemed to be useful in the interpretation of *Pers. 14*, where it was difficult to understand the difference between ἄγγελος and ἱππεύς. Modern scholars explain it either as an emphatic

⁵ Many strange scholiographical and lexicographical interpretations must be explained by this attitude: cf. Marzullo 1968; Degani 1977–1978; Bossi/Tosi 1979–1980; Tosi 1988, pp. 127–134.

⁶ Paolo Scattolin discussed with me about this question. According to him the starting point of this exegesis was the case of Nestor, who was abroad when Heracles destroyed Pylos. In *schol. D Il. 2.336* van Thiel explains the epithet of Nestor Γερήνιος in this way (while in *schol. ex. Od. 3.68d* Pontani explains it in a completely different way). In my opinion, this myth could explain the extension of the *interpretamentum* to Nestor, but cannot be its origin.

expression – where ἵππεύς specifies the generic ἄγγελος – or in light of the difference between Greek ἄγγελοι and Persian ἄγγαροι. Actually, the latter of these travelled more quickly than the former because they were riding.⁷ In my opinion, Rose (1957, 89) is right in observing the «tendency to put the genus first, the species after». This interpretation sees a reference to the fast Persian system of communicating⁸ and avoids introducing a strange distinction into the text (why should the Persian old men wait for a Greek ἄγγελος?). However that may be, a Byzantine interpreter thought that in this passage Persian old men are waiting for a messenger or a fugitive soldier.

2. In the second section the scholia were written by many scholars. One of them (I^b) had a source similar to A-scholia. According to Smith (1980), A-scholia has copied a lost commentary of Tzetzes on Aeschylus, and Tzetzes was familiar with Eustathius' commentary on the *Iliad*. In my opinion, it is probable that the commentary of Tzetzes was the source of A-scholia. The most important evidence is *schol. I^b Sept. 374d* ὁ δὲ Τζέτζης ἔοικε, φησί, ὁ ἄγγελος ἐκ τῆς ἄγαν ἐπιφαινομένης σπουδῆς μὴ ἐδρασμένον ἔχειν τὸν πόδα ἀλλ' ἐκκρεμάμενον ἐπιφέρειν, for which see the *schol. A ad loc.* ἔοικε δέ, φησί, καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ἐκ τῆς ἄγαν ἐπιφαινομένης σπουδῆς μὴ ἡδρασμένον ἔχειν τὸν αὐτοῦ πόδα ἀλλ' ἐκκρεμῇ τοῦτον ἐπιφέρειν καὶ ἄστατον⁹. On the contrary, four elements make the second assumption of Smith doubtful:

- a) the lapse of time when Tzetzes wrote his commentary would be narrow: from 1175, when Eustathius was appointed Archbishop of Thessaloniki, to 1180, the probable date of Tzetzes' death;¹⁰

7 So also in the translations, as, for example, «nessun nunzio che sia giunto a piedi o a cavallo» (Di Virgilio), «non fante non cavaliere» (Ferrari), «no messenger either on foot or on horseback» (Hall), «nessun messaggero giunge, a piedi o a cavallo» (Giulia and Moreno Morani).

8 Aeschylus hints at it expressly in *Ag. 282* (about the fire system of communicating devised by Clytemnestra).

9 Morochó Gayo (1989, p. 39) does not agree with this reconstruction. His starting point is a scholion that concerns the ages of human life. In his opinion, its core derives from Aristophanes of Byzantium's *De appellatione aetatum* and became a traditional topic, being used by several medieval authors. Therefore, scholia of such a type do not constitute evidence for identifying the source. According to him, the text of *schol. Sept. 374d* is also quite traditional.

10 This date is however not certain. Cullhed (2015) argued that Tzetzes' poem on Psellos' paraphrase of Aristotle's *Περὶ ἐρμηνείας* belonged to the early life of its author and thereby it does not provide a *terminus post quem* for Tzetzes' death.

- b) the main evidence is *schol. Sept. 72a*, which exhibits an evident link with the exegesis to *Il. 11.156f.*, but it is not possible to understand whether its source is Eustathius or a scholion;
- c) this annotation is present only in late manuscripts, that represent, according to Smith (1982, pp. XV–XX), an interpolated reduction of A-scholia; and,
- d) according to Smith, the link between *schol. Pr. 10* and *Eust. in Il. 1.25 (29.33–36 = I 48 V.)* is another piece of evidence. In this case too it is not true for the best redaction, published by Herington (1972, p. 70). Smith himself observes (1980, p. 398) what follows: «in fact the other MSS of the A commentary give a version that is much nearer to Eustathius than the one printed by Herington».

A scholion I^b of *Ath. Iber. 209* gives us something new. *Pers. 869–871* οἶαι Στρυμονίου πελάγους Ἀχελώιδες εἰσὶ πάροικοι / Ὀρηκίων ἐπαύλων is geographically absurd: the Strymon river is in Khalkidike, while the Achelous flows into the Ionic Sea near Kephallonia. Our scholion solves this geographical question by interpreting Ἀχελώιδες πάροικοι as a metonymic expression: τί κοινὸν Στρυμονίῳ πελάγει τῷ Θρακικῷ καὶ Ἀχελώϊσι χώραις, αἱ μικροῦ τῷ Ἰωνίῳ προσκυροῦσιν, εἰ μὴ τις ἢ τὰς ἀπλῶς παρ' ὕδατι Ἀχελώϊδας καλεῖ (οἷ<ον> ἀγγιάλους ἢ παραθαλασσίους) ὥς παντὸς ὕδατος Ἀχελώου καλουμένου (παρὰ καὶ τὸ Ἀχελῶν ράνατε, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπλῶς ὕδωρ), ἢ ὑπερβατὸν εἶπη, οἶαι αἱ Ἀχελωΐδες καὶ αἱ Στρυμόνιοι, αἱ τῆς Θράκης πάροικοι; Many modern scholars also interpret this phrase in such a way.¹¹ In fact, in many tragic passages Achelous simply indicates a lot of water.¹² The scholion of *Ath. Iber. 209* is quite similar to two passages of Eustathius' commentary on the *Iliad*. They are:

- a) in 13.390 (938.69–939.1 = 3.491.21–23 V.) ἔτεροι δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀχερωΐς ἀχελωΐς γράφουσιν, ὥς ἂν τις εἴποι ὕδατοτρεφής, ὥς Ἀχελῶου λεγομένου παντὸς ὕδατος, καθὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς που ῥηθήσεται, and
- b) in 21.194 (1231.11f. = 4.484.12–15 V.) καὶ ἄλλως δὲ εἰπεῖν, ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος πάνυ τὸν Ἀχελῶν σεμνύνει, ὥς καὶ πᾶν ὕδωρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ Ἀχελῶν κληθῆναι, καθὰ

¹¹ See Teuffel/Wecklein 1901, p. 70; Hall 1997, p. 167. Broadhead (1960, pp. 217f.) does not agree: according to him, the metonymic usage of Achelous is not suitable for sea water. For this reason, Rose (1957, p. 152) refers the expression to the river named Strymon.

¹² See Eur. *Andr.* 167 χερὶ σπεύρουσαν Ἀχελώϊου δρόσον (with the related scholion ἀντὶ τοῦ ῥαίνουσιν· ὥς γὰρ οἱ σπεύροντες ῥίπτουσι τὰ σπέρματα ἐν τῇ γῇ, οὕτως καὶ οἱ ῥαίνοντες τὸ ὕδωρ. Ἀχελῶν δὲ πᾶν ποτάμιον ὕδωρ φασὶν ὥς δρυὶν πᾶν δένδρον καὶ ἀκρόδρυα πάντας τοὺς καρπούς), *Hyps. fr.* 753,1 K., *Ba.* 625.

καὶ Ὠκεανὸν ἐκ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ. φησὶ γοῦν τις “Ἀχελῶν ῥάσατε”, τουτέστι ῥάνατε τὴν γῆν ὕδατι.

The words ὡς παντὸς ὕδατος Ἀχελώου καλουμένου are similar to ὡς Ἀχελώου λεγομένου παντὸς ὕδατος (938.69–939.1), and παρὰ καὶ τὸ Ἀχελῶν ῥάνατε, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπλῶς ὕδωρ must be linked to the final part of 1231.11f. However, there are two differences between Eustathius and the scholion: 1) the quotation of another metonymic usage (καθὰ καὶ Ὠκεανὸν ἐκ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ) is present only in Eustathius; and 2) the scholion quotes an anonymous expression Ἀχελῶν ῥάνατε, which he goes on to explain by ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπλῶς ὕδωρ. In Eustathius the situation is quite different: the quoted text is Ἀχελῶν ῥάσατε and it has a wider explanation (τουτέστι ῥάνατε τὴν γῆν ὕδατι). Furthermore, the introductory formula is more suitable in Eustathius (φησὶ γοῦν τις) than it is in the scholion (παρὰ καὶ τό). In fact, παρὰ τό is normally used to indicate a derivation or an etymology and not to introduce a *locus similis*.

Apparently, this case confirms the hypothesis of Smith. But there are two elements against it: 1) this annotation is present only in *Ath. Iber.* 209 and not in any other manuscript of A-scholia; therefore, it could be an addition from another source; and 2) the text of the scholion is not similar to only one passage of Eustathius, but its elements are distributed in two different passages. I imagine that the scholion did not derive directly from Eustathius, but that both had a common source. It is possible that this source belonged to earlier Homeric exegesis¹³ and that Eustathius took from it different materials in the two passages. Otherwise, it is possible that the scholiast adapted the material to his comment, in particular by removing the useless καὶ Ὠκεανὸν ἐκ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ. He also replaced the strange form ῥάσατε with the more common ῥάνατε, that in reality belonged to the *interpretamentum*. In addition, we have to deal with the common occurrence of the ‘intrusive gloss’.¹⁴ There is here another possibility. Cullhed (2015) argued against the presumption that Eustathius, as a learned man, had no need to use Tzetzes and showed that in some cases he probably did. Therefore, it is also possible that Tzetzes’ commentary was the source of both the *Παρεκβολαί* of Eustathius and the A-scholia. All in all, I have not proved that A-scholia did not derive from Eustathius’ commentary; I have only argued that it is very

¹³ L. Battezzato suggests that the passage being commented upon could be *Il.* 21.194–197, where Zenodotus considered the v. 195 (οὐδὲ βαθυπρεΐται μέγα σθένοϛ Ὠκεανοῖο) spurious. Therefore, according to Zenodotus it means that all waters are born from Achelous. On this issue, see D’Alessio 2004.

¹⁴ See in particular Wilamowitz 1914, p. XXIX; Thomson 1967; West 1973, pp. 22f.

doubtful. Some people think that definitive conclusions are possible for such problems. I do not believe that they are.

The phrase Ἀχελῷον ῥάσατε is not an Homeric one.¹⁵ The metonymic usage of Achelous is typical of tragedy, and in particular of Euripides (see n. 12). It is possible that Ἀχελῷον ῥάσατε too was extracted from (or influenced by) an Euripidean tragedy. In that case, I think that Ἀχελῷον ῥάσσατε would be more valid than Ἀχελῷον ῥάσατε from a metrical point of view.

3. Finally, a general thought. The scholia in ms. *Ath. Iber.* 209 were written by many scholars. The ms. was used for a long time in Byzantine school. For this reason some annotations are made of grammatical rules, probably derived from Herodian, and a hand (I⁵)¹⁶ inserts morphological and syntactical scholia. Sometimes scholars believe that all the manuscripts containing scholia are similar to modern commented editions or to editions *cum notis variorum*. That is not always true. Many manuscripts equipped with scholia, such as *Ath. Iber.* 209, were used by many people, who inserted annotations that were useful for their interests and needs (some other annotations, for instance, are barely grammatical: cf. e.g. *schol. Pers.* 440 ὡς παχὺς παχίων πάσσω -ον, ταχὺς ταχίων τάσσω καὶ θάσσω -ον, βραχὺς βραχίων βράσσω -ον, ἐγγὺς ἐγγίων ἔσσω -ον, καὶ ἄσσω -ον, ἐλαχὺς ἐλαχίων ἐλάσσω -ον, οὕτω καὶ μακρὸς μακρίων μάσσω).¹⁷ Often they have no appearance of a coherent and exhaustive comment, but contain a set of annotations of different kinds.

Therefore, the quality of the scholia is also quite heterogeneous. The two examples studied here clearly show this variety. Both scholia try to explain a very difficult passage: the first one absurdly, taking an odd Homeric gloss, the second one giving a very probable solution. Two attitudes in the study of scholia are opposite and wrong: some scholars believe that explanations of scholia (and lexica) are decisive proofs for the interpretation of classical texts, while other scholars have no confidence in these materials and never take them into critical consideration. On the contrary, we have to decide without prejudice, and on a case-by-case basis. In general, it could be useful to remind only that: *a*) ancient scholars often knew the context of texts that are now for us only fragmentary; *b*) they did not have our linguistic and etymological tools, and therefore their

¹⁵ Ap. Soph. 138.14 and Hesych. p 128 H. ῥάσσατε· ῥάνατε derive from *Od.* 20,150 ῥάσσατέ τ' ἔν τε θρόνοις· εὐποιήτοισι τάπητας. Of course, this passage has nothing to do with our quotation.

¹⁶ For the *siglum* see above n. 1.

¹⁷ Menéndez Pidal (1927) used the expression *autór-legion* for a text whose authors are many and of different types. Morochó Gayo (1989) applied this to the scholia.

explanations of glosses were often based on the immediate context or on vague phonic similarities; and c) the Aristarchean explanations are in general better than the glossographic ones. Aristarchus' method was thus a major step forward in the history of the interpretation of texts.

Bibliography

- Bossi, F./Tosi, R. (1979–1980), “Strutture lessicografiche greche”, in *BIFG* 5, 7–20.
- Broadhead, H.D. (1960), *The Persae of Aeschylus*, Cambridge.
- Cullhed, E. (2015), “Diving for Pearls and Tzetzes' Death”, in *BZ* 108, 53–62.
- Dahlen, C. (1933), *Zu Johannes Tzetzes' Exegesis der hesiodeischen Erga*, Uppsala.
- D'Alessio, G.B. (2004), “Textual Fluctuations and Cosmic Streams: Ocean and Acheloios”, in *JHS* 124, 16–37.
- Degani, E. (1977–1978), “Problemi di lessicografia greca”, in *BIFG* 4, 135–146.
- Degani, E. (1995), “La lessicografia”, in G. Cambiano/L. Canfora/D. Lanza (eds.), *Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica*, 2, Roma 1995 (repr. in *Filologia e storia*, 2, Hildesheim/Zürich/New York 2004, 505–527).
- Di Virgilio, R. (1973), *Il vero volto dei Persiani di Eschilo*, Roma.
- Dyck, A.R. (1987), “The Glossographoi”, in *HSPH* 91, 119–160.
- Ercoles, M./Franchi, C. (2017), “Gli scolî ai Persiani di Eschilo nel ms. *Ath. Iber.* 209 (olim 161)”, in G. Cavallo (ed.), *Reinterpretare Eschilo*, Roma 2017 (forthcoming).
- Hall, E. (1997), *Aeschylus. Persians*, 2nd edition, Warminster.
- Herington, C.J. (1972), *The Older Scholia on the Prometheus Bound*, Lugduni Batavorum.
- Latte, K. (1925), “Glossographika”, in *Philologus* 80, 136–175.
- Lehrs, K. (1865), *De Aristarchi studiis Homericis*, 2nd edition, Lipsiae.
- Marzullo, B. (1968), “La ‘coppia contigua’ in Esichio”, in *QIFG* 3, 70–87 (repr. as „La ‘coppia contigua’ nella glossografia di Esichio“, in *Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro oblata*, 1, Roma 1969, 85–105).
- Menéndez Pidal, R. (1927), *El Romancero. Teorías e investigaciones*, Madrid.
- Morocho Gayo, G. (1989), *Scholia in Aeschyli Septem adversus Thebas*, Leon.
- Nikitas, A.A. (1978), “Bemerkungen zum Lexikon von Liddell-Scott-Jones”, in *WJA* 4, 75–89.
- Pfeiffer, R. (1973), *Storia della filologia classica. Dalle origini alla fine dell'età ellenistica*, It. transl. Napoli (or. ed. Oxford 1968).
- Rose, H.J. (1957), *A Commentary on the Surviving Plays of Aeschylus*, Amsterdam.
- Smith, O.L. (1980), “The A Commentary on Aeschylus: Author and Date”, in *GRBS* 16, 395–399.
- Smith, O.L. (1982), *Scholia in Aeschylum*, 2/2, Leipzig.
- Teuffel, W.S./Wecklein, N. (1901), *Äschylos. Perser*, Leipzig.
- Thomson, G. (1967), “The Intrusive Gloss”, in *CQ* n.s. 17, 232–243.
- Tosi, R. (1988), *Studi sulla tradizione indiretta dei classici greci*, Bologna.
- Tosi, R. (1997), “Callimaco e i Glossografi omerici”, in *Eikasmós* 8, 223–240.
- Tosi, R. (2015), “Esichio e la semplificazione di strutture complesse nella trasmissione dei lessici”, in M. Tziatzi/M. Billerbeck/F. Montanari/K. Tsantsanoglou (eds.), *Lemmata*, Berlin/New York, 411–417.

- Tosi, R. (2016), “Su una citazione dei glossografi negli scolî eschilei”, in A. Casanova/G. Messeri/R. Pintaudi (eds.), *E sî d'amici pieno*, Firenze, 583–586.
- West, M.L. (1973), *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, Stuttgart.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von (1914), *Aeschyli Tragoediae*, Berolini.

Caterina Franchi

Around Europe in two hundred years: The wanderings of ms. *Ath. Iber.* 209

Il ne voyageait pas, il décrivait une circonférence

J. Verne, *Le Tour du Monde en Quatre–Vingts Jours*

Abstract: Ms. *Ath. Iber.* 209 (*olim* 161) is a stratified manuscript, composed of different texts (in order: Euripides, Aeschylus, Theocritus, Dionysius Periegetes, Tzetzes, Pindar) written by different scribes, whose datings range from the 11th/12th to the 14th century: the only certain note of possession belongs to Maximos Margounios (end of the 16th century), who donated it, at his death, to the Monastery of Iviron. This paper offers, on the basis of four marginal notes, some hypotheses on the history of the book as a material object, from its possible composition in Constantinople to its stay in Italy, through a passage in 15th-century Crete.

Ms. *Ath. Iber.* 209 (*olim* 161; Lambros 4281),¹ I in the Aeschylean manuscript tradition, is a stratified work: it contains six different authors (in order: Euripides, Aeschylus, Theocritus, Dionysius Periegetes, Tzetzes, Pindar), written by nine different scribes. Whilst it has been studied by scholars of the different authors it contains, an overall investigation on its history and its composition was undertaken only by Tselikas in 2004.² This study tries to establish some fixed points, mostly through marginal notes in the manuscript, which could trace its wanderings through time and space.

1 Composition of the manuscript

1.1 Material composition

I is written on Eastern paper devoid of watermarks. It consists of 204 folios, divided into 27 quaternions, not all of which, in their present state, are complete. Traces of mould and humidity can be found throughout the whole book,

¹ Lambros 1900, II, 41. He dates the manuscript to the 13th century.

² Tselikas 2004.

especially in the first folios. In the actual impossibility of an autoptic analysis of the manuscript,³ it is very difficult to understand the process of unification of the different sections: we cannot see bindings, rulings, or any sign which could help us further in the comprehension of the making of this manuscript. However, we can establish a *terminus post quem* for the final gathering of the quires to the beginning of the 14th century, date of the most recent parts. Moreover, the texts which are collected seem to indicate that the manuscript was put together as an educational instrument: Euripides, Aeschylus, Theocritus, Dionysius, Pindar and Hesiod (even if in I it is rather Tzetzes' commentary to Hesiod) appear in the lists of the authors used in the 13th and 14th century educational programs by scholars such as Maximos Planoudes, Manuel Moschopoulos, Thomas Magister or Demetrios Triklinios.⁴

As for the physical aspect of the manuscript, the following traits are noticeable, as signs of a complex process of unification of the different works:

- a) on ff. 17^r, 31^r, 71^r and 113^r the paper has been cut on the internal left edge and then pasted to the spine of the manuscript with the support of a narrow strip of a different paper;
- b) numbers 83 and 87 have been skipped in the numbering of the folios, while number 104 is repeated twice. This happened during the final stage of the composition of the manuscript, when it was already as it is in the present state;
- c) f. 88^r is cut in the lower right margin and f. 88^v, belonging to a new quire with another type of paper, is glued on its *verso*;
- d) ff. 89^r–90^v and 144^r–146^v are restored in the lower external outer corner, and the text written on the restoration is by a different hand than that of the rest of the page (for the restorer, see *infra* § 3.3);
- e) there are one or two folios which had been cut between ff. 106 and 107 before the numbering of the folios (thus not creating any problem in the foliation).

³ It must be noted that all these considerations, due to the strict rules of the *Iviron* Monastery, have been made on photographic copies of the manuscript, generously provided by *IRHT* and the National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation.

⁴ On this topic, see e.g. Constantinides 1982, 79, 107, 151 and Wilson 1983, 236f., 246–256.

1.2 Textual content

As for the texts collected in the manuscript, we find six authors, all written by a totality of nine scribes, Euripides and Aeschylus being copied by more than one hand.

- I. Euripides (ff. 1–30).⁵ The tragedies are: *Phoenissae* (vv. 1150–1766), *Hippolytus* and *Medea* (vv. 1–1338; vv. 731–825 and 1029–1133, corresponding to a *bifolium*, are missing). A first hand wrote on two quires (1–16) what is left of the *Phoenissae* and *Hippolytus* until v. 1351: it was identified by D. Bianconi⁶ with the hand of Thomas the Monk (*RGK* III 239) and can be dated to the second half of the 13th century. A second, slightly later hand wrote *Hipp.* 1352 on f. 16^v and began f. 17^r with v. 1353, finishing the tragedy and then copying a complete *Medea* which has lost some folios.
- II. Aeschylus (ff. 31–85).⁷ We have three hands copying the Aeschylean Byzantine Triad: the first wrote the *Vita Aeschyli* and *Prom.* 1–342 (ff. 31–38), which could be the most ancient part of the manuscript, dated to the 11th–12th century; the second (= Smith's hand I') wrote *Prom.* 343–1079, *Th.* and *Pers.* 1–331 (ff. 39–70); the third wrote *Pers.* 332–fin. Both of these hands are of the mid 13th century.
- III. Theocritus (ff. 86–106).⁸ A hand of the end of the 13th century copies all the *Idyllia*, in the order common to the «famiglia Laurenziana»⁹ (1, 5, 6, 4, 7–9, 2, 10–15, 3). There should be a *folium* missing between ff. 102 and 103, possibly containing *Id.* 13, and this could have led to the doubling of n. 104 in the numbering of the folios.
- IV. Dionysius Periegetes (ff. 107–119). A 13th–14th century hand writes the *Περιήγησις τῆς Οἰκουμένης*, repeatedly increasing the number of lines per column: 20 in the first folios, they become 28 from f. 113 to f. 118 and 34 on ff. 118–119. The hand also uses a different, lighter ink on ff. 114^v and 115^v.
- V. Tzetzes' commentary on Hesiod (ff. 120–143).¹⁰ The text is written by a hand identified by D. Bianconi with that of Manuel Gabalas (end 13th–beginning 14th century: cf. *RGK* I, 270; II, 370; III, 445).¹¹

5 Cf. Turyn 1932, 25f.; 1943, 123; 1957, 325, Barrett 1964, 69 and Mastronarde/Bremer 1982, 10.

6 Cf. Bianconi *forthcoming*.

7 On this section, cf. Smith 1982, VIII–XVII and West 1990, 323.

8 On this section, cf. Wendel 1920, 172 and Gallavotti 1939, 43.

9 Cf. Gallavotti 1939, 44.

10 Cf. Pertusi 1955, XIII f.

11 Cf. Bianconi *forthcoming*.

VI. Pindar (ff. 144–204).¹² The *Olympians* (ff. 144^v–173) and *Pythian Odes* (ff. 174–204) are written by a hand of the early 14th century.

Considered by Turyn as «the most important and valuable manuscript of classical Greek poetry on Mount Athos»,¹³ *I* is then a work which cannot be dated precisely to one century or another, being composed of many parts with different dates: Lambros' (1900, II, 41) and Tselikas' (2004, 616) indication of the manuscript being of the 13th century is then somehow misleading and does not fully take into consideration the complex situation of this manuscript.

2 The marginal notes

The manuscript offers a great number and variety of *scholia*, scattered around all the works except for Dionysius and most of Pindar. They are often written by the same hands that wrote the main text.¹⁴ For the purpose of this paper, we will focus on those annotations which are signs of (occasional) readers rather than of learned scholars or scribes: not all of them (almost none, truth be told) can give us any precise information on the reader or on the manuscript itself, although they clearly show a picture of the manuscript as a working tool which could be annotated and easily written on.

2.1 Marginalia

I was a study tool: this is evident not only from the quality of the work and its contents,¹⁵ but also from many of the *marginalia*. Some of them are pen trials or writing exercises (e.g. f. 204^v: ὀκτώ ἐννέα δέκα); others simply are copies of a verse or of a *scholium*, both belonging to *I* itself (e.g. f. 16^r: re-copying of the first verse of *Medea*, which begins in f. 18^v; f. 132^r: copying of Hes. *Op.* 370–372; f. 141^r: copying of Hes. *Op.* 746; f. 147^v: re-copying of *schol.* Pind. *O.* 2.23).

¹² On this section, cf. Turyn 1932, 24–26 and Irigoin 1952, 297.

¹³ Turyn 1957, 326.

¹⁴ An exception is a hand responsible for supplements and corrections to the *scholia* to Aeschylus, called *I*³ by Smith 1982. For its characteristics, see Ercoles/Franchi *forthcoming* § 3.3.

¹⁵ As regards the *Persae* and the interest of the scholiasts for lexicographical and grammatical matters, see Ercoles/Franchi *forthcoming*, especially §§ 3.3 and 3.4.

In other instances, we read more complex sentences or writing exercises, such as in f. 85^v, where a student (maybe) wrote three examples of κατάληψις, μετάληψις and συνεκδοχή. In the lower margin of the *Vita Theocriti* (f. 86^v) we find some glosses which seem to derive from Ps.-Zonaras: λευρόν. τὸ λίαν πλατύ (≈ [Zonar.] 1298.3: λευρόν. τὸ λεῖον καὶ πλατύ. ἀπὸ τοῦ λίαν εὐρύ.); ἔγκειται. ἐπίκειται (= [Zonar.] 608.14); κισσύβιον. ποιμενικὸν ποτήριον (≈ [Zonar.] 1214.11: κισσύβιον. ποιμενικὸν ποτήριον. ἴσως ἀπὸ τοῦ κισσοῦ, ἐξ οὗ κατεσκευάζοντο τὰ ποτήρια. κοινοτέρως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ξυλίνων ποτηρίων ἡ λέξις τίθεται. παρὰ τὸ κεχύσθαι εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν οἶνον. οἶον χύω, χύσω, χυσσύβιον καὶ κισσύβιον. Ἡσίοδος· ὀλίγῳ δ' εἴσεται κισσουβίῳ); κιβύσιον. φλασκίον (= [Zonar.] 1213.11).¹⁶

In the blank page between the end of *Persae* and the beginning of the Theocritean section (f. 85^v), a hand wrote the words διαφόρος ὁ ἐχθρὸς καὶ διαφορὰ ἡ μάχη and the three names Κανδάλης (*sic*) Γύγης Ἄβαρις. The first note resembles *Etym. Gud.* 361.20 de Stefani. As for the names, they do not appear in the *scholia* to the *Persae*: whilst the pair Candaules-Gyges is well known from *Hdt.* I 7–13 onwards, Abaris the Hyperborean, a legendary sage, healer and priest of Apollo (see *e.g.* *Hdt.* IV 36 and *Plat. Charm.* 158c), appears *a se* and not associated with the first two but for the common oriental milieu.

A hesitant hand, possibly of the 15th century, wrote, on f. 85^v, the note Ἀριστοφάνης π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) Φιλίππου καὶ μ(ητ)ρ(ὸς) Ζηνοδόρας ἦν υἱὸς, even though no text of the comic poet Aristophanes is present in the manuscript. This note, apparently completely out of context in the manuscript, does nevertheless bear some interesting details for what regards the name of Aristophanes' mother. Whilst the identity of Aristophanes' father Philip is widely known in literature (see Aristophanes' biographies collected by Koster 1975 as nos. XXVIII, XXIXa, XXXIIa–b, XXXIII1, and *Suda* α 3932 Adler), the name of Zenodora is only attested in three other 15th-century manuscripts, all containing Thomas Magister's *Vita Aristophanis*: *Mon.* gr. 137, *Laur.* pl. 31.13 and *Ambr.* F 40 sup. (see Koster 1975 n. XXXIII1 app. c). The interesting detail is that both the *Monacensis* and the *Ambrosianus* seem to belong to a Cretan environment¹⁷ (for which see *below*).

A note on f. 143^v reads ὅσιε πάτερ ἐν τῇ σῇ ἀνακομιδῇ καλῶς τὸν τῆς χήρας διέποιρσεν ἀμπελῶνα. This sentence is not a word-to-word copying exercise and cannot be found elsewhere. The only occasion of a possible association of a vineyard and a widow is to be found in John Chrysostom, in his oration *Ad Eudoxiam*, where the writer addresses the empress Eudoxia,

¹⁶ Of these terms, only κισσύβιον can be found in Theocritus (*Id.* 1,26), and in the relative *scholia*.

¹⁷ Part of ms. *Mon.* gr. 137 (ff. 106^r–127^v) was copied by the famous scholar Michael Apostolios. Cf. Hajdú 2003, 161.

reprimanding her for having taken away a vineyard from a widow: this note could also be the beginning of a letter to some high-ranking clergyman, with Chrysostom's quote right at the beginning.¹⁸

2.2 Colophons

There are just two colophons in the codex, one at the end of Dionysius Periegetes and the other at the end of Pindar. The first one (f. 119^v) reads Θεὸς βοηθήσειεν ἅμα τοὺς (*sic*) δύο τῷ τὴν βίβλον γράψαντι καὶ κεκτημένῳ. The second (f. 204^v) reads τέλος Πυθίων. τοῦ Πινδάρου Πύθια λαμβάνει πέρας. Χριστῷ περάτων βασιλεῖ δόξα πρέπει: τέλος τέλος τέλος τέλος. δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός. Regrettably, these words do not help us much further into identifying the scribes or the environment in which they worked.¹⁹

3 Following the steps of the manuscript

The marginal notes listed above do not help us in the very hard task of understanding the whereabouts of the manuscript, its owners, its history. However, they are not the only ones which appear scattered around the 204 folia, and four notes are of particular interest.

3.1 Constantinople, 14th century? – Dishypatos the Teacher

ὁ δισύπατος οἶδε π(έν)ται γράμματα, ἡμ(εῖς) δὲ ὅσον οὐπω μεμαθήκαμ(εν) >”

This note, on the lower margin of f. 156^v (fig. 1), may have been written by a student complaining about his teacher Dishypatos: the sense of it could be that

¹⁸ I thank Prof. Pontani for this suggestion.

¹⁹ These formulae are not attested word-by-word among the standard ones, as studied by Treu 1970 and 1977, Eleuteri 1980 and Manfredini 1986 among others. Nevertheless, similar expressions are to be found in some of the colophons transcribed in Lake's catalogue (1934–1939), e.g. εγραφε και περας ειληφην (*Patm.* 33, Lake no. 15, year 941); ευχεσθε [δε και?] τω διδουντι (*Patm.* 245, Lake no. 21, year 1057); ελαβε το προσηκον περα πανιερος αυτη βιβλος αυτη βιβλον (*Lond.* Arund. 529, Lake no. 78, year 1111); κυριε βοηθει τω σω δουλω λεοντι ιερει και κουβουλεισιω τω σαραβανδηνω τω κτησαμενω και χρυσοσαντι (*Par.* gr. 164, Lake no. 174, year 1070); δοξα τω θεωω παντα ενεκα (*Par.* gr. 1324, Lake no. 181, year 1104).

the teacher does not know anything (five letters/words maximum), and is not even able to teach half of them to his pupils (>” = half).

Obviously, there are numerous people named Dishypatos in the Byzantine world, and we do not know when to date the note, although it does not seem a very late hand (around the 14th century). Among the twenty-four Dishypatoi mentioned in the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (vol. 3) we find eight coming from Constantinople, three from Thessalonike, nine from other cities/countries (France, Italy, etc.) and four of unknown origin. If we narrow down the data to the end of the 13th-beginning of the 14th century and to those who could be teachers,²⁰ we find five from Constantinople and three from Thessalonike. In particular, one Διούπατος Μανουήλ (no. 5542) is a διδάσκαλος τοῦ ψαλτῆρος in Constantinople active in 1277; another Διούπατος Μανουήλ is a deacon in Thessalonike between 1258 and 1260/61 (nn. 5543–5544). A third Διούπατος seems even more interesting: no. 5527 in the *PLP* is an οἰκεῖος of Andronikos II Palaiologos, in 1324 in Constantinople. The idea of a Constantinopolitan environment of the 14th century seems more likely: the scribe who copied Tzetzes (ff. 120^r–143^v) has been identified by D. Bianconi with Manuel Gabalas, who was teaching in Constantinople at the beginning of the 14th century (in 1329 he moved to Ephesus), and we can find some *scholia*, in the Pindaric section (ff. 144^v–204^v), written by the scribe himself, which can be derived from the Planudean edition of the poet, realized in Constantinople after 1280.²¹ Gabalas, although he did not know personally the Emperor Andronikos II, was nevertheless in the *entourage* of the great scholars of the time – especially Nikephoros Chumnos, Andronikos’ *logothetes*: is the fact that both the Διούπατος mentioned before and Gabalas belong to the emperor’s *entourage* a simple coincidence? Obviously, it is not certain whether we are talking of the same Dishypatoi as those mentioned in the *PLP*, and the identification of this Διούπατος with a teacher is not certain, but the name seems to be common in Constantinople more than in any other place.

3.2 Crete, 14th–15th century: Chantakiti and Capello

ἐγώρασ(α) τὸν Ἡσίοδον τοῦτον ἀπὸ τὸν κύρ Φρανγγούλ(ιον) Καπέλ(ον), ὁμοῦ με τὸν ἐξαδελφόν μ(ου) τὸν κύρ Κωνστάντζω Χαντακίτ(ην), ὅταν ἐγώρασε καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὸν Κλεομίδ(η) καὶ Ἀριστοφάνην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα. διὰ γρωσίων [...]. ὁποῖος Ἡσίοδος ἦτον ποτὲ τοῦ

²⁰ I therefore exclude all the Dishypatoi belonging to a military environment.

²¹ Cf. Irigoin 1952, 300 and 303; for the date of the Planudean edition, cf. *ibid.* 248. See also Ercoles/Franchi *forthcoming* § 4.

ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄνωθ(εν) γεγραμμένου τοῦ κύρ(οῦ) Φρανγκουλ(ιου) Καπέλ(ου), λέγω δὲ τὸν Ἰάκοβ(ον) τοῦ Καπέλ(ου) τοῦ ποτὲ μαθητ(οῦ) τοῦ ἀφέντι τοῦ πρωτοπαπ(ᾶ).²²

This hand (f. 143^v, fig. 2) writes also on ff. 35^r, 36^r, 41^r and 48^r, a fact which indicates that the manuscript, at the time of the note, contained at least Aeschylus, Theocritus, Dionysius, Tzetzes' commentary on Hesiod, and Pindar.²³ However, the main focus of the purchaser of the book (whose name is unknown, but whose cousin – ἑξαδελφός – is a certain Constanzo Chantakiti) is on the 'Hesiodic part' (or, rather, on the commentary to Hesiod) rather than on the other sections (τὸν Ἡσίοδον τοῦτον). The previous owner is a certain Jacob Capel(l)o, student of a πρωτοπαπᾶς and brother of a Frangouli Capel(l)o, who sold it together with a Cleomedes and an Aristophanes²⁴ and some other texts for an unreadable number of γρόσια, a monetary unit which can be found throughout Europe, especially Venice and, consequently, Crete.

We thus find different names in this note: Constanzo Chantakiti, Jacob Capel(l)o, Frangouli Capel(l)o and a πρωτοπαπᾶς (head of the priests of a church, parish or diocese). The surname Capel(l)o is common in an Italian or Italian-related city, and it is impossible to pinpoint a particular environment or country; the name Frangouli seems a diminutive of Franco or Francesco, and both this name and his brother's (Jacob) are commonly known in Europe. The only name which could bring us some hint to the place where this note has been written is that of Constanzo Chantakiti. The surname Χαντακίτης (Ντεκάντια/Καντιανός) derives directly from the name of the city of Χάνδαξ or Χάνδακας, the Latin Candia, now Heraklion, from 1204 to 1669 under the domination of the Republic of Venice. Bearing in mind that the *terminus post quem* for the composition of the ms. is the 14th century, there appears to be a Κωνστάντιος Χανδακίτης who, in 1414, guarantees for the visit of the captain George Remoundis from Koroni to Methoni (both in Messenia).²⁵ Obviously, it is not certain whether we are talking of the same person, but we have nonetheless the same name in more or less the same span of time in the same environment.

Another (though very vague) hint comes to us from the mention of the πρωτοπαπᾶς: Tselikas (2004, 620) proposes to identify him with John Simeonakis, *protopapas* of Candia from 1440 to 1451 and priest since 1399 (RGK I

²² I here thank Marta Cardin for letting me read her study on this note and her transcription.

²³ There is also the possibility, nevertheless, that Theocritus-Dionysius and Tzetzes were a later addition.

²⁴ Could this mention of Aristophanes have something to do with the note about Aristophanes mentioned earlier?

²⁵ For this identification and the prosopography of Venetian Crete, see Conti 1989, 194.

184; II 244; III 306). These various hints could point to 15th-century Crete, and this could help us in the next step of the investigation.

3.3 Italy, 15th and 16th centuries: Andronikos Kallistos and Maximos Margounios

Ff. 144^r–146^v (fig. 3), at the very beginning of the Pindaric section, do not offer any particular note or subscription. Their lower outer margins, nevertheless, are an extremely important step in the history of the manuscript: they are restorations made by a hand later than that of the original text. We are not only able to date this restoration, but also to determine its author. The forms of the *gamma*, of the *lambda*, of the *tau* and of the groups *epsilon-iota/epsilon-xi/epsilon-rho* show it as being the work of Andronikos Kallistos.²⁶ Arrived in Padua as *protégé* of Palla Strozzi, perhaps around 1444, Kallistos then became member of the “Accademia Bessarionea”, a group of scholars and *savants* of whom Bessarion was the patron, and stayed in Rome from 1466 to 1471. After a stay in Florence, where he was teacher of Greek, we find him in Milan in 1475, possibly after the offering of some sort of chair.²⁷ But Kallistos’ stay in Milan was very short: he was in London in March 1476, after a brief stay in Paris, following «un signore di Morea».²⁸ In a letter dated 10th November 1476, Gianfrancesco Della Torre writes to Lorenzo the Magnificent about Andronikos’ books, all of which he was forced to sell to pay for his trip to France and England: «praticò con Maestro Bonaccorso Pisano, homo molto dottissimo, de venderli tutti li libri suoi. [...] Et li libri pigliai io, et sono presso mi, et li ho molto cari non tanto per lo pretio, che valeno puocho più, ma perchè sono molto corretti et emendati come quelli che sono scritti da homo

²⁶ Already Tselikas 2004 (620f.) identified the restorer with the scribe of ms. *Mut.* α T. 9. 14, until then anonymous: he was the first to identify him with Kallistos. On Kallistos (*RGK* I 18; II 2; III 31), see now Rollo 2006, 367f. n. 1, Pietrobelli 2009, 90 n. 28, Martinelli Tempesta 2012, 532 n. 67; Orlandi 2014a *passim*.

²⁷ We read in a letter of Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza dated 21st March 1475 that Kallistos had been stopped at the border, and his books had been confiscated: «ne ha facto intendere d. Andronico da Constantinopoli doctore Greco come venendo luj in qua per condurse alli servitij nostri: et facendo condurre li soy libri greci et latini per aqua in certe capse, li sonno intercepti per li datieri di quella nostra città (= Cremona), sotto pretexto che debia pagare el datio» (cf. Motta 1893, 26f.)

²⁸ Fabroni 1791, II, 286. Pietrobelli (2009, 97 and n. 48) suggests to identify this man with Georgios Hermonymos from Sparta, who was sent to England by Pope Sixtus IV to negotiate the freedom of the Archbishop of York, George Neville.

doctissimo per una buona parte».²⁹ A. Pietrobelli and L. Orlandi³⁰ have thoroughly investigated the fate of some of these books: Baldassar Migliavacca,³¹ one of Kallistos' pupils, was one of the buyers. These books then passed in Giambattista Rasario's³² hands, and were successively collected by Maximos Margounios (1549–1602).

The last possessor of **I** (ἐκ τῶν Μαξίμου ἐπισκόπου Κυθήρων³³ – f. 1^r, fig. 4) before it was stored in the shelves of *Moni Iviron* on Mount Athos is this Cretan bishop (*in absentia*) of Kythera, «probably the most outstanding figure in the intellectual and theological history of the Greek Orthodox Church during the later sixteenth century».³⁴ Great collector of manuscripts stored in his house in Venice, he writes in a letter to David Hoeschel, dated 8th May 1602, approximately two months before his death, that he had sent some books to Mount Athos,³⁵ although no specific mention is made of our manuscript. In his will, he leaves «al Monasterio della Madonna del Monte Santo chiamata Portagitissa [= *Moni Iviron*] le nove casse de libri de diverse sorte che ho mandato al detto Monasterio per l'anima mia».³⁶ There has been no specific modern investigation of his Greek library³⁷ and there seems to be no index nor list. Nevertheless, a much later note – possibly by a later librarian of the monastery – on f. 0^r, reads: (ἐς ἀντιγραφὴν) ἐκ τῶν Μαξίμου ἐπισκόπου Κυθήρων τοῦ Μαργουνίου ὕμνοι ὑπάρχουσιν ἐν ταῦτα [= in this box?] καὶ λόγοι ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ἐκδεδομ(ένοι). ἴδε ἀρθ. (= ἀριθμὸν) 153. As

²⁹ Fabroni 1791, II, 286f.

³⁰ Pietrobelli 2009 and Orlandi 2014b.

³¹ Baldassar Migliavacca is an obscure figure of 15th-century Milan: we learn of his existence in a letter from Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, where he thanks Migliavacca for having sent him some Greek books.

³² Giambattista Rasario (1517–1578) was a doctor from Novara who studied in Milan, where he learnt Greek and Latin, and in Pavia, where he completed his education with medicine and law. He taught then in Venice for twenty-two years, lived some years in Rome and went back to Pavia from 1574 to his death. Great translator of medical and philosophical texts from Greek to Latin, he collected also many manuscripts of different content. According to the database *Pinakes*, of the thirteen Greek manuscripts having belonged to Rasario, eleven were subsequently in Margounios' hands and four of these are written by Kallistos.

³³ An identical note can be found, for example, in the lower margin of *Mosqu.* gr. 508. Cf. Turyn 1943, 57, n. 60; Fonkič 1977, 142 and 152 and Muratore 2001, 81 and n. 330.

³⁴ Geanakoplos 1966, 165.

³⁵ τὰ γὰρ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον καὶ κατὰ Ἰωάννην καὶ τὰ εἰς τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ ἁγίου ἐκείνου ἀνδρὸς ὑπομνήματα, πρὸ δύο που ἐτῶν, εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀθωνος ὄρος τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον ἅγιον, ἄλλοις μοι συνάμα τισὶ διεπέμφθη βιβλίοις (Legrand 1885, II, lxiii).

³⁶ Legrand 1885, II, 392.

³⁷ For his Latin library, cf. Geanakoplos 1966, especially 182–190. Other bibliography on Margounios in Orlandi 2014b, 147 n. 4.

one can infer from the above description of the manuscript (§ 1), there are no ecclesiastical speeches in **I**, and, thus, the note does not refer to this manuscript at all; rather, to *Ath. Iber.* 153, a 17th-century manuscript containing, among others, Gregory the Theologian and some homilies by Maximos himself. This could mean that these two manuscripts were stored in the same box, perhaps with our codex being the first or the last, so that it was easier for the librarian to write this small note as a sort of index.

4 Filling in the gaps

Depending only on these notes, there are some more or less ‘fixed’ points:

1. Constantinople at the beginning of the 14th century (Dishypatos).
2. Crete (possibly Candia) around the 14th–15th century (Chantakiti).
3. Italy in the mid 15th century (Andronikos Kallistos).
4. Venice in the late 16th century (Maximos Margounios).
5. Mount Athos from the early 17th century onwards.

What happened between points 2, 3 and 4 is obviously unknown, and here we can only formulate some hypotheses. We have to leave our manuscript aside for a moment, and focus on another manuscript, containing Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, commissioned by Cardinal Bessarion (1403–1472)³⁸ to one of his most prolific scribes, Georgios Trivizias,³⁹ originally from Candia, in Crete, who, after having left the island to become a priest *secundum morem Grecorum* in 1448,⁴⁰ spent his life between Italy (especially Rome) and his homeland.

This manuscript (**Va** in the Aeschylean list of mss.) is *Marc. gr. Z 470* [824], and can be dated between 1468 and 1474 on palaeographical grounds (the handwriting of Trivizias is characteristic of his ‘second period’) and on the basis of the ownership note by Bessarion himself as *ep(iscop)us Sabinensis*, a title which Bessarion himself uses after October 1468, when he became titular of Santa Sabina.⁴¹ In 1472 the Cardinal died, and his manuscripts were transferred to the

38 The bibliography on Bessarion’s life is huge. See *e.g.* Vast 1989, Mohler 1923–1942, Franti 1933, Kyros 1934, Loenertz 1944, Saffrey 1964, Labowsky 1967 and 1979, Mioni 1976, Fiacadori 1994, Bianca 1999.

39 For Trivizias’ life (*RGK* I 73; II 94; III 123) and manuscripts, cf. Diller 1974, Mastrodemetres 1971, Liakou-Kropp 2002 (with additional bibliography) and Martinelli Tempesta 2010–2011.

40 A.S.V. [Archivio di Stato di Venezia], *Duca di Candia*, busta 32: *Memoriali antichi*, f. 82^r.

41 For a precise dating of the manuscript, cf. Tessier 2015, 189–195.

Biblioteca Marciana. It is commonly accepted that **Va** has strong similarities with **V** (*Marc. gr. Z 468* [653], ca. 1270): they are generally defined ‘twins’ by scholars for what regards the poetic text.⁴² Nevertheless, the situation of the *scholia* is slightly different: many *scholia* present in **V** are not present in **Va**, and some in **Va** are not present in **V**. In particular, *scholl. Φ Pers.* 528a, 531a, 1041a, 1073a e 1074a Zabrowski – «none of which is present in **V**, but none of which has been added in **Va**, which shows no additions of any kind»⁴³ – can be found only in **I**, and they are written by one of the commentators of the *Persians* who worked around the mid-13th century, thus at a much earlier stage than **Va**. In addition, some of the *scholia* which Trivizias seems unable to read correspond to *scholia* in **I** which are very difficult to understand due to large spots of humidity. We can therefore conclude that Trivizias, whilst writing **Va** for the Cardinal, could have had under his eyes both **V** and **I**.⁴⁴

If we try to understand when this could have happened, we have to intersect the lives of Kallistos and Trivizias, finding different moments when they could have met, probably in Bessarion’s circle. In particular, Andronikos was in Rome between 1466 and 1471, and Trivizias in the same years worked in the same city.⁴⁵ Manuscript **I** was probably in Crete around the mid 14th-beginning of 15th centuries, and, specifically, in Candia, at least if we believe Constanzo Chantakiti to be from this city. Trivizias too was from Candia.⁴⁶

All in all, it is tempting to believe that it was Georgios himself who found **I** and brought it to Rome, where he showed it to Kallistos, who was a restorator as well as a copyist. We know that Trivizias copied **Va** between 1468 and 1474; we could narrow it to a span of 1468 and 1471, 1471 being the last year of Kallistos’ stay in the capital.

⁴² Cf. Turyn 1943, 29; Dawe 1964, 42f., 77; Herington 1972, 20; West 1990, 335.

⁴³ Zabrowski 1984, 69f., in part. n. 5.

⁴⁴ For a detailed exposition of this problem, see Ercoles/Franchi *forthcoming*, § 3.2.

⁴⁵ His collaboration with Bessarion (living in Rome) probably started after 1455; he was in Crete between 1460 (colophon to *Vratis*. R. 34) and 1466 (a papal bull dated between 1464 and 1466 and written by Pope Paul II mentions Trivizias together with other eleven Cretan priests); in 1468 he copied ms. *Marc. gr.* 480 [589] for Bessarion, and ms. *Marc. gr.* 221 [608], written by Trivizias, was copied by Ioannes Rhosos (= *Par. gr.* 1910) in 1471 in Rome; with the death of Bessarion, (1472), Trivizias started to work as an ‘independent’ copyist; from 1473 he was in Venice, where he became ἱερεὺς τῶν Γραικῶν in the Church of San Biagio; the last occurrence of Trivizias’ name is in a papal bull of Innocentius VIII dated 4th June 1485, where we read about his death.

⁴⁶ The permission to travel outside Crete on 23rd August 1448 clearly mentions him as *Georgio Trivisano, filio Coste, h(ab)it(atori) burgi Candide*.

What happened next? It is possible to envisage two different scenarios: 1) that **I** remained in the hands of Georgios and 2) that **I** remained in the hands of Kallistos.

- 1) In the first case, Georgios could have brought the manuscript in Venice where, after a century, it ended up in the hands of Margounios, before his bequest to Mount Athos. Nevertheless, none of Margounios' manuscripts can be shown to have previously belonged to Georgios.
- 2) In the second, and more probable, case, if **I** remained in Kallistos' hands among his numerous books, it could have passed in Margounios' library through Migliavacca and Rasario. It is true that, normally, both of them left their *ex libris* in the first folios of their books, which would seem to exclude the possibility of **I** being among them. Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that our manuscript is acephalous, and, thus, it could have lost precisely the folios, including also the beginning of *Phoenissae*,⁴⁷ which contained an eventual *ex libris*.

Obviously, these are only hypotheses. The things we know for sure are very few: there were originally six separate works, written by different scribes in different periods and on different paper; we know that by the time of its stay in Crete in the 14th–15th century the manuscript was put together and included (at least) the sections containing Aeschylus, Theocritus, Dionysius, Tzetzes and Pindar.⁴⁸ The whole work, possibly with the addition of Euripides at the beginning, then passed into Andronikos' hands. Margounios' note and its final stay in Mount Athos are the last signs of its travels. The following table summarizes **I**'s travels through Europe in as much as they can be reconstructed through the hints given by the marginal notes and the comparison with other manuscripts.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ The fact that the 'original' Euripidean section did not contain, in the beginning, only the *Phoenissae* is not only based on pure common sense, but also on statistical basis: the scribe Thomas writes around 54 lines per page, arranged on two columns of around 27 lines. The 1149 verses of the *Phoenissae* not contained in **I** were then to be spread in around 10 folia, which is more than a quire can contain. In addition, on the lower margin of f. 8^v and f. 8^r we can read the numbers λα' and λβ', thus meaning that ff. 1–8 and 9–16 were respectively quire n. 31 and 32. If we assume that the scribe wrote always *circa* 108 lines per folio (thus *circa* 860 verses per quire), plus half a folio for the *hypothesis* of each tragedy, 30 quires would mean many more verses than the whole of Euripides' surviving works.

⁴⁸ See however n. 23.

⁴⁹ In the following scheme, { } is used for passages which are considered very hypothetical; [] is used for more plausible hypothesis; when the data are certain, no brackets are used.

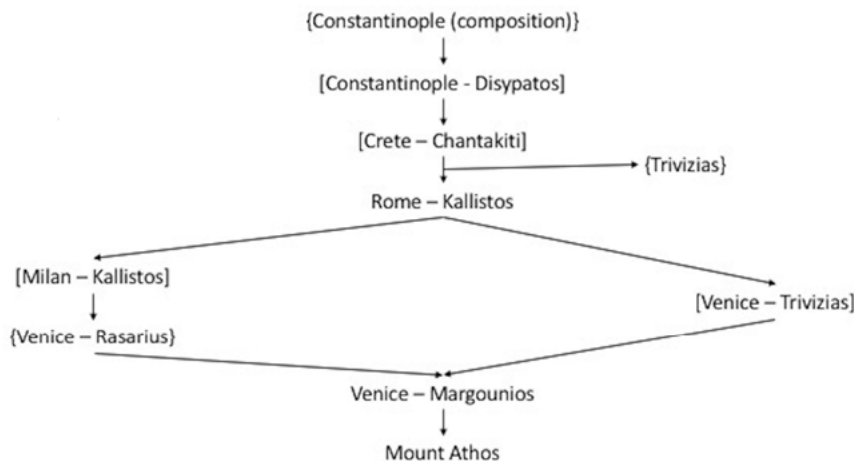


Diagram 1: Spatial history of ms. *Ath. Iber.* 209

Bibliography

- Barrett, W.S. (1964), *Euripides. Hippolytos*, Oxford.
- Blanca, C. (1999), *Da Bisanzio a Roma. Studi sul cardinale Bessarione*, Roma.
- Blanconi, D. forthcoming, "I manoscritti di Eschilo in età bizantina", In G. Cavallo (ed.), *Reinterpretare Eschilo*, Roma.
- Constantinides, C.N. (1982), *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204-ca. 1310)*, Nicosia.
- Conti, V. (1989), "Τα εθνικά οικογενειακά ονόματα στην Κρήτη κατά τη Βενετοκρατία, 13ος–17ος αι. (Family names indicating origin in Crete during the Venetian Rule, 13th–17th c.)", In *Symmeikta* 8, 143–317.
- Dawe, R.D. (1964), *The Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Aeschylus*, Cambridge.
- Diller, A. (1974), *The Age of Some Early Greek Classical Manuscript*, In AA.VV., *Serta Turyniana*, Urbana 1974, 514–524.
- Eleuteri, P. (1980), "Altri manoscritti con i versi Ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἡ γράψασα..., Ὡσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσιν... e simili", In *Codices manuscripti* 6, 81–88.
- Ercoles, M./Franchi, C. forthcoming, "Gli scolii al *Persiani* di Eschilo nel ms. *Ath. Iber.* 209 (olim 161)", In G. Cavallo (ed.), *Reinterpretare Eschilo*, Roma.
- Fabroni, A. (1791), *Historia Academiae Pisanae*, Pisa.
- Flaccadori, G. (1994), *Bessarione e l'umanesimo: catalogo della Mostra*, con la collab. di A. Cuna/ A. Gatti/S. Ricci; presentazione di M. Zorzi; pref. di G. Pugliese Carratelli, Napoli.
- Filelfo, Fr. [†1471] (1502), *Epistolarum familiarum libri XXXVII ex eius exemplari transumpti*, Venetis.

- Fonkič, B.L. (1977), “Материалы для изучения библиотеки Максима Маргуня [Materialy dlya izučeniya biblioteki Maksima Marguniya]”, in *Византийский Временник [Vizantiyskiy Vremennik]* n.s. 38, 141–153.
- Frati, C. (1933), *Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari e dei bibliofili italiani*, Firenze, 76–94.
- Gallavotti, C. (1939), “Un nuovo codice atonita nel quadro della tradizione manoscritta di Teocrito”, in *RIFC* n.s. 17, 43–55.
- Geanakoplos, D.J. (1966), *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Oxford.
- Hadjú, K. (2003), *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. 3. Codices graeci Monacenses 110–180*, Wiesbaden.
- Herington, C.J. (1972), *The Older Scholia on the Prometheus Bound*, Lugduni Batavorum.
- Irgoin, J. (1952), *Histoire du Texte de Pindare*, Paris.
- Koster, W.J.W. (1975), *Prolegomena de comoedia*, Gröningen.
- Kyros, A. (1934), *Βησσαρίων ὁ Ἑλληγν*, vol. 2, Athenai.
- Labowsky, L. (1967), ‘Bessarione’, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, VIII, Roma, 686–696.
- Labowsky, L. (1979), *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana. Six Early Inventories*, Roma.
- Lake, K./Lake, S. (1934–1939), *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, Boston.
- Lambros, S.P. (1900), *Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos*, Cambridge.
- Legrand, É. (1885), *Bibliographie hellénique, ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des grecs aux 15e. et 16e. siècles*, Paris.
- Liakou-Kropp, V. (2002), *Georgios Tribizias. Ein griechischer Schreiber kretischer Herkunft im 15 Jh.*, Diss. Hamburg.
- Loenertz, R.J. (1944), “Pour la biographie du Cardinal Bessarion”, in *Orientalia christiana Periodica* 10, 116–149.
- Manfredini, M. (1984), “Ancora un codice con la formula «Ὡσπερ ξένοι»”, in *Codices manuscripti* 10, 72.
- Martinelli Tempesta, S. (2010–2011), “Nuovi manoscritti copiati da Giorgio Trivizia”, in *Studi Medioevali e Umanistici* 8–9, 406–436.
- Martinelli Tempesta, S. (2012), “Nuovi codici copiati da Giovanni Scutariota (con alcune novità sul Teocrito *Ambr.* P 84 sup. e Andronico Callisto)”, in F. Bognini (a c. di). *Meminisse iuvat. Studi in memoria di Violetta De Angelis*, Pisa, 517–546.
- Mastrodemetres, P.D. (1971), “Γεώργιος Τριβίζιος (προ του 1423–1485) κωδικογράφος του Βησσαρίωνος και ιερέας των εν Βενετία Ελλήνων”, in *Thesaurismata* 8, 49–62.
- Mastrorade, D./Bremer, J.M. (1982), *The Textual Tradition of Euripides' Phoinissai*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London.
- Mioni, E. (1976), “Bessarione scriba e alcuni suoi collaboratori”, in *Miscellanea Marciana di Studi Bessarionei*, Padova, 263–318.
- Mohler, L. (1923–1942), *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann*, Paderborn («Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte», voll. XX, XXII, XXIV);
- Motta, E. (1893), “Demetrio Calcondila editore”, in *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 20, 143–166.
- Muratore, D. (2001), *Le Epistole di Falaride*, La Spezia.
- Orlandi, L. (2014a), “Andronico Callisto e l'epigramma per la tomba di Mida”, in *Medioevo Greco* 14, 163–175.
- Orlandi, L. (2014b), “Baldassar Migliavacca lettore e possessore di codici greci”, in *Studi Medioevali e Umanistici* 12, 141–195.

- Page, D. (1972), *Aeschyli septem quae supersunt tragoediae*, Oxford 1972.
- Pertusi, A. (1955), *Scholia vetera in Hesiodi Opera et Dies*, Milano.
- Pietrobelli, A. (2009), "L'itinéraire de deux manuscrits de Galien à la Renaissance", in *RHT* n.s. 4, 79–114.
- Rollo, A. (2006), "Interventi di Andronico Callisto in codici latini", in *Studi medievali e umanistici* 4, 367–380.
- Saffrey, H.D. (1964), "Recherches sur quelques autographes du Cardinal Bessarion", in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, III, Città del Vaticano, 263–297.
- Smith, O.L. (1982), *Scholia Graeca in Aeschylum quae exstant omnia*, II/2. *Scholia in Septem adversus Thebas continens*, Leipzig.
- Tessier, A. (2015), "La fraintesa enunciazione di un metodo filologico: la *praefatio* al Sofocle (1502) e i suoi problemi", in AA.VV., *Manuciana Veronensia et Tergestina*, Trieste 2015, 163–196.
- Treu, K. (1970), "Weitere Handschriften mit der Schreiberformel 'Ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἡ γράψασα ...'", in *Scriptorium* 24, 56–64.
- Treu, K. (1977), "Der Schreiber am Ziel. Zu den Versen Ὡσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσιν... und ähnlichen", in *Studia codicologica*, Berlin, 473–492.
- Tselikas, A. (2004 [2001]), Πίνδαρος ο υμνητής των πανελληνίων αγώνων και ο κώδικας της μονής Ιβήρων 161. Εισαγωγή στην πανομοιότυπη έκδοση του κώδικα και πλήρης παλαιογραφική μεταγραφή, Αθήνα 2001 (= Id., Θέματα Ελληνικής Παλαιογραφίας, Αθήνα 2004, 607–630).
- Turyn, A. (1932), *De codicibus Pindaricis*, Cracoviae.
- Turyn, A. (1943), *The Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Aeschylus*, New York.
- Turyn, A. (1957), *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, Urbana (Illinois).
- Vast, H. (1878), *Le Cardinal Bessarion*, Paris.
- Wendel, K. (1920), *Überlieferung und Entstehung der Theokrit-Scholien*, Berlin.
- West, M.L. (1990), *Studies in Aeschylus*, Stuttgart.
- Wilson, N.G. (1983), *Scholars of Byzantium*, London.
- Zabrowski, C.J. (1984), *The older scholia to Aeschylus* Persae, Diss. New York.

Figures

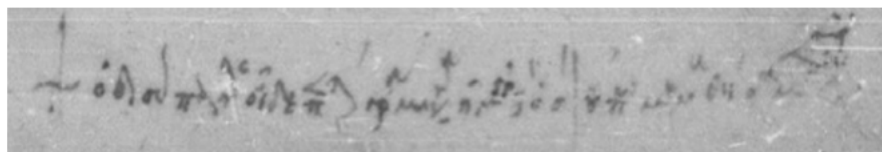


Fig. 1: F. 156^v: Dishypatos

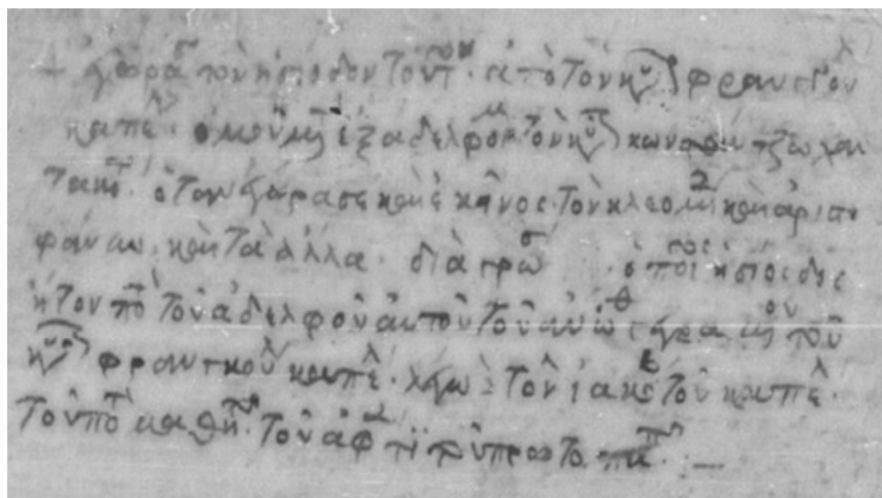


Fig. 2: F. 143^v: Chantakiti

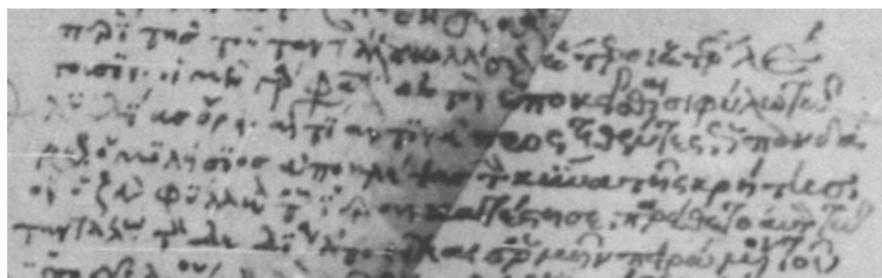


Fig. 3: F. 144^r: Andronikos' restoration (on the right)

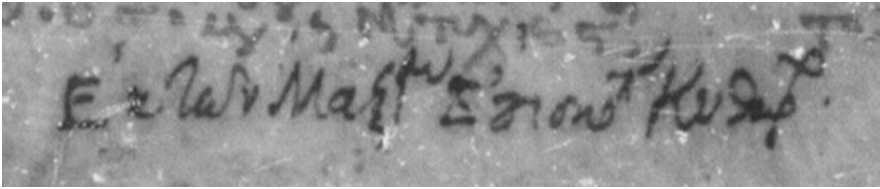


Fig. 4: F. 1': Maximos Margounios

Franco Montanari

Ancient Scholarship Today

Abstract: This article outlines the state of the art in the field of ancient scholarship, the changes that have occurred and the results that have been achieved in recent decades, the paths along which these studies have advanced and must still advance. Three subjects are specifically addressed: 1) what role did Aristotle and the Peripatos play in the birth of Alexandrian philology, and what influence did they exert on the intellectual turning point signified by the birth of philology? 2) what kind of questions should we address on the products and results of the ancients' critical and exegetical activity, what answers should we expect, and what is their significance for our research? 3) what is the value and the historical-cultural role of the critical and philological activity of the Alexandrians, and on what is it based?

This volume is the final output of a project begun in 2013 ("Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Aeschylus: Forms and transmission of the ancient exegeses") and concluded in 2016, within the program FIRB – Futuro in Ricerca 2012, funded by the Italian Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università, della Ricerca. The research was conducted by four groups directed by (in alphabetical order) Marco Ercoles (Università di Bologna), Lara Pagani (Università di Genova), Filippomaria Pontani (Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia), and Giuseppe Ucciardello (Università di Messina), who also carried out the task of coordinating the work of the various groups. The research project has been fulfilled thanks to studies that have addressed the four great poets in various ways, exploring multiple themes concerning the exegesis of Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and Aeschylus. It may not be useless to recall that all of them are outstanding authors of ancient Greek poetry, whose interpretation, in the broad sense of the term, has a historical and cultural significance of enormous importance and of special significance for illuminating the meaning of culture and thought in antiquity. Actually the research, while it has already been quite productive, is anything but finished, since, in addition to the conferences¹ and this volume, the project has produced a conspicuous quantity of studies: beside those already published, others are in print, yet more are still in progress, and seeds for new trends of research have been planted. Thanks, therefore, to the effort and commitment of those

¹ A series of meetings were held *in itinere*, at Venice (16 May 2013), Genoa (12 May 2014), and Messina (11 May 2015), concluded by the final conference at Bologna (23–25 May 2016), where the most part of the papers collected in the present volume were delivered.

who have lavished their energies and abilities on more than four years of work within this framework, the wave of research will last much longer and will continue to bear fruit in scholarly investigations. The result of the project is clearly evident and of great importance and utility for advancing our knowledge: this is what happens (obviously, one might add) when resources for research are allocated well. Alas, this is not always the case.²

Given this background, I would not say there is a need to ‘conclude’ in some way in relation to this project and its development, but rather to express some reflections on research into ancient scholarship today: the current picture, the changes in recent decades, the results gained, the paths along which studies are proceeding and should now proceed. If we look broadly at the past half century, it is undeniable that there have been important changes in this field of research on the ancient world. The decisive turning point was undoubtedly marked by Rudolf Pfeiffer’s *History*, by its diffusion among scholars, and by the discussion raised by this seminal book.³ In short, through Pfeiffer’s account ancient scholarship definitively escaped the essentially ancillary role that it had traditionally occupied (abetted by the perspective of an often aestheticizing and ahistorical classicism) and rightly took on (thanks to the progressive abandonment of an increasingly jaded classicism) a role and function as one of the essential historical and cultural aspects of the ancient world, one that can no longer be overlooked. Since Pfeiffer’s book exactly half a century has passed, and I think we may say that fifty years ago such a large and challenging work as the recently published *Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship* would not even have been conceivable.⁴

In the current research trends of these studies, I believe that some basic ideas, which are essential for an accurate view and valuation of cultural and intellectual history, should be accepted by scholars as established. The fundamental themes which we should approach in the proper way can be identified as follows: 1) What was the role of Aristotle and the Peripatos in the birth of Alexandrian philology, and what was their influence on the intellectual turning point that this entailed? 2) What questions should we ask of the products and results of the ancients’ critical and exegetical activities, what answers should we expect, and what is their significance for our research? 3) What is the historical and cultural value and role of the Alexandrians’ critical and philological activity, and on what is it based?

² I have in mind some oddities that have emerged from ERC calls in recent years, but these are certainly not the only cases of perplexing funding decisions, which produce results of rather dubious value and are thus a very poor use of resources.

³ Pfeiffer 1968; a general reassessment in Montanari 1994.

⁴ Montanari/Matthaios/Rengakos 2015.

1 From the Peripatos to Alexandria: a new cultural outlook

One of the aspects of Pfeiffer's *History* mostly discussed is the reduced role that he ascribed to Aristotle and his school in the process towards the birth of philology at Alexandria. Pfeiffer criticized the view, held already in antiquity, and traditionally, even if automatically, repeated in modern studies, according to which Aristotle was the 'father' or 'founder' of Alexandrian philology; in doing so, Pfeiffer opened up a problem and a still ongoing debate which continues to stimulate new analyses and studies in ever greater depth.⁵ It seems worth underlining one more time that in Pfeiffer's view the elements that link Aristotle and the Peripatos with Alexandria are in fact present, and in good number, and are even noted explicitly. Pfeiffer by no means omits to mention Aristotle and the work of the Peripatetics when the topic leads him to do so, but he then downplays any deeper connection: Aristotle was not the master of the first philologists, the Alexandrian philologists were not Aristotelians, Aristotle was not the founder or father of philology. I believe that it is clear that Pfeiffer's approach originates from having given too much support to the relationship between poetry and philology, by refraining from a much more complex and nuanced picture involving the erudite activity as a whole, with its search for documentation on literature and language. Actually I think that, if we put together all the elements that imply deep and concrete connections between Aristotle/Peripatos and the work of the scholars of the Hellenistic period, we are led, rather, to emphasize and realize ever more fully that it was that environment and that line of development which provided the key impulses and inspirations. Aristotle took a new kind of interest in what we call 'literature' as a whole.⁶ Firstly, it is connected with his accentuated systematic interest in the history of the various disciplines: a large space was given to scholarly research and to antiquarian collecting, with serious effort made towards historical documentation in the domain of thought in which Aristotle himself developed his own doctrine. The link between the ordered collection of opinions expressed by predecessors (which gave rise to doxography) and theoretical reflection seems to be a characteristic intellectual trait: for the scientific foundation of a discipline, a conscious knowledge of its history is indispensable, and this is true also of rhetoric and poetry, the human activities that use words.

⁵ See Montanari 2012, 2014, and 2017, to which I refer for further bibliography.

⁶ Montanari 2017.

This aspect of Aristotle's approach cannot be underestimated or treated as secondary in scholarship. For example, most information available on the earlier *technē rhetorikē* is owed to Aristotle, even though his collection of *Technai* is lost. For our purposes, special consideration is due to everything that can be linked to researches on the great poetry of the past, on the traditional *paideia* of the Greeks. The great collections of historical and antiquarian erudition by Aristotle and his school undoubtedly had an organic connection to the field of literary history, to the study of literary works and the reconstruction of the lives of the authors, for which they provided indispensable notices and materials. Converging with this, literature itself was a source of information and an object of commentary and exegesis, and there was a profound link between erudite documentation and the interpretation of texts, the legacy of which was a fertile training in work and method; this had an important continuation both in the activity of some exponents of the Peripatetic school and also in the critical and exegetical activity of Alexandrian philology, thus constituting the decisive intellectual inspiration for its development.

Alongside his scholarly researches on works and authors, Aristotle was committed to theoretical reflection and produced his own doctrine on the *technē poietikē*: as in other fields of knowledge, here too the two aspects cannot be detached from each other, since his view of the sphere of poetic art within the framework of human activities sharply altered the standard approach. The emergence of varied interests in what we call 'literature' arose from the importance Aristotle accorded to the products of verbal art as a sphere of human activity, and was deeply rooted in the attention that he gave to the historical and cultural topics connected to them. The shift in approach, compared to the past, was firm and decisive. While Plato did not assign to poetry, as the imitation of sensible things, a value as knowledge, for Aristotle it produced its knowledge precisely as *mimesis* of nature, which is in fact "reality": it does not imitate the particular accidental, but the universal, because there is no true knowledge except of the universal. In other words, what concerns the end and the effect is firmly linked with the level of epistemology. In Aristotle's view, one no longer imposes to the poetic art the condition of educating towards the good or of teaching things that are good and proper: its aim and function are of a cognitive order in relation to the intellect, and of a psychological-emotive order in relation to the passions. The specificity of the poetic art and the autonomy of poetry from reality in Aristotle's conception are two elements that have emerged in a recent reconsideration of the historical relation

between the school of Aristotle and the Museum of Alexandria, which systematically compares the two realities in order to investigate their shared theoretical outlook in the field of *technē poietikē*.⁷

Through his reflections, activity, and teaching Aristotle brought about a cultural shift and gave to the Peripatos a direction that is clearly encountered among his pupils, despite the near-total loss of their writings, of which unfortunately only fragments survive and even these usually rather meager and unsatisfying. But in what remains of the works of figures such as Demetrius of Phalerum, Dicaearchus, Praxiphanes, Chamaeleon, and others, we find that the study of literature and the poets is present to an increasingly important degree: as soon as the lessons of Aristotle were digested ever more thoroughly, the investigation of poetic works and research into their authors now becomes a common and productive field that is of primary importance for interpreting and understanding the reality of humanity and human life in the world.

A line of research that seems to me productive, and which I have pursued in some studies in recent years, is based on identifying Homeric passages about which Aristotle himself or one of the Peripatetics of the first generation raised problems of interpretation of various types, that were picked up again and had a continuation among the Alexandrian philologists in a different form – we could openly say, in a philological form. In short, an exegetical difficulty pointed out by Aristotle or one of his followers can be found transformed into an Alexandrian athetesis, or addressed with other tools developed by the post-Aristotelian scholars. In its specificity, this type of research can give substance and content to forms of continuity that are precise and concrete, reinforcing the picture of a more general intellectual and cultural continuity and relationship, in the sense outlined above. This therefore seems to be a research line that should be pursued further,⁸ also broadening the scope of observation beyond Homeric philology.⁹

⁷ Bouchard 2016, to be read with the help of Montana 2017, which focuses on the main issues.

⁸ Montanari 2000, 2012, 2014; Bacigalupo 2018. A slightly different approach in Pagani (forthcoming/a).

⁹ E.g. Tocco (forthcoming) studies the Peripatetic interest in the history of music as a scholarly field of inquiry.

2 The significance of ancient scholarship: what the texts tell us about themselves

For a long time the extant remains of ancient exegesis and scholarship were considered and studied essentially (even if the particular focuses were of course varied) for two reasons and with two approaches: 1) as testimonia to fragments of lost works and to information otherwise unknown (for example on *Realien*, historical facts, institutions, and so on); 2) as a source of information for the interpretation and comprehension of the commented work (or occasionally of other works). The first case is immediately comprehensible: all editions of fragmentary works (Hesiod, tragedy, lyric, Hellenistic poetry, as well as prose works) teem with quotations found in scholiographic corpora, grammatical works, and lexicographical collections; not infrequently studies of various aspects of different historical periods benefit from scholarly sources (the one example of the *FGrHist* of Felix Jacoby can stand for them all). On the other hand, it sometimes happens that the exegesis of the surviving works of major authors of ancient literature gain some clarification from a scholion or a lexicographical item. These are two essential and important aspects which should certainly not be underestimated, or brushed aside, given the exceptionally important function that they exert. But for some time the approach has been changing, and this shift should now be consolidated as an established advance in knowledge. We can formulate it as follows: in addition to being important for what they tell us about everything other than themselves in their own right, the products of ancient scholarship are important, indeed fundamental, for what they tell us about themselves. We can appreciate the great importance of an unknown fragment of a lost work or an otherwise unknown fact about the ancient world; however, at least as important and significant, or perhaps even more so, is what these texts, difficult and complicated to understand, tell us about the methods of the ancient exegetes, the cultural assumptions, ideas, and intentions of their times and their settings. It is a fact – and we can no longer deny or ignore it – that the exegesis of ancient authors, the scholarship, grammar, reflection on language, all that we usually define under the general term ‘ancient philology’, should be accepted as one of the essential and indispensable aspects of the historical and cultural framework of the ancient world, and also as the final major step in the escape from an aestheticizing classicism (for which the products of ancient scholarship were usually late trivia of little or no value in themselves), whose scientific findings are irremediably ephemeral. Let us therefore ask of the texts of ancient scholarship, above all, what they tell us about themselves; let us adopt as a basic principle that it does

not matter whether what they tell us is correct or mistaken, whether their interpretations are good or bad from our point of view and with our methods. What matters is instead what they imply and what they mean in their own right: that a scholion to Homer or Aeschylus chooses a mistaken reading is entirely secondary as compared to our understanding of the methods and assumptions that are brought to bear in making the selections. To defend the ‘usefulness’ of the texts of ancient scholarship does not mean to observe that sometimes they are right and interpret well according to our philology and ideas; it means to understand the reasons why they have interpreted in a certain way and have made certain choices; in short, to understand what they tell us about themselves, their age, and their setting.

3 The intellectual turning point: a question of method and ideas

The other point is whether we should think of the phase of Alexandrian philology as a decisive intellectual turning point in the cultural history of our civilization or not, and whether it stands out as the foundation act of a way of studying literary texts that lies at the origin of the discipline that we today call (classical) philology. From this viewpoint a debate has developed that has become especially lively in recent times. Some scholars have denied to the Alexandrian philologists any kind of activity involving collating copies and selecting variants, and maintained that their readings were only conjectures, thus substantially downgrading their historical and cultural significance in the discipline of philology. This is the central aspect in the evaluation of Alexandrian scholarship from the point of view of cultural history. It would perhaps be all too easy to begin by pointing out that conjecture is one of the fundamental tools of the practice of philology, which would highlight an inexplicable contradiction in this perspective, and be sufficient to discredit it. There are, however, some clear and indisputable testimonia to the fact that collation was done from copies and choices were made among variant readings; to the objection that this was an occasional phenomenon and not an established practice, we may reply that this is a problem involving principles and methods, not the quantity of data (the number of copies collated and variants discussed), or the quality of the results (whether correct or mistaken from our point of view). We should not be trying to establish a minimum number of copies to be compared to each other or of variants to be considered, nor to determine how many ‘correct’ readings or ‘good’ interpretations (see above) would

be necessary in order to speak of philology. Rather, in a historical approach, all that is necessary for a crucial step forward, in terms of an intellectual advance, is the very fact that the problem is understood and addressed, even if in a partial, desultory, or incoherent manner: a literary text had lived a multifaceted history of transmission, during which it could have been distorted; it was possible to restore the correct text (that is, which was an authentic line of verse and which a spurious one, and what was the original wording) by conjecture or by choosing the best reading among those offered by a discordant tradition.

Without any doubt the work of the Alexandrian philologists encompassed both variants drawn from the comparison of copies and also conjectures *ope ingenii*, that is exactly the working tool of modern philology. A further consideration has decisive force: it concerns the invention of the critical sign termed *obelos* by Zenodotus. He performed two different operations, which mark an important intellectual point: on the one hand the material deletion of lines regarded as certainly not authentic, and on the other hand the indication that a line could be suspected of being spurious, but without sufficient certainty to eliminate it physically and permanently from the text. Such a line therefore remained in the text, with a mark of doubt that leaves to the readers the possibility of forming their own opinion. It was the codification of philological doubt, which we indicate in our critical editions with the marks of expunction, which signal the part of the text that is regarded as uncertain and debatable, but yet remains in the text, available to its reader.

The idea that a textual damage can be detected, and that a way needs to be found to repair it, reveals that the organic unity between interpretation and textual criticism was deemed to be achieved. Although much remained to be done, and ‘Wolfian’ philology, critical editions, and scientific commentary still were far into the future, our point of view – far from being an anachronism – is the historical assessment that a crucial step was made in the period between Zenodotus and Aristarchus¹⁰.

By these brief remarks I certainly do not claim to have drawn a complete picture of the research themes and problems that shape the field of ancient scholarship in its many and multifaceted aspects: a picture that has now become large and complex, in view of the great number of ancient grammarians who are at stake, often known only through meagre and problematic fragments, or through several texts of exegesis and erudition that constitute its essential sources, texts that not infrequently are difficult and still relatively unexplored due to the long periods in which

¹⁰ I have developed these ideas in some recent works: Montanari 2015a, 2015b, 2015c, to which I refer for a more detailed discussion and for the bibliography; cf. Montana 2012 and Pagani (forthcoming/b).

there was little interest in them. I hope merely to have addressed some key-points about the history of ancient scholarship, in which there have been truly decisive advances in recent decades: advances and changes of approach that have set in their true light their historical-cultural and intellectual value and significance, by establishing them definitively as part of a legacy of achieved knowledge, which should never again be lost in studies of the ancient world. Many studies and more in-depth investigations must still be made, of course, and many texts await an adequate critical edition, several figures of primary or secondary importance in ancient culture must still be examined to shed more light on their activities, their position, and their role.¹¹ Yet today we look at this sector of research not only in an entirely new light, but also in a different, and now more accurate perception of its role, importance, and influence in the context of ancient culture and thought.

Bibliography

- Bacigalupo, V. (2018), “Dicearco, Aristarco e i pronomi riflessivi”, in *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 146 (1), 98–128.
- Bouchard, E. (2016), *Du Lycée au Musée: théorie poétique et critique littéraire*, Paris.
- Montana, F. (2012), *La filologia ellenistica. Lineamenti di una storia culturale*, Pavia.
- Montana, F. (2017), “Dal Liceo al Museo, ultima frontiera”, in: *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 145 (2), 443–473.
- Montanari, F. (ed.) (1994), *La philologie grecque à l'époque hellénistique et romaine*, Entre-tiens sur l'antiquité classique, XL, Vandoeuvres/Genève.
- Montanari, F. (2000), “Demetrius of Phalerum on Literature”, in: W.W. Fortenbaugh / E. Schütrumpf (eds.), *Demetrius of Phalerum. Text, Translation and Discussion*, New Brunswick/London, 391–411.
- Montanari, F. (2012), “The Peripatos on Literature. Interpretation, Use and Abuse”, in: A. Martano/E. Matelli/D. Mirhady (eds.), *Praxiphanes of Mytilene and Chamaeleon of Heraclea. Text, Translation, and Discussion*, New Brunswick/London, 339–358.
- Montanari, F. (2014), “Dal Peripato ad Alessandria”, in: M. Tulli/M. Magnani/A. Nicolosi (eds.), *Philia. Dieci contributi per Gabriele Burzacchini*, Bologna, 79–102.
- Montanari, F. (2015a), “Ekdosis. A Product of the Ancient Scholarship”, in: Montanari/Matthaios/Rengakos 2015, 641–672.
- Montanari, F. (2015b), “Aristarchus' Conjectures (once) again”, in: M. Tziatzi/M. Billerbeck / F. Montanari/K. Tsantsanoglou (eds.), *Lemmata. Beiträge zum Gedenken an Christos Theodoridis*, Berlin/Boston, 119–129.

¹¹ A prosopographical collection of figures important in the sphere of philology and scholarship in a broad sense in the ancient Greek world is presented within the *Lexicon of Greek Grammarians of Antiquity*: Montanari/Montana/Pagani (in progress).

- Montanari, F. (2015c), "From Book to Edition. Philology in Ancient Greece", in: S. Pollock/B.A. Elman/Ku-ming Kevin Chang (eds.), *World Philology*, Cambridge (Mass.)/London, 25–44.
- Montanari, F. (2017), "The Idea of History of Literature: the Beginnings in Ancient Greek Culture", in: J. Grethlein/A. Rengakos (eds.), *Griechische Literaturgeschichtsschreibung. Traditionen, Probleme und Konzepte*, Berlin/Boston, 153–169.
- Montanari, F./Matthaios, S./Rengakos, A. (eds.) (2015), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*, I–II, Leiden/Boston.
- Montanari, F./Montana, F./Pagani, L. (eds.) (in progress), *Lexicon of Greek Grammarians of Antiquity*, BrillOnline (<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/lexicon-of-greek-grammarians-of-antiquity>).
- Pagani, L. (forthcoming/a), "Interpretazioni di Omero in chiave tragica negli scolii all'*Iliade*", in: *Atti della Giornata di studi di lessicografia e grammatica greca* (Napoli, 29 maggio 2017).
- Pagani, L. (forthcoming/b), "Papyrus commentaries on the Iliad", in: *Proceedings of the Lectio Round Table "Sicut dicit... A Methodological Workshop on the Editing of Commentaries on Authoritative Texts"* (Leuven, 9–11 March 2016).
- Pfeiffer, R. (1968), *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age*, Oxford (trad. it. Napoli 1973; zweite, durchgesehene Auflage München 1978).
- Tocco, A. (forthcoming), "'New Music' and early Peripatetic Scholarship: the 'degeneration' of Music as a Historiographical Paradigm", in: *Greek and Roman Musical Studies* 7 (1).

List of Contributors

Maria Cannatà is Professor of Greek Literature at the University of Messina since 1994. Her main interests concern Greek lyric, in particular Pindar: she has published a commented edition of the *Threnoi* (Rome 1990), and a new edition of the *Nemeans* with translation and commentary is under press (Fondazione Lorenzo Valla 2019). Since her book *Il Pindaro di Plutarco* (Messina 1992), she has been tracking down the *Fortleben* of ancient Greek lyric in poetry and prose from the Imperial age through modern times (a book on *Pascoli e la melica corale* is forthcoming).

Marta Cardin, currently a teacher in secondary school, was trained in Greek Philology at the University of Venice “Ca’ Foscari” and at the Scuola Normale Superiore (Pisa). She has published papers on fragmentary Hesiodic poetry and its transmission, and is currently working on a new critical edition of Ioannes Tzetzes’ commentary to Hesiod’s *Works and Days*.

Daniela Colomo is Research Associate at the Faculty of Classics of the University of Oxford and Curator of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri Collection. Her research focuses on education in the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine world as illustrated in literary and subliterate papyri, including scholia, paraphrases, commentaries, and rhetorical texts (handbooks, schoolmasters’ models and students’ exercises). She also works on Christian papyri, magical texts, *Acta Alexandrinorum* and documentary texts, and takes part in the joint project of a new *Oxford Classical Texts* edition of the entire Isocrates corpus.

Marco Ercoles is Senior Researcher at the University of Bologna. His interests are in Greek melic poetry, ancient Greek metre and music, and the ancient exegesis to Aeschylus. His publications include an edition with commentary of Stesichorus’ *testimonia* (*Stesicoro: testimonianze. Edizione critica, traduzione e commento*, Bologna 2013) and a supplement to the Italian translation of Maas’ *Greek metre* (*La metrica greca oggi: principali tendenze*, Brescia 2016).

Caterina Franchi is Post-Doc Researcher at the University of Bologna. Her interests concern the figure of Alexander the Great in Greek traditions of late antiquity, above all in the text known as the *Alexander Romance* and its reception in Byzantine literature. She is specialized in Greek palaeography and is currently working on the critical edition of the *recensio* λ of the *Alexander Romance* as well as of the scholia to Aeschylus’ *Persians*.

Stephanos Matthaios is Assistant Professor of Ancient Greek Philology at the University of Athens. His research interests include ancient linguistics, ancient and Byzantine lexicography, ancient scholia and commentaries, the history of ancient scholarship, as well as the history of the Greek language. He is the author of the book *Untersuchungen zur Grammatik Aristarchs: Texte und Interpretation zur Wortartenlehre* (Göttingen 1999) and co-editor of *Ancient Greek Scholarship. Archetypes, Concepts and Contexts* (with Franco Montanari and Antonios Rengakos, Berlin/New York 2011) and of the *Brill’s Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship* (with Franco Montanari and Antonios Rengakos, Leiden/Boston 2015).

Claudio Meliadò is Associate Professor of Ancient Greek at the University of Messina. His interests mainly concern Greek epic, Hellenistic poetry and the history of ancient scholarship. In his

monograph *E cantando danzerò* (Messina 2008) he has reedited P.Lit.Goodspeed 2 with translation and commentary; more recently he has produced the first critical edition of the scholia to Aelian's *De natura animalium* (Berlin-Boston 2017).

Grazia Merro, currently a teacher in secondary school, was trained in Greek Literature and Philology at the Universities of Messina and Catania. She is the author of a new commented edition of the scholia on Euripides' *Rhesus* (Messina 2008) and has published several articles about Greek tragedy and the ancient exegesis on Pindar.

Fausto Montana is Professor of Ancient Greek Literature at the University of Pavia. His research interests range from the Attic theatre to the texts and history of ancient Greek scholarship. His most recent publications include: the entries for *Aristophanes* and *Herodotus* in the volumes of the series *Commentaria et Lexica Graeca in Papyris Reperta* (I.1.4 and I.2.6, Berlin 2012² and 2019); *The Birth of Scholiography. From Types to Texts* (coedited with Antonietta Porro, Milan 2014); the chapter *Hellenistic Scholarship* in the *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship* (Leiden/Boston 2015).

Franco Montanari is Professor of Ancient Greek Literature at the University of Genoa. He is the President of the FIEC and Director of the 'Centro Italiano dell'Année philologique' and of the 'Aristarchus' project (<http://www.aristarchus.unige.net>). A specialist in ancient Homeric exegesis, he has published extensively on Greek epic, poetry and philology in various Italian and international journals and books, and is the author of a dictionary of Ancient Greek (*GI-Vocabolario della lingua greca*, 3rd ed. 2013; English ed. 2015; German ed. forthcoming) and of a *Storia della Letteratura Greca* (Roma/Bari 1998, 2000, new ed. Roma 2017; Greek ed. Thessaloniki 2008; English ed. forthcoming).

Davide Muratore, currently a teacher in secondary school, obtained his Ph.D. in Greek and Latin Philology at the University of Genoa. He has investigated the libraries of outstanding humanists (*La biblioteca del cardinale Niccolò Ridolfi*, Alessandria 2009; an essay on Domenico Grimani in «Medioevo Greco» 2004) as well as the manuscript tradition of Phalaris' *Epistles* (Rome 2006) and of Xenophon's *Lakedaimonion politeia*. He is co-editor of a forthcoming new edition of the scholia to the *Iliad* (de Gruyter).

René Nünlist is Professor of Classics at the University of Cologne and a co-founder of the Basel commentary on the *Iliad* (2000-). He is the author of *Poetologische Bildersprache in der frühgriechischen Dichtung* (1998, repr. 2011), *The Ancient Critic at Work: Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia* (2009, pbk. 2011) and several articles on Aristarchus and other ancient critics.

Lara Pagani is Associate Professor of Ancient Greek Literature at the University of Genoa. Her main interests concern ancient Greek scholarship and grammar, Homeric studies, Greek lexicography and the reflection on language in ancient Greece, literary papyrology. She is one of the general editors of the encyclopedia *Lexicon of Greek Grammarians of Antiquity* (LGGA, BrillOnline Reference Works), the co-editor of a forthcoming new edition of the scholia to the *Iliad* (de Gruyter), a rédacteur of *L'Année Philologique*, a member of the lexicographical project *Words in progress*, and of the *équipe* which accomplished the third edition of F. Montanari's *GI* -

Vocabolario della lingua greca (2013). Her publications include a critical edition of the fragments of Asclepiades of Myrlea (2007).

Filippomaria Pontani is Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Venice “Ca’ Foscari”. While primarily concerned with scholarship and manuscript transmission in the Byzantine and humanistic period (from Plutarch’s *Natural Questions* to Planudes’ edition of Ptolemy, down to Pletho’s *De Homero*), he is currently editing the scholia to Homer’s *Odyssey* (three volumes so far, Rome 2007–2015; prolegomena: *Sguardi su Ulisse*, Rome 2005). He has published extensively on Greek and Latin texts (from Sappho’s *Nachleben* to Callimachus’ *Aitia*, from Aeschylus’ *Choephoroi* to Euripides’ *Medea*, from the rise of ancient grammar to allegory and the literary *facies* of some ancient myths), as well as on Byzantine, Humanist (Poliziano’s *Liber Epigrammatum Graecorum*, Rome 2002; Kondoleon’s *Scritti omerici*, Leuven 2018) and Modern Greek literature (*Poeti greci del Novecento*, Milan 2010).

Renzo Tosi is Professor of Ancient Greek at the University of Bologna. His main interests concern ancient lexicography, ancient and modern proverbs, Greek theatre, Thucydides and the history of classical philology. Among his publications: *Studi sulla tradizione indiretta dei classici greci* (Bologna 1988), *La donna è mobile e altri studi di intertestualità proverbiale* (Bologna 2011), *I carmi greci di Clotilde Tambroni* (Bologna 2011), *Dizionario delle sentenze latine e greche* (Milan 2017³).

Olga Tribulato is Associate Professor in Greek language and literature at Ca’ Foscari University of Venice. A historical linguist by training, she has published on Greek compounding and word-formation (*Ancient Greek Verb-Initial Compounds*, De Gruyter 2015), bilingualism in ancient Sicily (*Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily*, CUP 2012), epigraphic dialects and literary languages (with chapters in A.C. Cassio’s *Storia delle lingue letterarie greche*, Le Monnier/Mondadori 2008 and 2016). She is currently working on the theories of language correctness developed in the Atticist lexica, and particularly on the literary canon in the *Antiatticist* and on the structure of Pollux’ *Onomasticon*.

Giuseppe Ucciardello is Associate Professor of Greek Language and Literature at the University of Messina. He has published extensively on Greek lyric (Sappho, Ibycus, Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides, lyric adespota on papyri), Attic orators (in particular Lysias and the “new Hypereides” discovered in the ‘Archimedes Palimpsest’), Greek literary papyri and ancient scholarship, with a special focus on the Atticist lexicography of the Hellenistic and Byzantine age (on this topic he published also the book *Hypomnemata papiracei e lessicografia. Tra Alessandria e Bisanzio*, Messina 2012). He is involved in various projects, including the *Lexicon of Greek Grammars of Antiquity* directed by F. Montanari/F. Montana/L. Pagani (University of Genoa).

Index nominum et rerum

- Acamas 17
 accusative in -οῦν 175, 184
 Achelous 176f., 320–322
 Achilles 11f., 16, 32, 199f., 239, 255
 n.116, 294
 Adrastus 236 n.19, 249, 298
adynaton 309
 Aerope 125
 Aeschylus 287–342
 phantasiai 295–311
 style 297f.
 visual effects 307f., 310
 Aetna 238
 Agamedes 223
 Agamemnon 32, 125 and n.56, 301
 Agesias 249
 Agustín, Antonio 142 n.56
akyria 247 n.72
 Alcaeus 22 n.36, 234
 Alcman 74, 201, 205–210, 214 n.4
 Hymn to Dioskouroi 207
 Aleander, Hieronymus 139 n.41
 Allacci, Leone 144 n.69
 allegorism/allegorical exegesis 120–126
 allegory 162–171
 Altis 203
 Ammonius of Alexandria 196 n.4
 [Ammonius] 262
 Amphimenes of Cos 234
 Amphitryon 244
 Anacreon 246 n.46
 analogy (*analogia* / *similitudo*) 33–46
 anomaly (*anomalía*) 31, 33–46
 Antilochus of Lemnos 234
 Antimachus 166, 221 n.32
 Antimenides 234
 Antinoopolis 74f.
 Antiphon 234
aphilokalia (ἀφιλοκαλία, aesthetic judge-
 ment) 234
 Aphrodite 181, 221 n.28, 245 n.60
 Apollo 11, 16, 126 n.57, 174 n.37, 181,
 220, 221 n.28, 243, 247–251, 303–306,
 329
 Apollodorus of Athens 21, 22 n.35, 170
 n.22
 Apollonius Dyscolus 30f., 36, 197–199
 Apollonius Rhodius 214, 221 n.32, 224
 and n.43, 226, 237
 Apollonius Sophista 102, 118, 122, 317
aporia 164
 Arabites, Konstantinos 269 n.26
 Aratus 162, 169–171, 180, 214 n.4
 Arcadians 248 n.82
 Arcesilaus of Cyrene 236
 Arcesilaus grammarian 264
 Archemorus 237 n.19
 Archilochus 235 and n.10
 Ares 15, 226, 241 n.40, 248
 Arethas 86 n.14, 265 n.10
 Argonauts / Argonautic expedition 224,
 244f.
 Aristarchus of Samothrace *passim*, 11–
 23, 25–47, 53 and n.14, 55–57, 92f.,
 96–99, 118f., 124, 168 n.15, 195–200,
 204, 214 nn.26f., 227, 250 n.90, 315–
 318, 323
 critical *semeia* 51–58, 91–93
 ekdosis/–*eis* of Homer 89, 98 n.59
 notion of *eidolopoiia* 293f., 306
 On the Iliad and the Odyssey 92
 Aristocles of Aegina 237
 Aristodemus 203–205
 Ariston of Chios 43 n.77
 Aristonicus 11f., 15f., 19 n.25, 26, 29, 32,
 44 n.80, 93–95, 98f., 101, 199, 201
 n.26, 220 n.26, 293 n.23, 297, 316, 318
 Aristophanes Comicus 27, 31 n.22, 121,
 242 n.46, 254 n.111, 255 n.116, 308,
 329, 332 and n.24
 Aristophanes of Byzantium 34 n.32, 37f.,
 40, 44 n.80, 51–57, 92f., 98 and
 nn.58f., 220 and nn.26f., 265f., 304
 n.53, 319 n.9

- Aristotle 12–15, 21, 87 n.14, 195, 200
 n.25, 236 n.8, 291–293, 305–307, 309,
 319 n.10, 346–349 (see also Peripatos)
 arithmology 169–171
 Arnobius 168 and n.16, 170 n.20
 Artemis 126 n.57
 Artemon of Pergamum 249 n.88, 250
 Asclepiades of Myrlea 39–41
asteriskos 53f., 57
 Asteropaeus 16
 Athena 15, 242
 Athenaëus 180
athetesis 163 and n.3, 168 n.15, 199f.,
 349
 Atlas 250
 Atreus 125
 austere arrangement (αύστηρὰ ἀρμονία)
 235
 authority/authorship 121 n.49

 Bacchylides 74 n.72, 233, 235
 Barry, Iris 256 n.119
 Bartolini, Lorenzo 142 n.54
 Bellerophon 242
 Bessarion, Basilios 108 n.5, 333, 335f.
 Biston 226
 Blado, Antonio 143 n.65
 blank space (in papyri) 63f., 72
 Boivin, Jean 144 n.68
 Bonfiglio, Luca 142 n.55
 Boreas 297, 310
 Byzantine commentaries on the ancient
 poets: see commentary / commentaries

 Cadmus 181, 243, 247
 Caecilius of Caleacte 298 n.38
 Callimachus 120 n.44, 210 n.63, 214 and
 n.4, 220 n.27, 226
 Callistratus 54, 57, 251
 Capello, Frangouli 332
 Carmelio, Vittore 138 n.40
 catalogic poetry 174–186
 catalogues of Muses 161–187
 Chaeris 248 n.79
 Chamaeleon 349
 Chantakiti, Constanzo 332, 335f.
 Charax, John 266 n.19

 chariot 181, 201, 236 n.18, 239, 245 n.63,
 251 n.98, 294, 298
 Charites 176 n.39, 181, 250 n.90 (see
 also Graces)
chi 51–58
chi-rho 52
 Chiron 244
 Chromius of Syracuse–Aetna 238
 Chronus 252f.
 Chrysippus of Soli 36, 41, 43, 44 n.80,
 220 n.26, 252, 299, 301
 Chrysostom, John 329f.
 Cicero 170, 171 n.28, 208 n.59, 235 n.10
 Cinesias 242 n.46
 Cleanthes 43 n.77
 Clisthenes 249
 Clymenus 222–224
 Clytaemestra 303–307
 commentary / commentaries 15, 18 n.21,
 30 n.20, 53f., 56, 88, 92, 99 and n.61,
 103 n.67, 203, 213–218, 220f., 224,
 226–228, 348, 352 (see also *hy-*
 pomnema)
 Byzantine commentaries on the ancient
 poets 107–128, 145, 161–187, 267
 n.19, 297 n.37, 302 n.49, 315–322,
 326f., 332
 Coner, Andreas 146 n.79
 controversy analogy vs. anomaly 28,
 33–46
 Corinna 233
 Corinthian traditions 176, 181
 Coronis 249 n.88
 correctness, linguistic (*hellenismos*) 34f.
 Crates of Mallos 25–47
 Croesus 202

 Damilas, Demetrios 138 n.39
declinatio (*klisis*) 35 and n.37, 44 (see
 also inflection)
 Deinomenes 201f.
 Delphic Games 201
 Demetrius of Phalerum 349
derivatio 37
 Diaconus Galenus, John 172
 Dicaearchus 349
dicolon 63

- Didymus of Alexandria 54, 87 n.19, 93f.,
 96–99, 101f., 196 n.4, 199 n.15, 203
 n.33, 204 n.43, 213–215, 218, 227f.,
 242 n.48, 247, 248 n.81, 251f., 267 n.20
 digression 237f.
 Diogenianus 264, 265–267, 269 n.26,
 272 n.35, 273 and n.40, 276 and n.48,
 277 nn.49f.
 Diomedes 14, 20, 276
 Dion of Prusa 87 n.14
 Dionysos 255
 Dionysius Iambus 56 n.39
 Dionysius Κορίνθιος 205 n.49
 Dionysius Musicus 205 n.49
 Dionysius ὁ τοῦ Χαρμίδου 203
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus 235
 Dionysius of Phaselis 204f.
 Dionysius of Syracuse 207 n.54
 Dionysius Periegetes 327f., 330, 332,
 337
 Dionysius Scytobrachion 204 n.46
 Dionysius Sidonius 195–210
 Dionysius the Cyclographer 205 and n.47
 Dionysius Thrax 33f., 39–41, 98 n.59, 196
 n.4, 200, 203 and n.39, 205 n.49
 definition of ‘grammar’ 40
Parangelmata 33
Techne 33f., 38–42
 Dioscorides 277 n.50
 Dioscorus of Aphroditos 75 n.62
 Dioscuri 124, 243, 245
diple 19, 52f., 55–57, 93
diple periestigmene 53 and n.21, 57
disputare in utramque partem 40
 dithyrambic / dithyrambicity 233 n.2,
 239, 241f.
 dithyrambographers 242 n.46
 Doric 182–185
 Doric comedy 182
 dual
 in Homer 25–46
 morphology 25f., 31, 39, 44f.
 semantics 26, 29
dualis pro plurali 32, 45

eidolopoia 288, 294, 306
eidos (species) 11–15, 18f.

 Eileithyia 250
 Eirene, Sebastokratorissa 166
eisthesis 64 n.18, 68, 70, 75
ekplexis 290, 296 n.34, 309
 Elatus 248 n.82
 Elis 203 and n.33
 elision/elided 70, 251
 embassies in Homer 32 and n.25
 embryo (ancient explanations on its vital-
 ity) 146f. and n.79
empeiria 33 n.31, 34, 38f., 41
 ‘*empeiria* vs. *techne* opposition’ 39f.
 and n.58, 40–42, 45f.
enallage
 of persons 45
 of tenses 45
enargeia 288 n.3, 291
encomium 250, 255
 Ephialtes 170 n.19, 248 n.79
 Ephrem 86f. n.14
epibole 207–210
 Epicharmus 52, 161f., 169f., 174–186, 214
 n.4, 276
 Epimenides of Crete 223f.
Epimerismi Homerici 119f., 142 n.59
 epithet, generic 20 and n.27, 21, 201
 Eratosthenes 25–46, 235
Grammatika 27, 44
On the Old comedy 26
 Erinyes 289, 293f., 301, 303–307, 309f.
 Erotianus 272f.
 Estienne, Henri 147 n.79
 Eteocles 299f., 302
Etymologicum Magnum 265 n.10
 etymology 126, 163, 168, 247f., 271, 321f.
 Eumelus 161f., 168–170, 175f., 184, 186
 Eupatridae (dedication to the) 138 n.39
 Euphronius 26, 56
 Eupolis 75 n.62, 234
 Euripides 53, 273, 290, 294–297, 303,
 307 n.67, 322, 325–327, 335, 337
 Eustathius of Thessalonica 117 n.33, 121,
 138 and n.37, 143 and nn.65f., 145, 149,
 173, 236, 242, 246, 265 n.10, 316, 318–
 321
Commentary on the Iliad 117 n.33
 exegetical commentators 30

- Gabalas, Manuel 327, 331
 Galen 202 n.30, 275
 Gellius, Aulus 35
genos (genus) 11–14, 18f.
 Geryon 249
 Ginnasio Greco ‘ad Caballinum montem’
 (Rome) 134, 138 n.40
 Glaucus 223
 Glis(s)as 143
 Glossographers 315–319
 Gorgias 208 n.59
 Graces 241, 255 (see also Charites)
 Gregory of Nazianzus 87 n.14

 Harmonia 181, 243
 harshness, in style 239–241, 310
 Hebe 170, 181f.
 Hector 11, 239
 Helen 124, 246
 Helios 258
 Hellanicus 223
 Hera 181, 238
 Heracleon 208 n.58
 Heracles 170, 176 n.40, 180f., 202, 205,
 223, 236 n.19, 237–239, 243–246, 248,
 250, 276, 318 n.6
 Herginus 224f., 226 and n.43
 Herodas 184
 Herodian, Aelius 87 n.19, 99, 101, 149,
 197, 206, 208, 210, 265–267, 322
 Herodotus 184
 Hesiod 20, 23, 52, 161–187
 Hesychius 265 n.10, 267 n.20, 272 n.35,
 273 n.38, 276 and n.48
 Hieron I of Syracuse 201f.
 Hippocrates 270–277
hippotes (ἵππότης = φυγάς) 315–319
 Homer 11–153
 book division 68f.
 editio princeps (Florence, 1488) 133
 n.1, 142
 ed. Heyne (*ed. maior*, 1802–1***)
 133
 hypotheses 63f. and nn.12, 15, 24,
 25, 69 n.48
 narrative technique 200
 scholia minora/glossaries 62 n.9,
 74 n.62
 school text 61–65 and nn.15, 17, 24,
 26, 70 n.50
 Homeric Hymns 20–23
 Horapollo 264, 266 and n.19
 Horapollo II 267f. and n.22
 Hybris 245
hyperbole 240
 Hyperboreans 251
hypomnema 52, 53 n.14, 55–57, 205,
 213f. and n.4, 215–217, 221, 225, 227f.
 (see also commentary / commentaries)
 Hypsipyle 249
hysteron proteron 245 n.63, 256 n.66

 Iamus 239, 240 n.33, 247
 Idaeus 31
 Ieron 250
 impropriety, of language 247f.
 incunables
 Paris, BnF, Réserve Yb 3 142f. and n.62
 inflection 34, 37, 44 (see also *declinatio*)
 interlinear glosses 62 n.9, 84 and n.3, 90
 and n.33, 99, 136
 intertextuality 162, 174, 176f., 180–186
 intrusive gloss 321
 inversion, of words 244f.
 Iolaus 244
 Ion of Chios 235
 Ionic phonology 183–185
 Iphicles 248
 irregularity (in language) 31
 Istrus 249 n.83

 Jason 250

 Kallierges, Zacharias 138 n.40
 Kallistos, Andronikos 333–337
keraunion 53
 Kritopoulos, Iohannes 144 n.68

 Laskaris, Ianos 133–154
 Leda 243
 Leontius hieromonk 263
 Leptines 203
 Leto 126 and n.57

lexica/lexicography 117 n.33, 119f., 122,
123 n.52, 142 n.59
Cyrillus' lexicon 261–277
Lexicon Ambrosianum 269 n.26

Lianori, Lianoro 142 n.55

Libert, Johann 133 n.2

Libraries

Ambrosiana (Milan) 142 n.55
Chios, Public Library 133 n.1
Library of Saints John and Paul (Venice)
138 n.39
Vatican Library 142 and n.57
1518 inventory 139
1533 inventory 139 n.44, 139f. and
nn.47f.

Lobon of Argos 224 and n.41

logos (as *tertium comparationis*) 44f.

Longinus, Cassius 297 n.38

Lucian of Samosata 240

Lycophron 26, 121, 127 n.61, 179 and
n.49, 214 and n.4, 221, 227

manuscripts

Athos, *Actes Docheiariou* 4 262 n.2
Athos, Iviron 92 263 n.5
Athos, Iviron 209, olim 161 299, 315–
322, 325–338
Bremen, SuUB, c 11 262 n.2
Cambridge, Trinity College R. 16. 33
107, 109 n.9
Città del Vaticano, BAV, gr. 23 265 n.3
Città del Vaticano, BAV, gr. 26 141
Città del Vaticano, BAV, gr. 29 139, 142
and n.57
Città del Vaticano, BAV, gr. 30 134 n.5,
144 and nn.67, 69, 144 and n.77, 145,
149 and n.86, 150 n.87
Città del Vaticano, BAV, gr. 32 134 n.5,
137 and n.31, 139
Città del Vaticano, BAV, gr. 33 134 n.5,
137 and nn.30, 32, 138 and n.38, 140,
145 n.80, 150, 151–154
Città del Vaticano, BAV, gr. 277 272
n.36
Città del Vaticano, BAV, gr. 903 141
Città del Vaticano, BAV, gr. 905 107f.
Città del Vaticano, BAV, gr. 915 141

Città del Vaticano, BAV, gr. 1316 134
n.5, 141 and n.53

Città del Vaticano, BAV, gr. 1456 263
n.5

Città del Vaticano, BAV, gr. 1483 139
and n.41

Città del Vaticano, BAV, gr. 1818 206

Città del Vaticano, BAV, gr. 2048 115

Città del Vaticano, BAV, gr. 2193 134
n.5, 141 n.52, 147 and n.80

Città del Vaticano, BAV, lat. 3966 138
n.40

Città del Vaticano, BAV, lat. 6163 263
n.5

Città del Vaticano, BAV, lat. 7135 139
n.44

Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. gr. 210
177 n.48

Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. gr. 235
277 n.50

Città del Vaticano, BAV, Palat. gr. 180
141

Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. gr. 41 114

Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ross. 897 (gr.
37) 146 n.79

Città del Vaticano, BAV, Urb. gr. 124 85
n.14

Cologne, Bibl. Bodmer, ms. 85 134 n.5,
135 n.13, 142, 147 n.80

El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lo-
renzo, y. l. 1 (gr. 294 Andrés) 108 n.4,
116 and n.30, 117 and n.34, 119 n.41,
128 nn.62f., 134 n.5, 138 and n.37, 141
n.52, 143 n.66, 145 and n.73, 146 and
n.77, 150 n.87

El Escorial, Real biblioteca de San Lo-
renzo, Ψ. III. 11 (gr. 466 Andrés) 206

El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lo-
renzo, Ω. l. 12 (gr. 513 Andrés) 116 and
n.30, 117, 128 n.63, 134 n.5, 143 n.64,
145 n.73, 146 n.77, 147 n.80

Firenze, Bibl. Laurenziana, Plut. 32,1
141

Firenze, Bibl. Laurenziana, Plut. 32,3
108, 116, 134 n.5

Firenze, Bibl. Laurenziana, Plut. 32,9
214 n.4, 299 and n.43, 315

- Firenze, Bibl. Laurenziana, Plut. 32,15
 141 and n.52
 Firenze, Bibl. Laurenziana, Plut. 32,22
 141
 Firenze, Bibl. Laurenziana, Plut. 32,25
 141
 Firenze, Bibl. Laurenziana, Plut. 32,37
 242 n.47, 255 n.116
 Firenze, Bibl. Laurenziana, Plut. 32,47
 141 and n.52
 Firenze, Bibl. Laurenziana, Plut. 57,39
 262 n.2
 Firenze, Bibl. Laurenziana, Plut. 59,16
 269 and n.26
 Firenze, Bibl. Laurenziana, Plut. 59,49
 261–277
 Firenze, Bibl. Laurenziana, San Marco
 303 206
 Firenze, Bibl. Laurenziana, San Marco
 304 206
 Firenze, Bibl. Riccardiana, gr. 30 134
 n.5, 141 and n.52, 142 and n.54, 147 and
 n.80
 Genève, Bibl. de Genève, gr. 44 134
 n.5, 141 and nn.52f., 142, 146 n.77
 Grottaferrata, Biblioteca Statale del
 Monumento Nazionale, Z.α.III 269 and
 n.24
 Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal.
 gr. 45 127 n.61
 København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek,
 GKS 1968 263 n.7
 København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek,
 Rostg. 414 206
 Leiden, UB, Voss. gr. F 64 134 n.5, 141
 n.50, 143 n.73, 145 and n.76, 146 and
 n.76, 147 and n.80, 150 n.87
 Leiden, UB, Voss. gr. Q 20 147 n.79,
 206
 Leipzig, UB, gr. 2 266 n.19
 Leipzig, UB, gr. 32 107
 London, British Library, Burney 86 90
 n.33, 116
 London, British Library, Harley 5674 54
 n.26, 199
 London, British Library, Harley 5727
 134 n.5, 147 and n.80
 Madrid, Bibl. Nacional, 4615 170 n.18
 Madrid, Bibl. Nacional, 4626 134 n.5
 Madrid, Bibl. Nacional, 4841 141
 Madrid, BU Complut., 116–z^o–22 (30)
 263 n.7
 Messina, Biblioteca Regionale Universi-
 taria, Fondo Vecchio 11 179 n.48
 Messina, Biblioteca Regionale Universi-
 taria, S. Salv. 167 263 and n.7, 267
 Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 181
 sup. (gr. 74) 134 n.5, 142, 147 and n.80
 Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 12
 sup. 269 and n.26
 Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 114
 sup. 87 n.14
 Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 56
 inf. (gr. 1015) 141
 Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 101
 sup. (gr. 355) 134 n.5, 147 and n.80
 Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, I 15
 sup. 179 n.48
 Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, L 116
 sup. (gr. 502) 115 n.23, 134 n.5, 142
 and n.55, 147 and n.80
 Montecassino, Bibl. della Badia, 603
 (594) 141
 München, BSB, gr. 16 146 n.77
 München, BSB, gr. 310 269 and n.24
 Napoli, Bibl. Nazionale, II F 31 302
 n.49
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.II.11
 263 and nn.5, 7, 267
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. X.1.1.2
 206
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 131
 148 n.83
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 133
 170 n.18
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, New College
 298 142
 Paris, BNF, Coisl. 387 264 n.9
 Paris, BNF, gr. 1741 87 n.14
 Paris, BNF, gr. 1853 87 n.14
 Paris, BNF, gr. 2107 147 n.79
 Paris, BNF, gr. 2556 134 n.5
 Paris, BNF, gr. 2654 206

- Paris, BNF, gr. 2681 134 n.5, 141 nn.50, 52, 143 n.64, 144 and nn.67–69, 73, 146 and n.77, 147, 149 and n.87
 Paris, BNF, gr. 2684 141
 Paris, BNF, gr. 2695 143 and n.65
 Paris, BNF, gr. 2697 141
 Paris, BNF, gr. 2701 143 and n.65
 Paris, BNF, gr. 2702 143 and n.65
 Paris, BNF, gr. 2720 170 n.18
 Paris, BNF, gr. 2766 119 n.39, 134 n.5, 141 and n.52, 142, 147 and n.80
 Paris, BNF, gr. 2773 179 n.48
 Paris, BNF, gr. 2894 141
 Paris, BNF, Suppl. gr. 497 141
 Paris, BNF, Suppl. gr. 608 134 n.5
 Paris, BNF, Suppl. gr. 655 108
 Paris, BNF, Suppl. gr. 679 134 n.5, 140 n.49, 141, 146 n.77
 Paris, BNF, Suppl. gr. 1095 134 n.5, 141 and n.52, 144 n.67
 Praha, Knihovna Národního Muzea, X F 50 261 n.1
 Praha, Knihovna Národního Muzea, XXV C 31 206
 Roma, Bibl. Naz. Angelica, gr. 122 108 n.5, 134 n.5, 141, 147 and n.80
 Roma, Bibl. Naz. Centrale, gr. 6 134 n.5, 147 and n.80, 154 n.88
 Roma, Bibl. Vallicelliana, E 11 261–277
 Roma, Bibl. Vallicelliana, E 37 273 n.40
 Stuttgart, Württ. Landesbibl., Cod. poet. et phil. 2° 05 141 and n.52
 Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, Gr. Z. 453 90 n.33, 116, 134 n.5
 Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, Gr. Z. 454 83–104, 118 n.37, 120 n.44, 134 n.5, 136, 141f., 147 n.80
 Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, Gr. Z. 458 134 n.5, 147 and n.80
 Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, Gr. Z. 468 335f.
 Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, Gr. Z. 470 335f.
 Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, Gr. Z. 530 206
 Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, Gr. Z. 531 108 n.5
 Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, Gr. 622 265 n.10, 273 n.38
 Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, Gr. IX, 2ab 141
 Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, Gr. IX, 5 134 n.5, 137 n.32, 138 n.39, 146 n.78, 147 and n.80, 151–153
 Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, Gr. IX, 33 142 and n.56
 Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, Gr. X, 23 263 and n.7, 269
 Wien, ÖNB, Phil. gr. 49 141 and n.52
 Wien, ÖNB, Phil. gr. 117 141 and n.52
 Wien, ÖNB, Phil. gr. 294 266 n.19
 Wien, ÖNB, Phil. gr. 303 108
 Wien, ÖNB, Phil. gr. 321 269
 Wien, ÖNB, Suppl. gr. 42 141 n.52
 Wrocław, BU, Oddział Reękopisów, Rehdiger 26 141 and n.52
marginalia 214 n.4, 216–227, 230
 Margounios, Maximos 333–337
 Medea 242 n.48
 Megacles 249 n.85
 Megara 205
 Meletius 271 n.33, 272 n.37
 Menelaus 123 and n.56, 196f.
 metaphor 11–15, 93, 220 and n.25, 236 n.18, 240–242, 250 n.94, 291, 296
 metonymy 11–15, 252, 296, 320–322
 Migliavacca, Baldassarre 334 and n.31, 337
 Minyas 205
 mockery 183, 224 n.43, 254, 276
 Monro, Harriet 256 n.119
 morphological derivation 174–177
 Moschopoulos, Manuel 326
paraphrasis Iliadis 144 n.69
scholia in Iliadem 144 n.69
 Musaeus 166, 234 n.5
 Muses (number, names, genealogy, offspring, etymology) 161–187, 243
 Musurus, Marcus 138 n.39, 273 n.38
 Myrtis 233, 234 n.4

- Nereus 243
 Nestor 91, 315–318
 Nicander 214 and n.4
 Nicanor 87 n.19, 98f., 101
 Nicetas Anagnostes 114 n.16
 Nicetas of Heraclea 269
 Nicholas of Otranto / Nectarius of Casole 127 n.61

obelos 52f., 57, 199, 352
 Odysseus 255 n.116
 Olympic Games 202
 Onchestus 223
opsis 304–307, 311
 Orchomenus 176 n.39, 223–225, 241
 Orestes 289f., 301 and n.47, 303–309
 Oribasius 277 n.50
 Orneai 143
 Orpheus 166, 234 n.5
 orthography 34, 39, 266 and n.19
 orthographical glosses 261–269
 Orus 265, 266 n.19, 267 and n.20
 Otus 170 n.19, 248 n.79
 Oxyrhynchus 68 n.38, 228 and n.57

 Palaeocappa, Constantine 170 n.18
 Palagano d'Otranto 127 n.61
 Palladius 277 n.50
 Pamphilus 265 n.10
 Pancrates 276
 papyri
 BGU IV 1114 62
 BKT V 1.3 62
 CUL Plumley 3 62 n.9, 64, 65 n.26, 70, 72 nn.56f.
 P.Achm. 2 63 n.12, 64
 P.Alex. inv. 193 74
 P.Amh. II 18 + P. Stras. inv. Gr. 162 64, 70, 72f.
 P.Amst. I 6 64 n.22, 68, 71
 P.Ant. III 150 65f., 74f.
 P.Aphrod. Lit. 2 68 n.36, 75 n.62
 P.Berol. inv. 5014 63 n.11
 P.Berol. inv. 11518 65f.
 P.Berol. inv. 11634v 65 n.26, 68, 71f.
 P.Berol. inv. 13419 215, 228
 P.Bodl. Ms. Gr. Class at 1 (P) (Hawara papyrus) 102f. and n.72
 P.Bodl. MS. Gr. Class. F 41 (P) 65
 P.Col. inv. 236 68, 70
 P.Col. inv. 2381v 65, 68, 73
 P.Col. inv. 2281v+ P. Palau Rib. inv. 147v 63 and n.14, 65 n.26, 70, 72
 P.Fayum 110 62
 P.Fouad inv. 266 74
 P.Köln IX 362 62 n.10, 63 n.12, 65 n.26
 P.Ilias 12 53 n.20
 PL III/979 195–210
 PL III/997v 62 n.9
 P.Lips. inv. 1395 62
 P.Lips. inv. 1396 62
 P.Lips. inv. 1397 61–73
 P.Louvre E 3320 (CLGP I 2.1 Alcm. 5) 205, 207, 209
 P.Med. inv. 72.13 65
 P.Mich. inv. 1588 63f. and n.16, 68, 72 n.57
 P.Mil. Vogl. inv. 1181 int. 62 n.11, 65 n.26, 66
 P.Oxy. 212 + 2808 74
 P.Oxy. 221 200
 P.Oxy. 841 217–225, 227 n.52, 228
 P.Oxy. 1086 52f., 57 n.42, 73
 P.Oxy. 1174 214 n.4
 P.Oxy. 1361 + 2081(e) 74 n.62
 P.Oxy. 1790 + 2081(f) 74 n.62
 P.Oxy. 2387 74
 P.Oxy. 2390 214 n.4
 P.Oxy. 2392 205 n.49
 P.Oxy. 2427 52, 214 n.4
 P.Oxy. 2435 62
 P.Oxy. 2442 217–225, 227 n.52, 228
 P.Oxy. 2447 272 n.36
 P.Oxy. 2450 226f., 228
 P.Oxy. 2452 52
 P.Oxy. 2471 75 n.62
 P.Oxy. 2536 213–215, 228
 P.Oxy. 2803 75 n.62, 214 n.4
 P.Oxy. 2825 74
 P.Oxy. 3159 64
 P.Oxy. 3160 + P. Stras. gr. 1401 63 and n.15, 64, 72 and n.56
 P.Oxy. 3224 52

- P.Oxy. 3237 64 and n.19, 72
 P.Oxy. 3238 63 n.11, 72 nn.56f.
 P.Oxy. 3833 64 and n.25, 68
 P.Oxy. 4630 65 n.26, 72
 P.Oxy. 4631 70 and n.50
 P.Oxy. 4633 70f. and n.51
 P.Oxy. 4634 72
 P.Oxy. 4635 65
 P.Oxy. 4636 70 and n.52
 P.Oxy. 4818 63 n.11
 P.Oxy. 4819 63 n.11
 P.Oxy. 5201 228 n.56
 P.Palau Rib. Lit. 8 63 n.14
 P.Ryl. I 25 65 n.26
 P.Ryl. III 586 64 and n.20
 P. Schubart 2 (P. Berol. inv. 7501) 64f.
 P.Turner 39 26f. n.4
 P.Vindob. inv. G 29817 216
 P.Yale II 126 66 and n.33
 paradox 297, 308f.
 paraphrasis of the *Iliad* 136 (see also Moschopoulos)
 paraphrasis Vaticana A 141 n.53
 paraphrasis Vaticana B 142 n.57
 pseudo-Psellian paraphrasis 141 and nn.50, 53, 142 nn.57, 59, 150 and n.87
 'parasitic' *sigma* 22 and n.35
 Paris (hero) 14
 Parmeniscus 93
parepigraphai see stage-directions
 parody, literary 180–186, 240
pathos:
 in Stoic epistemology 288f.
 in rhetoric theory 235, 289–291
 Patroclus 11
 Pediasimos Pothos, Iohannes 148 and n.84, 173
 Pegasus 242
 Peleus 181, 241, 243, 252, 255 n.116
 Pelops 247
 Peneleus 95 n.46
 Perieres 223
 Peripatos 347–349 (see also Aristotle)
 Perseus 237, 254
 Persian messengers (ἄγγαροι) 318f.
 personal names 161f., 168–186
 personification see *eidolopoia*
 Pfeiffer, Rudolf 346
 Phaethon 294
 Phalaris 202
phantasia
 in Aeschylus 295–311
 in Aristotle 291–293
 in Euripides 293f., 295–297
 in 'Longinus' 288–298
 in Quintilian 290f.
 in Stoic epistemology 288f., 299–301
 synonymous with *opsis* 304f.
phantasma (in Stoic epistemology) 301
 Philemon 208 n.58
 Phillaeus son of Amphimenes 236 n.7
 Philoctetes 204
 Philostephanus of Cyrene 226
 Philostratus 248 n.81
 Phocus 254 n.109
 Phrixus 224
 Phyleus 318
 Pindar 195–277
 exegetical tradition on *Dithyrambs* 226f., 228
 on *Epinicians* 214f., 217, 227f.
 on *Isthmians* 216
 on *Nemeans* 216
 on *Olympians* 216
 on *Paeans* 213, 217–225, 230
 on *Pythians* 216
 Pindar's scribe 228 and n.57
 Pittacus 234
 Planudes, Manuel Maximus 326, 331
 Plato 53, 84 n.14, 126, 163 n.3, 200 n.25, 255 n.114, 299 and n.40, 348
 Plisthenes 125
 Plutarch 168–170, 243 n.50
poikilia (variation) 307 and n.65
 Pollux (lexicographer) 186 n.72, 274 n.42, 275
 Polydamas 95 n.46
 Porphyrius 145 n.69
 Poseidon 177, 182, 252, 254
 Pound, Ezra 256 and n.119
 Praxiphanes 349
 Presbon 222, 224
 Proclus
 on Hesiod 162, 165, 166 n.8, 167 n.130

on Homer 144 nn.67 and 69
 proportion 33, 35 n.37, 37f., 43f.
proprietas 247f. and n.72
 prosody 34, 39, 185, 267
 Protospatharios, Ioannes 147 n.79, 173
 Psellus, Michael 120, 126 n.59, 139 and
 nn.50, 53, 141 and n.50, 142 nn.57 and
 59, 148 n.83, 149 and n.87, 150, 277
 n.49
 Ptolemy of Ascalon 263
 Ptolemy the Peripatetic 39–41
pyknotes 243 n.50, 244 and n.52
 Pythagorean arithmology 169 and n.22,
 171 and n.24
 (Pseudo-)Pythagorean texts 146f. n.79

 Rasario, Giambattista 334 and n.32, 337
 Richter, Julius 51
 Ridolfi, Niccolò 143 n.65, 144 n.68
 rivers 162, 174–179
 Rufus, Christophorus 148 and n.81
 Rufus of Ephesus 274 n.42, 277 n.50

 Sappho 221 n.32
 Scamander 22, 200, 241 n.40, 309 n.71
 Scamandrius 196, 198
 Sceptics 302, 310
 scholia
 on accentuation problems in Homer's
 text 197f.
 on *adynaton* in poetry 309
 on anaphoric pronouns (accentuation)
 197
 on athetesis in Homer 199f.
 on the *constitutio textus* in Homer 198
 on *eidolopoia* 293f., 306
 on the Muses 162–174
 on reflexive pronouns (accentuation)
 197
 on stage setting 303–309
 on visualizations in Aeschylus 298–
 309
 on visualizations in Euripides 293f.,
 295–297
 to the *Iliad*
 D-scholia 84, 91f., 98f., 102, 116,
 123 n.53, 133–154

ed. Aldina (Venice, 1521) 134 n.7,
 135 n.13, 148 n.82
 ed. Barnes 1711 148
 ed. Cambridge 1689 135 nn.11, 13,
 15, 136 and nn.16–18, 148 and
 nn.81f.
 ed. Hervagius 1535 (Basel) 135 n.13,
 148 n.82
 ed. Hervagius 1541 (Basel) 135 and
 n.13, 148 and n.82
 ed. Heyne 1821 134, 148
 ed. Heyne 1834 134, 148
 ed. Lascaris (1517) 133–154
 ed. Schrevel (Leiden, 1656) 135f.,
 148 and n.82
 h-scholia 108 n.5, 115 n.23, 119
 n.39, 142 and n.59, 150
 'Textscholien' 83–104
 mythographical scholia 136
scholia exegetica 18 n.21, 30, 91, 98
 and n.57, 99, 101f., 103 n.77, 107 and
 n.4, 116, 118f., 125, 128, 136, 138, 142
 n.59
 VMK-scholia/
Viermännerkommentar 84 n.3, 85
 n.11, 87, 91, 97
scriptio continua (in papyri) 63 n.12
scriptio plena (in papyri) 71
 Semele 240 n.32
 Sergius of Emesa 266 n.19
 Severus, John 139f.
 Sextus Empiricus 35f., 40, 42
 Sicyonian Games 249
sigma / antisigma 53
 Simonides 233–235, 238, 239 n.27
 Socrates 234
 Sogenes 250f.
 Sophocles 52, 214 n.4, 235, 297 n.37,
 335
 Soranus 272 n.37, 274, 277 n.50
 Sosibius 208 n.58
 stage-directions (*parepigraphai*) 254,
 303
 stage setting (in Aeschylus) 303–309
 Stesichorus 214 n.4, 235
 Stoics, Stoic philosophy 39, 43f. and
 n.83, 47, 124, 288f., 299–301

suffixes:

- ειος 184 n.69
- η, –ία 175
- ίδιος 206–208
- ίς 174
- ώ 175

Syagrus 234 n.5

syllipsis 243f.

symposium 245

synonyms 15–20

syntax 243–245

techne 34, 39, 41

techne grammatike 38

techne logike 39

techne peri phones 39

Telamon 237, 246 n.70

theatrical devices (*mechanemata*) 303f.

Thebes 222–225

Themis 252

Theocritus 214 and n.4, 327, 332

Theodosius II 265

Theognostus 267 n.20

Theon (grammarian) 52, 213–228

Theon (mathematician) 214 n.4

Theophrastus 12

Theron 246, 253

Theseus 124

Thetis 241–243, 252

Thoas 224 n.43, 249

Thomas Magister 326

Thomas the Monk 322

Thucydides 235

Timocreon of Rhodes 234

Timotheus of Gaza 264 and n.9, 265 and nn.11, 13, 266 and n.19, 267f. and n.22, 276

Tiphys 224 n.43

Tiresias 239

Titans 250

title/heading (in papyri) 63 n.14, 64 and n.25, 68–70, 74 n.62

Tityus 248

Tlepolemus 248

Torriani, Gioacchino 138 n.39

Triklinios, Demetrios 245 n.62, 300 n.44, 302 n.49, 326

Trivizias, Georgios 335–337

Trivolis, Demetrios 108 n.5

Trophonius 223

Tyrannion *maior* 196 n.4

Tzetzes, John 107–128, 161–187, 319–322, 326f., 331f., 337

unendorsed criticism 250–252

untruthfulness 248–250

usage (*consuetudo* / *syntheia*) 35–37, 42, 45f., 143 and n.66, 275 n.40

vacuousness 242 and n.46

Varro 34–43, 46, 203

Vernazza, Raffaele 145 n.69

Vettori, Pier 146 n.77

Vigili, Fabio 108 n.6, 139 nn.44 and 47, 140 n.48

Villoison, J.-B.-C. d'Ansse de 144 n.69

Voss, Isaac 147 n.79

Wassenbergh, Everwin 136 and n.20

writing styles

‘as de pique’ 262 n.2, 263 n.5

‘beta–gamma style’ 262 n.2, 265 n.10

‘Severe style’ 63 n.11, 64f. and nn.19f.

‘sloping pointed majuscule’ 64 n.22, 65

‘Stile di Reggio’ 263

‘Tipo Anastasio’ 262 n.2

Xanthopoulos, Demetrios 108 n.5

Xenocrates 252 n.100

Zenodotus of Ephesus 19, 21 n.31, 22f., 44 n.80, 45 n.85, 53, 93f., 98 and nn.58f., 352

Zeus 15, 126 and n.57, 164f., 167 and n.13, 169, 172f., 181, 203, 238 n.24, 240 n.35, 243, 250, 253

[Zonaras] 262 n.2, 329

Index locorum

Aelianus

VH

13–14 70 n.49

14.21 234 n.5

Aelius Aristides

Or.

28.40 (155.2 Keil) 70

Aeschylus

Ag.

282 319 n.8

425–426 210 n.63

Eum.

244–247 308

293 175

566–69 307

Pers.

14–15 315

869 176 n.40

869–71 320

Sept.

42–46 295

49–51 298

79–80 112, 122, 123

fr. 58 Radt 294–296

fr. **281 297

Alcaeus

fr. 112.10 Voigt 220 n.25

fr. 417 22 n.36

Alcman

PMGF1.49 (fr. 3.49 Calame) 205–210

[Ammonius]

Diff. 83 Nickau 247 n.75

173 123 n.53

Anacreon

PMG 378.1 (fr. 83.1 Gentili) 242 n.46

Anatolius

p. 33.19 Heiberg 170 n.22

Anecdota Oxoniensia

4.424f. Cramer 170 n.18

Anecdota Parisinum

p. 281.17–18 Nauck 52 n.10

Anecdota Romanum

p. 55.29–30 Montanari 53 n.19

Anonymus In Hes. Th.

pp. 369–375.9 Flach 173

Anthologia Palatina

7.283.4 234 n.7

7.348–349 234 n.6

9.504 171 n.27

9.505 171 n.27

Antiatticista

α 78 Valente 271 n.34

Antipater Thessalonicensis

90 Gow–Page (API 220) 170 n.19

Antoninus Liberalis

9.1 171 n.28

Apion

gl. Hom. 99.4 73

fr. 74 Neitzel 118

Apollodorus Atheniensis

FGrHist 244 F 146 171 n.29

FGrHist 244 F 281 21 n.33, 22 n.35

[Apollodorus]

Bibl.

1.3.3–4 172 n.29

1.5.2 171 n.27

2.67–69 223

Apollonius Dyscolus

Coni. 215.18–216.2 Schneider 36 n.41

Pron.

42.11–22	197
110.2–7	31 nn.22f.

Apollonius Rhodius

2.704	226
4.269	177 n.44
4.893	176 n.40

Apollonius Sophista

50.16 Bekker	102
60.3	145 n.74
71.12	71
76.29–77.3	199
92.4–7	317
112.24	15 n.11
112.24–25	118f.
138.14	322 n.15
145.17	122–123

Aquila Romanus

36.21 Halm	208 n.59
------------	----------

Aratus

30–37	171 n.28
<i>SH</i> 87	162, 169f., 180

Aristarchus

fr. 5 Wäschke	163 n.3
fr. 18 Matthaïos	12 n.4
fr. 33	23
fr. 86	45 n.85
fr. 122	197
fr. 155	30 n.20, 32

Aristophanes

<i>Av.</i> 1372	242 n.46
<i>Eq.</i> 1020	127
<i>Lys.</i> 187–189	296
<i>Nu.</i> 1367	297 n.38
<i>Ra.</i>	
5	240 n.32
822ff.	297
908–910	307 n.67
924ff.	297
939ff.	297
961ff.	297

1059ff.	297
fr. 68.2 Kassel–Austin	22 n.36
fr. 95	267 n.20
fr. 603	27, 31 n.22
test. 113	56 n.37

Aristophanes Byzantius

fr. 375 Slater	38 n.45
fr. 390	304 n.53
test. 1	55, 56 n.39
test. 14	56 n.40

Aristoteles

<i>De an.</i>	
427b17–21	291f. n.19
428a2–3	291f. n.19
432b8	291f. n.19
<i>Mem.</i>	
449b15–451a18	299 n.40
<i>Poe.</i>	
1448b30	21 n.31
1450b10f.	306 n.63
1450b15–21	304, 305 n.58
1453b1–7	305 n.58
1454b30	70 n.49
1455a3	70
1455a22–26	291, 305
1455a29–34	292
1457b6–9	12f.
1460a5–11	200 n.25
1460a11–b5	309
1460a29–31	309
1461a16–21	13 n.7
<i>Rh.</i>	
1406b	250 n.94
1411b	240 n.32
1411b24–25	291
1417a13	69
fr. 66a Janko	234
fr. 57.19 Rose	245 n.61
fr. 75	234 n.8

Arnobius

<i>Adv. nat.</i> 3.37.2–38.2	168
------------------------------	-----

Artemidorus Daldianus

1.6.13	275 n.44
--------	----------

1.31	275 n.44
2.45.2	275 n.44

Athenaeus

3.110b	181
7.321f	276
10.415f.	234 n.6
10.455c	234 n.9
11.495c	56 n.37

Callimachus*Del.*

7	181 n.56
234	210 n.63
<i>lov.</i> 95	221 n.32
fr. 668 Pfeiffer	224 n.43

Callistratus

fr. 95 Montana	251
fr. 96	251

Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum

9/1.101–3	148 n.83
-----------	----------

Charisius

1.17, pp. 149.26–150.2 Barwick	38 n.45
--------------------------------	---------

Choeroboscus

<i>In Heph.</i> 241.15–17 Consbruch	56
<i>In Theod.</i> 311.7 Hilgard	184

Chrysippus

SVF 2.54	301
2.56	299 and n.40
2.65	301 n.47
2.151	36

Cicero, Marcus Tullius

<i>Nat. deor.</i> 3.54	169 n.16, 170, 171 n.28
<i>Orat.</i> 4	235 n.10

Clearchus

fr. 88 Wehrli	234 n.9
---------------	---------

Clemens Alexandrinus*Strom.*

1.16.79	28 n.9
4.22.143	209 n.61
6.11.1	168 n.15

Cocondrius

<i>RhG</i> 3.241 Spengel	293 n.24
--------------------------	----------

Corinna

<i>PMG</i> 664 Page	234
---------------------	-----

Cornutus

<i>Theol. Graec.</i> 14–18	168–171
----------------------------	---------

Crates

fr. 9 Broggiato	30 n.20, 32
fr. 36	31
fr. 104	36
fr. 105	35 n.37
fr. 128	168 n.16
fr. 64a–e Mette	39 n.53

Demades

fr. 116.3 De Falco	271 n.31
--------------------	----------

Demetrius

<i>Eloc.</i> 116	250 n.94
------------------	----------

Didymus

fr. 9 Braswell	248 n.82
fr. 20	203 n.33
fr. 25	242 n.48
fr. 35	251
fr. 51	245 n.60
fr. 54	251
fr. 67	251

Diodorus

<i>Gloss. ital.</i> 128 Kassel–Austin (<i>PCG</i> 1.317)	22 n.36
---	---------

Diodorus Siculus

4.7.1–4	168
4.10.3–6	223

Diogenes Laertius

2.5.46	234
3.65–66	53 n.22
7.189	36

Diogenianus

8.22 Leutsch–Schneidewin	245 n.61
--------------------------	----------

Dionysius Cyclographus

<i>FGrHist</i> 15 F 2	205
-----------------------	-----

Dionysius Halicarnassensis

<i>Comp.</i> 22.12	235
<i>Imit.</i> 2	237
2.5	243 n.50
<i>Pomp.</i> 2	239 n.28
5.4	240 n.37

Dionysius Thrax

<i>Ars GG</i> 1/1.5.2–6.3	33 n.31
fr. *45 Linke	200
fr. *46	200
test. 2	203

Dissoi logoi

1.12 Diels–Kranz	271 n.31
------------------	----------

Donatianus

<i>GL</i> 6.276.5–9	38 n.45
---------------------	---------

Ephorus

<i>FGrHist</i> 70 F 222	168 n.16
-------------------------	----------

Epicharmus

frr. 1–38 Kassel–Austin	182 n.63
fr. 8	179 n.50
fr. 21.2–4	276
fr. 32.12	183 n.65
fr. 37	179 n.50
fr. 39	162, 169, 177 n.44, 180, 183 n.64
fr. 40	180–183
fr. 41	179–183
fr. 42	182
fr. 48	182
fr. 50.2	183 n.65
fr. 52	182

fr. 53.6	52
fr. 60	182
fr. 63	180
fr. 64	180
frr. 65–80	183 n.63
frr. 84–92	183
fr. 85	182
fr. 97	182
frr. 97–112	183 n.63
fr. 99	182 n.61
fr. 100	186 n.73
fr. 108	186 n.72
fr. 109	186 n.72
frr. 113–120	186 n.72
fr. 113.415	185
fr. 115	183 n.66, 186 n.72
fr. *121	182, 185
fr. 125	186
fr. 126	186
fr. 134	186 n.72
fr. 138	179 n.50
fr. 220	179 n.50
fr. 224	185
fr. 275	183 n.66

Epimenides

<i>BNJ</i> 457 F 12a	224
12b	222 n.36
T 1	224

Epimerismi Homerici A

1 A ¹ Dyck	119
1 A ²	119
8 B ¹	122 n.50
8 B ^{2a1}	122 n.50
8 B ^{2a2}	122 n.50
9A ^{1b}	126 n.58
10 A ²	122 n.50
11 C ^{1a–1b}	122 n.50
11 C ²	122 n.50
171 B (gl. Os ^{1–2})	142 and n.61

Epimerismi Homerici alphabetici

α 65 Dyck	71
ε 42	123 n.53
ε 98	22 n.35
θ 25	122 n.50

μ 65 169 n.16
τ 55 30f.

Eratosthenes

FGrHist 241 T 8 28 n.9
fr. 35 Strecker 27, 29

Erotianus

Voc. Hipp. coll. α 70 Nachmanson 272

Etymologicum Genuinum

α 263 Lasserre–Livadaras 273
α 339 214 n.4
α 1306 198 n.11
α 1316 214 n.4
β 123 226
λ 84 A. 208 n.58
s.v. ὑποπετριδίων 206

Etymologicum Gudianum

16.21 de Stefani 71
323.19–21 216 n.4
376.20 216 n.4
423.23 123 n.53
471.12–15 123 n.53
291.57 Sturz 264 n.8

Etymologicum Magnum

α 165 Lasserre–Livadaras 71
β 309 208 n.58
1.54–55 Gaisford 271 n.33
124.9–20 196
280.28 27, 30f.
282.10–11 145 n.74
423.20 142
461.15–16 145 n.74
474.6–10 317
583.20 118 n.37
696.7 214 n.4
783.20–26 205f.
790.40 22 n.35

Eubulus

fr. 71 Kassel–Austin 22 n.36

[Eudocia]

Viol. 655, pp. 483–489 Flach 170 n.18

Eumelus

fr. 18 Tsagalis (17 West; 3 Bernabé; *Cor.* 2 Davies) 176 n.42
fr. 31 (29 West; 10 Bernabé; *Cor.* 7 Davies) 175
fr. 35 (34 West; 16 Bernabé; fr. dub. 2 Davies) 168 n.15, 170 n.19
fr. 36 (35 West; 17 Bernabé; fr. dub. 3 Davies) 162, 169f.

Euphoriion

fr. 183 Lightfoot 222 n.34

Eupolis

fr. 398 Kassel–Austin 234

Euripides

Andr. 167 320 n.12
Ba. 625 320 n.12
726 294f.
Hec. 71 210 n.63
Or. 255–257 289, 295, 301 and n.47
fr. 753.1 Kannicht 320 n.12
fr. 801 273

Eusebius

Præp. Ev. 5.30.2 222

Eustathius

Prooem. Pind. 4.1 Kambylis 236
19.1 236
In Dion. Per. 140 242
In Il. 10.12–16 173f.
21.16ff. 124 n.55
29.33–36 320
44.35 71 n.54
108.10–15 73
180.14–23 173 n.35
269.19–20 143 and n.66
291.25ff. 143
305.4–8 316
324.18 154
422.26 146
424.9 149
458.44–45 144
623.36 143

634.22–23	173 n.35
682.35	70
772.45	144
815.11–13	144
817.30–32	172 n.29
841.43–44	123 n.53
938.469–939.1	320
1040.43–47	123 n.53
1208.39–41	146 n.77
1231.11–12	320
<i>In Od.</i>	
1405.15	70
1588.30	70, 73
1921.55	53 n.25

Galenus*Comm. Epid.*

6.1.3 (17a.822 Kühn = 18.21–25 Wenkelbach)	275
<i>De oss. ad tirones</i>	
(2.753–754 Kühn = 8.16–59.14 Garofalo)	274

In Hipp. de art. II

(18a.429.16–18 – 430.1–3 Kühn)	274
--------------------------------	-----

Gellius

NA 2.25.1	35 n.37
-----------	---------

Glossographi

fr. 7a Dyck	20 n.28
fr. 12	316
fr. 28	317 n.4

Hellanicus

101A Fowler	222 n.35
-------------	----------

Hephaestion

<i>Ench.</i> p. 25.10–12	185 n.71
<i>Sign.p.</i> 73 Consbruch	51 n.3

[Heraclitus]

<i>Quaest. Hom.</i> 45	122 n.50
------------------------	----------

Hermippus

fr. 29 Kassel–Austin	22 n.36
----------------------	---------

Hermogenes

<i>Dein.</i> 3.2	247 n.72
<i>Id.</i> 1.3 (p. 227 Rabe)	208 n.59
1.4	246 n.67
1.6	250 n.94, 298 n.38
1.11	246 n.67
2.11	246 n.67

[Hermogenes]

<i>Prog.</i> 9, p. 20.14–18 Rabe	293 n.24
----------------------------------	----------

Herodianus, Aelius

<i>Cath. pros.</i> GG 2.292.11	22 n.35
--------------------------------	---------

Herodorus

<i>FGrHist</i> 31 F55	224 n.43
-----------------------	----------

Herodotus

1.7–13	329
2.116	70 n.49
4.36	329
4.53	175
4.179	177

Hesiodus*Op.*

1	161ff.
370–372	328
746	328
<i>Th.</i>	
60	164
76–79	11f., 159, 164, 168
95	135
246	171 n.28
337–345	174–177
341	178 n.46
349–361	183f.
351	184
693	20f.
696	23
763	210 n.63
fr. 33b Merkelbach–West	316
fr. 228	316

Hesychius

α 699 Latte–Cunningham	71 n.54
α 714	71 n.54

α 726	71
α 2216	273, 276
β 634	226 n.50
δ 598	265 n.10
δ 1928a	276 n.48
δ 2151	145 n.74
ε 69 Latte	71
ε 4427	71
ε 5452	73
ε 6301	73
ε 7389	71
ζ 240	267 n.20
ι 794	317
ι 797	317
ι 854	317
κ 261	72
κ 1332	276 n.48
κ 3943	277 n.49
κ 4120	73
κ 4124	73
κ 4127	73
κ 4129	73
κ 4130	73
μ 463	141 n.51
μ 1005	248 n.78
μ 1077	71
μ 1118	71
μ 1287	72
π 2011 Hansen	208 n.58
π 2419	73
ρ 128	322 n.15
σ 3106	277 n.49
τ 329 Cunningham	208 n.58
τ 1176	207

Hippocrates

<i>Aphor.</i>	
21 (4.476.5 Littré)	272
<i>Art.</i>	
78.23 (4.314.4 Littré)	271 n.32
<i>Carn.</i>	
13.28 (8.602.11 Littré)	277 n.49
<i>De fract.</i>	
11.19 (3.454.9 Littré)	272 n.35
<i>Epid.</i>	
7.122 (5.468.1 Littré =	
117.13–14 Jouanna)	272 n.35, 273

Mochl.

38.32 (4.384.16 Littré) 271 n.32

Vict.

1.20.3 (6.494.5 Littré) 271

Homerus*Epigr.*

14.3 22 n.36

Il.

1.1–5 118

1.1–6 118

1.8–12 63 n.11

1.1–9 64 n.16

1.5 110, 120

1.5–12 119–121, 127f.

1.6–12 118

1.7 109–111, 125

1.8 109, 111

1.9 109–111, 120, 125f.

1.10 109, 112, 122

1.11 109, 112f., 123

1.12 109, 113

1.20 31 n.22

1.51 119 n.40

1.54 71

1.189–223 66 n.33

1.191–610 63 n.14

1.266–272 64 n.17

1.273 93

1.287–289 208 n.59

1.302–323 64 n.19

1.309 73

1.326–336 63 n.11

1.332–341 62 n.11

1.340–353 63 n.11

1.350 96

1.354–360 62 n.11

1.364 198

1.405(?)–538(?) 63 n.11

1.524 253

1.528 253

1.528–530 253

1.554 198

2.1–21 63 n.12

2.24–40 65 n.26

2.50–109 70 n.50

2.212–225 64 n.18

2.262	198	7.188	73
2.264	71	8.1–11	64 n.22
2.272–295	64 n.18	8.29–41	64 n.22
2.277–318	70 n.51	8.361–563	65 n.26
2.303–307	65	8.371–372	94
2.321–328	65	8.433–447	62
2.385–393	63 n.11	8.513	93
2.396–397	102 n.75	9.1–64	65 n.26
2.396–865	103	9.63	185
2.436	102 n.75	9.128	93
2.463–470	65	9.169	30 n.20, 32, 43
2.479–493	65	9.182–198	32
2.447	102 n.75	9.349–350	92
2.593(?)–645	70 n.52	9.404	271 n.32
2.626	241 n.42	9.432	317
2.628–629	318	10.66	122–123
2.665	102 n.75	10.159	102
2.671	102 n.75	10.361	29 n.18
2.682	102 n.74	10.364	25, 28–30 and nn.18 and 21, 31 n.22, 44 n.80, 45
2.694	102 n.75		
2.699	20 n.29		
2.707	102 n.74	11.321(?)–353	65
2.742	23	11.390	11, 14f.
2.751	102 n.74	12.19–21	174, 177
2.769	102 n.74	12.239	73
2.781	102 n.76	13.198–227	64 n.20
2.788	71 n.54	13.275–276	18–19 and n.24
2.795	73	13.317–324	64 n.20
2.798	102 n.75	13.346	28–30
2.865	102 n.76	13.415–435	64 n.20
3.1–8	65	13.525(?)–562	64 n.20
3.23	101	13.798–799	149
3.35	198	14.16	11, 15
3.277	31 n.22	14.114	20
3.433–461	65	14.202	96
4.2–26	65	14.483–485	17 n.17
4.17	92f.	15.121–122	15 n.12
4.47–76	65	16.100(?)–150	65, 74
4.117	199	16.163	21
4.231	71	16.179	70
4.512	195	16.196	317
5.55–57	196	16.227	96
5.162	19	16.251	16 n.13
5.264	93	17.209	253
5.593	293 n.23	17.599	95
6.296	71	18.39–49	175
6.495	71	18.222	22

- 18.373–386 65 n.26
 18.583 28–30
 19.311 317
 19.325 123 n.53
 21.171–172 17
 21.194–197 321 n.13
 21.200 17
 21.218 200
 21.220 21
 22.401–405 239
 24.54 11
 24.249–252 26
 24.281 26
 24.281–282 26, 31
 24.527–528 253
 24.725 273
Od.
 1.45–116 63 n.12, 65 n.26
 1.46–53 62 n.11
 4.642b 71
 6.297 54f.
 7.104 29
 7.283–347 65
 8.29–163 65
 10.190 73
 10.307 32
 10.329 199
 11.238 178 n.46
 12.61 242
 12.73 246 n.71
 12.92 16 n.13
 12.330 71
 12.369 23 n.38
 15.1–521 64 n.21
 15.299 113
 15.312 73
 15.505 73
 16.427–474 68 n.38
 17.33–66 68 n.38
 17.317 244
 17.455–599 64 n.25
 18.1–27 64 n.25
 20.150 322 n.15
 24.1–204 168 n.15
 24.11–12 209
 24.60 168
- Hymni Homerici*
Ap.
 341 20
Cer.
 419 184
 450 20 n.29
 451 20 n.29
 469 20 n.29
Merc.
 110 23
Minerv.
 (28) 4 23 n.39
Tell. matr.
 (30) 9 20 n.29
 test. 16 Allen–Halliday–Sikes 21 n.33
- Hyperides**
 fr. 28 Jensen 294
- Iamblichus**
Protr. p. 22 Pistelli 209 n.61
- Iohannes Diaconus Galenus**
In Hes. Th. pp. 296.8–
 305.25 Flach 172f. n.31
- Iohannes Protospatharius**
In Hes. Op.
 pp. 452.10–19 Gaisford 173 and n.33
 pp. 457.20–28 173 and n.33
- Iohannes Siceliota**
In Hermog. Id. 1.6
 (*RhG* 6.225.9–29 W.) 297 nn.37f.
- Iohannes Stobaeus**
 3.7.10 296
- Ion Chius**
TrGF 19 F 51 Snell–Kannicht 22 n.36
- Isidorus**
Orig. 1.21.22 52 n.10
- Istrus**
FGrHist 334 F 49 249 n.83

Leo Medicus

- Nat. hom. syn.* 50
 (40.17–26 Renehan) 275
 57 (44.16–18 Renehan) 272

Lesbonax

- fr. 2 Blank 23 n.38

Lexeis Rhetorikai

- 210.8–10 Bekker 71 n.54
 214.8 Bekker 73
 261.13–14 Bekker 267 n.20
 300.20 Bekker 71

'Longinus' (De sublimitate)

- 3.1 297, 310 n.75
 9.12 306 n.62
 15.1–2 288–294
 15.2 289f. and n.12, 301,
 309
 15.3 295
 15.3–10 294
 15.5–6 295
 15.8 294 n.27, 309 and
 n.74
 33.4–5 237

Lucianus

- Anach.* 4 240
Dom. 18.8 271 n.32

Lycophron

- 576 177 n.44
 1275 181 n.56
 1276–1277 179

Magna Grammatica

- s.v. ὑποπεριδίων ὀνείρων 206

Maximus Tyrius

- 12.1a 219 n.23
 12.1d 219 n.23

Meletius

- Nat. hom.*
An.Ox. 3.89.28 Cramer 272
An.Ox. 3.81.30 Cramer 275

Mnaseas

- FHG* III 153, fr. 25a (fr. 15 Cappelletto) 168f. n.16
FHG III 154, fr. 25a (fr. 13 Cappelletto) 168 n.16

Moschopulus, Manuel

- Schol. Hes. Op.* 529.4–5 Grandolini 274

Myrsilus

- FGrHist* 477 F 7 168 n.16

Nicomachus

- ap. lamb. Theol. ar.*
 18.11–12 De Falco 169 n.17

Nonnus

- D.* 14.221 171 n.28

Oribasius

- Coll.*
 25.6–9 (54.28–55.34 Raeder) 275
 35.6 (54.20–28 Raeder) 274f.

Orion

- 100.26–27 Sturz 274

Orphica

- fr. 771b Bernabé (fr. 342 K.) 181 n.56

Palladius

- In Hipp. Epid.* VI (2.11.3–5 Dietz) 277 n.50

Pamphilus

- fr. 17 Schmidt 22 n.36

Pancrates

- SH* 600.3 276

Panyassis

- fr. 2 Bernabé (15 Davies; 2 West) 176 n.40

Pausanias

- 1.1.3 265 n.10
 8.18.1–2 224 n.44
 9.29.1–4 169 n.16, 170 n.19,
 171 n.28

9.33.7	177	7.1–15	255
9.37.4	222–224	8.44–45	241
Philodemus		8.45–46a	252
<i>Mus.</i> 4 coll. 62.42–63.4 Delattre	171 n.29	<i>Nem.</i>	
Philostephanus Cyrenaeus		1.14	253
fr. 24 Capel Badino	226	1.50	244, 248
fr. 27 Capel Badino	179 n.49	1.68	239
Philostratus Maior		3.26–28	237
<i>Vit. Soph.</i> 1.514	208 n.59	4.37	238
Philostratus Iunior		5.6	244
<i>Imag.</i> 5.2	248 n.81	7.27	241
Philoxenus		7.38–39	241
fr. 106.19–21 Theodoridis	272f. and n.37	7.71–72	241
Photius		9.9	249
<i>Bibl.</i> 209.165b	208 n.59	9.48	245
<i>Lex.</i>		10.4	254
α 221 Theodoridis	71 n.54	<i>Ol.</i>	
α 677	273	1.90	277 n.48
ε 491	73	2.86–88	233 n.1, 240 n.35
ε 1425	71	2.89–90	240
ε 1877	71	3.1–3	246
μ 367	71	3.19–22	245 n.63
σ 611	122 n.51	6.6	249
σ 612	123 n.52	6.45–47	239
Phrynichus		6.62–63	247
<i>Ecl.</i> α 121 Fischer	271 n.34	6.82	241
Pindarus		7.77–78	248
<i>Isthm.</i>		8.37–40	246 n.71
1.18	244	9.10	247
1.52–54	254	9.21–28	255
2.4–5	245 n.60	9.48–49	233
2.12	251	10.43–46	202
4.17	241	10.74–75	245
4.30	252	13.68	242
4.48	243 n.50	14.20	250 n.90
4.66	240	<i>Pyth.</i>	
4.208–211	242	1.44	241
5.35	244 n.54	1.81–82	238 n.24
6.26–35	246 n.70	1.85–88	201
		1.86	240
		2.16–19	215
		3.27–29	249 n.88
		3.80	253
		3.81–82	253
		3.86–92	243
		4.19ff.	242 n.48
		4.86–91	248

4.171	243
6.10–12	241
7.17	249 n.85
8.95–96	250 n.91
9.66–68	243
10.5	244 n.54
10.35–36	251
10.51–52	237
11.38–40	237
12.26	241
fr. 33a Maehler (= 50–51 Bergk)	234
fr. 52b (<i>Pae.</i> 2.5)	220
fr. 52b (<i>Pae.</i> 2.37)	213, 218, 220
fr. 72 (<i>Dith.</i>)	272
fr. 75 (<i>Dith.</i>)	235
fr. 111 (<i>Hyporch.</i>)	272
fr. 168b	276
fr. 169a	226
fr. 169a.24–25	276
fr. 177g	276 n.46
fr. 213	218

Plato

<i>Cra.</i> 406a	163 n.3
<i>Resp.</i>	
392c–394c	200 n.25
614b	70
<i>Soph.</i> 246c	271 n.31

Plato Comicus

fr. 46.9 Kassel–Austin	22 n.36
fr. 48	22 n.36

Plinius Secundus, C.*Nat.*

2.224	179 n.49
31.41	179 n.49

Plutarchus

<i>Aud. poet.</i> 21a	243 n.50
<i>Glor. Ath.</i>	
347a	293 n.24
347f–348a	233 n.3
<i>Quaest. Rom.</i> 271c	271 n.32
<i>Quaest. conv.</i> 743c–747a	168–172
<i>Thes.</i> 33	124 n.55

[Plutarchus]

<i>Vit. Hom.</i> 2.145.11, ll. 1791	
–1794 Kindstrand	173 n.35

Polemon

fr. 88 Preller	22 n.36
----------------	---------

Pollux

2.91–94	274 and n.42
9.79	186 n.72

Polyzelus

fr. 9 Kassel–Austin	170 n.21
---------------------	----------

Praxiphanes

fr. 22a W. (fr. 28A Matelli)	163 n.3
fr. 22b (fr. 28B Matelli)	163 n.3

Proclus

<i>Proll. Hes. Op.</i> (Ac), p. 2.15–4.3 Pertusi (fr. 1.25–35 Marzillo)	163 n.3, 165 n.5
(Fa), pp. 4.18–5.2	165 n.5
(Fb), p. 5.4–6	163 n.3
<i>In Hes. Op.</i> 2 Pertusi (fr. 4 Marzillo)	167 n.13

Psellus, Michael

<i>Poem.</i> 6.462–467 Westerink	277 n.49
----------------------------------	----------

[Psellus]

<i>Trag.</i> 1 (p. 26.2–4 Perusino)	307 n.63
-------------------------------------	----------

Ptolemaeus, Claudius

<i>Geog.</i> 8.10.3	176
---------------------	-----

[Ptolemaeus]

<i>Diff.</i> 391.29 Heylbut	123 n.53
-----------------------------	----------

Quintilianus*Inst.*

6.2.26	290 n.14
6.2.29–30	291
6.2.32	291 n.15
8.2.1–11	247 n.72
8.3.48	253
9.2.102	208 n.59

Rhianusfr. 9 Powell (*FGrHist* 265 F 51) 147 n.80**Rufus Ephesius***Anat. part. hom.* 116 Daremberg–Ruelle 274**Rutilius Lupus**

1.7 (p. 156 Barabino) 208 n.59

Sappho

fr. 80 Voigt 221 n.32

Schol. Aesch.*Ag.* 200 Smith 317 n.4*Eum.*

1a 304f.

64b 304f., 309

64c 303, 304 n.52

94a 303, 305, 310

117 303

140b 303

144 303

145 303

246b 308

Pers.

14 315–319

440 322

869–871 320f.

[*Pr.*] 10 320*Sept.*

51a 299

72a 320

78d 300 n.44

79a 300

80j 300

100a 300

158m 302 n.49

158s 302f.

182–183a 300

186a 302

374d 319 and n.9

Schol. Alcm.fr. 3.49ff. Calame (*CLGP* Alcm. 5.49ff.) 205**Schol. Ap. Rh.**

1.185–188a Wendel 224 n.43

2.704 226

2.896 224 n.43

2.1122a 224

3.1–5a 171 nn.25f.

3.240 224 n.42

3.409–410 221 n.32

4.57–58 224 n.42

Schol. Ar.*Av.*

17b Holwerda 208 n.58

76a 57 n.45

440 208 n.58

704a 208 n.58

988c 208 n.58

1121a 208 n.58

1296a 208 n.58

1363a 208 n.58

1378 208 n.58, 242 n.46

1403 56 n.37

1681b 208 n.58

1705a 208 n.58

Eq.

18a Jones 254 n.109

963a 208 n.58

979a 208 n.58

1129a 208 n.58

1150a 208 n.58

1256a 208 n.58

Nu.

100 Holwerda 255 n.116

Pa.

47c 254 n.110

Ra.

92b Chantry 208 n.58

153 53

222a 208 n.58

270a 208 n.58

850a 208 n.58

1212a 208 n.58

Th.

710 Regtuit 208 n.58

Ve.

1283e Koster 208 n.58

Schol. Call.*Io.* 95 Pfeiffer 221 n.32

Schol. Clem. Alex.

Protr. 2.22.1 141 n.51

Schol. Dion. Thr.

p. 229.32–36 Hilgard 169 n.17

p. 467.27 184

Schol. Eur.

Andr. 873 Schwartz 247 n.73

Hipp. 171 Cavarzeran 304 n.53, 311
n.76

Or. 256 Schwartz 293

Rh. 346.14–20 Merro 171 n.29

Schol. Hermog.

Id. 1.6 (*RhG* 7.963.12–964.4 Walz) 297
n.38

Schol. Hes.

Op. 1b Pertusi 163 n.3

56 167 n.13

54 167 n.13

76 171 n.27

Schol. Hom.

Batr. 104b 71

Il.

1.1 (C) 115 nn.25f., 118

1.1 (D) 119 n.39, 135

1.1 (h) 119 n.39

1.1b (D) 87 n.14

1.1e² (ex. [b]) 119

1.1f¹ (ex. [bT]) 119

1.2a (ex. [bT]) 119

1.2b (ex. [bT]) 119

1.2d (ex. [AbT]) 119

1.3 (C) 115 nn.24f.

1.3a (ex. [bT]) 119

1.3b¹ (ex. [bT]) 119

1.3c (ex. [bT]) 119

1.4b (ex. [bT]) 119

1.4c (ex. [bT]) 119

1.4d (ex. [bT]) 119

1.5 (C) 109f.

1.5 (D) 135 n.13, 120f.

1.5a (ex. [b]) 119

1.5c (ex. [bT]) 120f., 128

1.5–12 (C) 121, 127

1.6 (ex. [bT]) 128

1.7 (C) 109–111, 125

1.7 (D) 125 n.56

1.7a (ex. [bT]) 128

1.7b (ex. [bT]) 128

1.8 (C) 109, 111, 115 n.24

1.8 (D) 122 n.50

1.8–9 (ex. [b]) 128

1.8b (ex. [bT]) 128

1.9 (C) 109, 111, 115 n.25,
120, 125f.

1.9 (D) 126 n.57

1.10 (C) 109, 112, 122

1.10 (D) 122 and n.50

1.10a (ex. [bT]) 128

1.10b (ex. [bT]) 128

1.11 (C) 109, 112f., 115 n.25,
123

1.11 (D) 122 n.50

1.11b (ex. [bT]) 128

1.12 (C) 109, 113

1.12 (D) 122 n.50

1.13 (C) 115 n.26

1.15 (C) 115 nn.24, 26

1.24 (C) 115 n.25

1.25 (C) 115 n.26

1.26 (C) 115 n.24

1.30 (C) 115 n.24

1.33 (C) 115 n.24

1.37 (C) 115 n.26

1.37e (Ariston. [A]) 13 n.6

1.39 (D) 135f.

1.42 (D) 135 n.14, 136 nn.18f.

1.45 (D) 135 n.12

1.50 (C) 115 n.24

1.50 (D) 135 n.12

1.51 (C) 119 n.40

1.51 (D) 119 n.40

1.51c (Ariston. [A]) 13 n.6

1.52 (D) 135 n.12

1.53 (C) 115 n.24

1.54 (D) 71

1.56 (C) 115 n.26

1.59 (D) 72

1.85 (C) 115 n.26

1.86 (D) 135 n.12

1.96 (D)	123 n.53	1.449a (ex. [bT])	118 n.36
1.98 (C)	115 n.26	1.453 (ex. [bT])	118 n.36
1.98 (D ^{La})	150	1.458 (D)	135 n.11
1.114a (Hrd.)	197	1.477 (D ^{La})	150
1.117 (D)	135 n.11	1.477b (ex. [bT])	23 n.39
1.123 (D)	135 n.14	1.500 (D)	72
1.132 (D)	135 n.14	1.501 (D)	135 n.14, 136 n.18
1.160 (C)	115 n.26	1.505b (ex. [bT])	118 n.36
1.169–171 (ex. D [A])	142 n.60	1.505c (ex. [bT])	118 n.36
1.171 (D)	142f. and n.62	1.520 (D)	135 n.11
1.176 (D)	136	1.521 (D)	135 n.11
1.179 (C)	115 n.25	1.528b (ex. [A])	253 n.107
1.180 (D)	135 n.14	1.550 (D)	247
1.203b (ex. [bT])	116 n.36	1.554c (ex. [bT])	198 n.11
1.213 (D)	135 n.11	1.567 (D)	72
1.214 (D)	135 n.11	1.568 (D)	135 n.11
1.215 (D)	135 n.11	1.569 (D)	135 n.11
1.219 (D)	135 n.11	1.570 (D)	137 and n.34
1.220 (D)	135 n.11	1.572a (Ariston.[A])	123 n.53
1.223 (D)	135 n.11	1.579 (D)	135 n.14, 136 n.18
1.224 (D)	135 n.11	1.580 (D)	135 n.14
1.234 (D)	135 n.14	1.601 (D)	135 n.11
1.244c (Ariston.[A])	16 n.13	1.602 (D)	135 n.11
1.258 (D)	137	2.8b (Ariston.[A])	16 n.13
1.263 (D)	140 n.49	2.49b (Ariston.[A])	13 n.6
1.268 (D)	135 n.14	2.133a (Did. [A])	55
1.272 (D)	135 n.11	2.262b (Hrd.)	198 and n.10
1.273a ¹ (Did. [A])	93	2.336 (D)	316, 318 and n.6
1.273a ² (Did. [Ab])	93	2.360 (D)	91
1.278 (D)	135 n.11	2.397a (Ariston.[A])	102 n.75
1.287–289a (ex. [AbT])	118 n.36, 208 n.59	2.397b (Did. [A])	102 n.75
1.287–289b (ex. [bT])	118 n.36	2.397c (Did. [bT])	102 n.75
1.293 (D)	135 n.14, 136 nn.18f.	2.417a (Ariston.[A])	14 n.8
1.307 (D)	135 n.11	2.427b (Did. [A])	103 n.77
1.316 (D)	135 nn.11, 14, 136 nn.18f.	2.435 (D)	103 n.77
1.336–349 (C)	115 n.26	2.435a ¹ (Ariston.[A])	18 n.24
1.345 (C)	115 n.26	2.435c ² (ex. [A])	103 n.77
1.350 (C)	115 n.26	2.436a (Did. [A])	102 n.75
1.350b (Did. [A])	97	2.436b (Did. [T])	102 n.75
1.350–365 (C)	115 n.26	2.438 (Ariston.[A])	103 n.77
1.360 (D)	72	2.439a (Hrd. [A])	103 n.77
1.364b ² (Hrd. [bT])	198 and n.9	2.440 (Ariston.[A])	103 n.77
1.366 (D)	135 n.14, 136 n.18	2.440 (D)	103 n.77
1.431 (D)	135 n.11	2.447 (D)	103 n.77
1.432 (D)	135 n.11	2.450a ¹ (ex. [AT])	103 n.77
1.449 (D)	135 n.11	2.471 (D)	103 n.77
		2.474 (D)	103 n.77

- 2.478 (D) 103 n.77
 2.493 (Ariston.[A]) 103 n.77
 2.493 (D) 103 n.77
 2.494–877 254 n.114
 2.504 (D^{La}) 141, 143 and n.66
 2.504b (Hrd. [b]) 143 n.66
 2.535 (D^{La}) 150
 2.547 (D) 141 n.51
 2.571 (D^{La}) 143
 2.608 (Hrd. [A]) 103 n.77
 2.626a¹ (Ariston.[A]) 103 n.77
 2.643 (ex.? [A]) 103 n.77
 2.658 (D) 140 n.49
 2.663 (D) 154
 2.665a (Did. [A]) 102 n.75
 2.668 (Ariston.[A]) 95 n.48
 2.669 (Ariston.[A]) 95 n.48, 103 n.77
 2.671a¹ (Did. [A]) 102 n.75
 2.671a² (Did. [b]) 102 n.75
 2.677b (Hrd. [A]) 103 n.77
 2.689 (Ariston.[A]) 103 n.77
 2.694a (Ariston.[A]) 102 n.75
 2.694b (Did. [b]) 102 n.75
 2.695 (D) 154
 2.695a (Hrd. [A]) 103 n.77
 2.704 (D) 140 n.49
 2.721b (ex.? [A]) 103 n.77
 2.731 (Hrd. [A]) 103 n.77
 2.733 (Did. [A]) 103 n.77
 2.735a² (ex. [A]) 103 n.77
 2.739b (Hrd. [A]) 103 n.77
 2.742 (Ariston.[A]) 103 n.77
 2.755a (ex.? [A]) 103 n.77
 2.756b (Did. [A]) 103 n.77
 2.763 (Ariston.[A]) 103 n.77
 2.765 (D) 103 n.77
 2.780 (D) 154
 2.781–784 (ex.? [A]) 103 n.77
 2.795 (Did. [A]) 73, 103 n.77
 2.798 (D) 103 n.77
 2.798a (Did. [A]) 102 n.75
 2.798b (Hrd. [A]) 103 n.77
 2.802 (Ariston.[A]) 103 n.77
 2.811 (Hrd. [A]) 103 n.77
 2.814 (D) 140 n.49
 2.820 (Ariston.[A]) 103 n.77
 2.830 (Ariston.[A]) 103 n.77
 2.835a (Ariston.[A]) 103 n.77
 2.835b (Hrd.? [A]) 103 n.77
 2.852a (Ariston.[A]) 103 n.77
 2.865 (D) 154
 3.23 (D) 101
 3.23–27 (Nic. [A]) 101
 3.35d (Did.? | Hrd. [bT]) 198 n.12
 3.44b (Ariston.[A]) 317 n.4
 3.128a (Hrd. [A]) 196
 3.129 (D^{La}) 141
 3.131 (D^{La}) 141
 3.134 (D^{La}) 141
 3.217b (Hrd. [A]) 90 n.30
 3.219 (D) 72
 3.346 (D) 145 n.74
 3.362 (D^{La}) 144 n.67, 149
 4.17a (Did. [A]) 92
 4.67 (D) 154
 4.117a (Ariston.[A]) 199
 4.123a¹ (Ariston.[A]) 14 n.8
 4.132a (ex. [bT]) 208 n.58
 4.133c (ex. [bT]) 208 n.58
 4.140a (Ariston.[A]) 17 n.19
 4.161 (D) 144
 4.282a (Did. [A]) 92 n.40
 4.343a (Ariston.[A]) 12 n.3, 13
 4.456a (Ariston.[A]) 101 n.66
 4.456b (Did. [A]) 101 n.66
 4.458 (D) 140 n.49
 4.487 (D) 140 n.49
 4.491 (D) 140 n.49
 4.499 (D^{La}) 140 n.49
 4.504 (D^{La}) 141, 149 n.87
 4.505 (D^{La}) 141
 4.512–513 (ex. [bT]) 195
 4.513a (Ariston.[A]) 15 n.11, 16
 4.540 (Ariston.[A]) 17 n.19
 5.9 (D) 140 n.49
 5.57 (D^{La}) 149 n.87
 5.148 (D) 71
 5.156 (D^{La}) 141
 5.162a (Ariston.[A]) 19
 5.178 (D^{La}) 144 n.67, 149
 5.194a (Ariston.[A]) 16 n.13, 19 n.26
 5.236 (D^{La}) 150
 5.245 (D^{La}) 149f. n.87
 5.247 (D^{La}) 141

5.250 (D ^{La})	141	7.330a (ex. [T])	241 n.40
5.262a ¹ (Ariston.[A])	95	7.390 (Ariston.[A])	54 n.28
5.263a (Ariston.[A])	95	7.413 (Ariston.[A])	17 n.65
5.264 (Ariston.[A])	95	7.475a (Ariston.[A])	21 n.34
5.280 (D ^{La})	150 n.87	7.482a (Ariston.[A])	100 n.19
5.366 (D)	154	8.269 (D)	140 n.49
5.367 (D ^{La})	141	8.371–372a (Ariston.[A])	94
5.444 (D ^{La})	141	8.371–372b ¹ (Did.? [A])	94
5.447 (D ^{La})	144	8.371–372b ² (Did.? [A])	94
5.450 (D ^{La})	141	8.428a (Ariston.[A])	101 n.66
5.462 (D ^{La})	140 n.49, 141	8.428b ¹ (Did. [A])	101 n.66
5.469 (D ^{La})	141	8.513a ¹ (Did. [A])	93
5.494 (D ^{La})	141	8.513b (Ariston.[A])	14 n.10, 93
5.495 (D ^{La})	141	8.513d (ex. [A])	93
5.564 (D ^{La})	141	8.554 (D ^{La})	150
5.629 (D ^{La})	144 n.67, 149	9.54 (D ^{La})	141
5.653 (D ^{La})	141 n.50, 150 n.87	9.89 (Did. [A])	101 n.66
5.654 (D ^{La})	150 n.87	9.128b (Ariston.[A])	93f.
5.658 (D ^{La})	141 n.50	9.128c ¹ (Did. [T])	94
5.666 (D ^{La})	141	9.128c ² (Did. [A])	94, 100 n.65
5.751 (D ^{La})	150	9.168a (Ariston.[A])	31–33, 42f.
5.783 (D ^{La})	150 n.87	9.169a (Ariston.[A])	30 n.20, 32f., 42f.
5.784 (D ^{La})	150	9.235a (Ariston.[A])	101 n.66
5.805 (D ^{La})	141	9.235b (ex.? [A])	101 n.66
5.808 (D ^{La})	150 n.87	9.252b (ex. [bT])	255 n.116
5.812 (D)	146 n.77	9.261b (Ariston.[A])	15 n.11, 16 n.14
5.812 (ex. [T])	146 n.77	9.317 (Did. [A])	100 n.65
5.847 (D ^{La})	141 n.50	9.349 (Did. [A ^{im} T])	92
5.852 (D ^{La})	141	9.349–350 (Did. [A])	92
6.22 (D)	140 n.49	9.456 (D ^{La})	141
6.32 (D ^{La})	150	9.503b (ex. [bT])	294 n.26
6.40 (D ^{La})	143	9.616b (Ariston.[A])	54 n.28
6.44 (D ^{La})	145f.	9.653a (Did. [A])	101 n.66
6.53 (D [b])	143 n.64	9.653b (Ariston.[A])	101 n.66
6.87–89 (Nic. [A])	87 n.14	9.702 (D ^{La})	150 n.87
6.174a (Ariston.[A])	173 n.35	10.65–66 (ex. [T])	122
6.260a ² (Hrd. [A])	101 n.66	10.116 (Ariston.[A])	95 n.48
6.260b (Ariston.[A])	101 n.66	10.117 (Ariston.[A])	95 n.48
6.358	255 n.117	10.133 (D)	154
6.464b (Ariston.[A])	20 n.27	10.159b ¹ (ex. [T])	102
7.45 (D)	72	10.159b ² (D Ap.S.? ex. [A])	102
7.75a (Ariston.[A])	317 n.4	10.226 (Ariston.[A])	20 n.28
7.116b (Ariston.[A])	317 n.4	10.364 (D)	30f. n.23
7.125 (ex. [bT])	255 n.116	10.364b (Ariston.[A])	25–29, 43f.
7.136a (Ariston.[A])	317 n.4	10.418 (D)	144
7.175a (Ariston.[A])	100 n.65	10.435 (D)	172 n.29
7.253 (D ^{La})	141	11.4 (Ariston.[A])	293 n.23

- 11.32 (D) 100 n.65
 11.37 (D^{La}) 141
 11.38 (D^{La}) 141
 11.141b (ex. ? [A]) 90 n.30
 11.144b¹ (Did. [A]) 89 n.29
 11.146b¹ (Did. [A]) 89 n.29
 11.223 (D) 154
 11.390a (Ariston.[A]) 11 n.1, 14
 11.390b (ex. [bT]) 14
 11.395b² (Hrd. [A]) 100 n.65
 11.399 (D^{La}) 150
 11.403 (D^{La}) 150
 11.414 (D^{La}) 150
 11.532b (Ariston.[A]) 12 n.3
 11.553 (D^{La}) 150
 11.600a (Did. [A]) 100 n.65
 11.736 (D^{La}) 144 n.67, 147
 11.739 (D) 140 n.49
 11.786 (D) 146 n.77
 12.17 (D) 72
 12.25 (ex. [T]) 173 n.35
 12.136 (D^{La}) 141
 12.239 (Ariston.[A]) 73
 12.259 (D^{La}) 150
 12.328 (D^{La}) 141 n.50
 12.339 (D^{La}) 150
 12.342 (D^{La}) 140 n.49
 12.414 (D^{La}) 150
 13.103 (D^{La}) 142
 13.213 (D^{La}) 141
 13.242 (D^{La}) 141
 13.243 (D^{La}) 141
 13.276–287 (Ariston.[A]) 19 and n.25
 13.346b (Ariston.[A]) 28 n.12, 29 nn. 13
 and 18
 13.346c (ex. [T]) 30 n.19
 13.363c (ex. [bT]) 18 n.21
 13.426a (Ariston.[A]) 14 n.8
 13.477b (ex. [bT]) 18 n.21
 13.485a³ (Did. [A]) 101 n.66
 13.485c (ex. [A]) 101 n.66
 13.492 (D^{La}) 150 n.87
 13.752 (D) 154
 13.755 (D) 154
 13.813 (D^{La}) 141 n.50
 14.16a (Ariston.[A]) 11 n.1, 15
 14.38c (Hrd. [A]) 169 n.17
 14.114a (Ariston.[A]) 20–23
 14.117 (Ariston.[A]) 316
 14.120 (D) 72
 14.202b¹ (Did. [A]) 97
 14.214a (Ariston.[A]) 14 n.8
 14.424a (Ariston.[A]) 17 n.19
 14.439a (Ariston.[A]) 14 n.8
 14.445 (D) 154
 14.485a (Ariston.[A]) 17
 14.512 (D) 154
 15.16a (ex. [T]) 195
 15.16b (ex. [bT]) 18 n.21
 15.23 (D^{La}) 141
 15.27 (D) 72
 15.107 (D^{La}) 150 n.87
 15.122a (Ariston.[A]) 15 n.11, 16
 15.122b (ex. [T]) 18 n.22
 15.232a¹ (Did. [A]) 101 n.66
 15.245 (D^{La}) 150
 15.252b (Ariston.[A]) 12 n.3
 15.263 (D^{La}) 150
 15.264 (D^{La}) 141
 15.293 (Ariston.[A]) 317 n.4
 15.336 (Ariston.[A]) 17 n.18
 15.366 (D^{La}) 141 n.50
 15.437–438 (Ariston.[A]) 19 n.25
 15.525 (D) 140 n.49
 15.679 (D^{La}) 144 n.67
 16.30b (Ariston.[A]) 15 n.11, 16 nn.13f.
 16.61b (ex. [T]) 18 n.21
 16.62a (Ariston.[A]) 15 n.11, 16 n.13, 18
 n.21
 16.100(?)–150 (*P.Ant.* 3.150) 65, 74f.
 16.142a (Ariston.[A]) 14 n.8
 16.152 (D) 140 n.49
 16.163a (Ariston.[A]) 21
 16.163b (ex. [bT]) 21
 16.260 (D) 146 n.77
 16.260b (ex. [bT]) 146 n.77
 16.317c (Nic. [A]) 100 n.65
 16.227b (Did. [A]) 96
 16.401a (Ariston.[A]) 100 n.65
 16.636a¹ (Ariston.[A]) 16 n.13
 17.35 (Ariston.[A]) 17 n.18
 17.40 (D) 139 n.49
 17.216–218 (ex. [bT]) 244 n.58
 17.556 (D) 146 n.77

17.556a (ex.? [bT])	146 n.77	24.58 (D)	153 n.88
17.557 (D ^{La})	150	24.60 (D)	153 n.88
17.561 (D)	140 n.49	24.62 (D)	153 n.88
17.599a (Ariston.[A])	95	24.63 (D)	153 n.88
17.599b (Ariston.[A])	95	24.78 (D)	153 n.88
17.611 (D)	140 n.49	24.80 (D)	153 n.88
18.222b ¹ (Ariston.[A])	23	24.94 (D)	153 n.88
18.331 (ex. [bT])	316	24.128 (D)	153 n.88
18.351 (D)	154	24.157 (D)	154 n.88
18.486 (D)	138 n.37	24.158 (D)	154 n.88
18.514 (D)	146 n.77	24.166 (D)	153 n.88
18.514–515b (ex. [bT])	146 n.77	24.172 (D)	153 n.88
18.557b (Did.)	100 n.65	24.187 (D)	153 n.88
18.583a (Ariston.[A])	29 nn.13 and n.18	24.249–251 (ex. [bT])	254
18.583b (ex. [bT])	29 nn.13, 30 n.19	24.250 (D)	140 n.49
19.67b (Ariston.[A])	15 n.11, 16 n.14	24.269 (D)	153 n.88
19.119 (D ^{La})	144 n.67, 146f.	24.270 (D)	153 n.88
19.365–368a ¹ (Did. [A])	199 and n.14	24.272 (D)	153 n.88
19.383 (D)	146 n.77	24.282 (Ariston.[A])	26–28, 31, 33, 42–44
20.2a (ex. [bT])	146 n.77	24.335 (D)	154
20.153 (D)	72	24.341 (D)	153 n.88
20.277 (D [bT])	146 n.77	24.345 (D)	153 n.88
21.172c (Ariston.[A])	17 n.16	24.357 (D)	153 n.88
21.200 (Ariston.[AT])	17	24.367 (D)	153 n.88
21.218a (Ariston.[A])	201 n.26	24.372 (D)	153 n.88
21.247a (Ariston.[A])	101 n.66	24.392 (D)	153 n.88
21.247b (Did. [A])	101 n.66	24.395 (Ariston.[A])	15 n.11, 16 n.14
21.262c (ex. [Ge])	208 n.58	24.409 (D)	154 n.88
21.269a (ex. [bT])	309 n.71	24.413 (D)	154
21.317a ¹ (Ariston.[A])	101 n.66	24.434 (D)	153 n.88
21.319d (ex. [Ge])	21 n.33	24.446 (D)	153 n.88
21.325b (ex. [Ge])	208 n.58	24.451 (D)	154
21.508 (D)	154	24.462 (D)	153 n.88
21.541a ¹ (Ariston.[A])	101 n.66	24.487 (D)	153 n.88
21.541a ² (Ariston.[A])	101 n.66	24.506 (D)	153 n.88
22.85c (Ariston.[A])	317 n.4	24.514 (D)	153 n.88
22.480a ² (Ariston.[A])	23 n.37	24.525 (D)	153 n.88
22.494a (Ariston.[A])	22 n.36	24.556 (D)	153 n.88
23.256 (Ariston.[A])	20 n.27	24.559 (D)	154
23.328 (D)	154	24.566 (D)	154
23.463 (D)	154	24.569 (D)	154
23.543b (Ariston.[A])	15 n.11, 16 n.13	24.570 (D)	153 n.88
23.679a (Ariston.[A])	14 n.8	24.572 (D)	154
23.762 (D)	146 n.77	24.578 (D)	153 n.88
23.762a (ex. [bT])	146 n.77	24.592 (D)	154
24.1–804 (D)	151–154	24.595 (D)	154
24.54c (Ariston.[A])	11–12	24.598 (D)	153 n.88

- 24.637 (D) 153 n.88
 24.662 (D) 153 n.88
 24.673 (D) 153 n.88
 24.731 (D) 153 n.88
 24.739 (D) 153 n.88
 24.752 (D) 154
Od.
 1.1j (ex. [Y]) Pontani 163 n.3
 1.2a (V [CHM^aQTVY]) 72f.
 1.11a (ex. [DE²e]) 163 n.3
 1.143e2 (V [IM^a]) 71
 1.231f1 (V [V^{o2}]) 248
 1.231h (V [BP]) 248
 1.234g1 (V [BHINV]) 72
 1.234g2 (V [M^aY]) 72
 1.276 (ex [DEJN]) 247 n.73
 2.312d (ex. [DEHM^a]) 56
 3.68d (ex. [D]) 316, 318 n.6
 3.71a (Ariston.[DHM^a]) 53, 54 n.27,
 56
 3.258f (Ariston.[EM^aTVYs]) 20 n.27
 4.247b (Nican.[M^aY]) 72
 4.370d (Did. [M²]) 72
 4.442c (Ariston.[HOP¹]) 22 n.37
 4.451d (Ariston.[HP¹]) 19 n.25
 4.642b (v.l.? [M^a]) 71
 4.709b1 (Ariston.[HP¹]) 22 n.37
 5.185d (Did. [HP]) 56
 5.247a (Ariston.[BHM^aPT]) 53
 6.8c3 (Ariston.[HNY]) 69
 6.14 (alleg. [M^aYBCI]) 72
 6.195 (ex. [T]) 69
 6.273a (v.l. [M^a]) 69
 6.297c (Did. [H]) 54–57
 7.21 Dindorf 154
 7.79 69
 8.5c1 71
 8.7 71
 8.29a1 73
 8.163 56
 8.195 73
 8.206 69
 8.567 69
 9.259 (D) 73
 10.190 73
 10.329 199
 13.278a 72
 13.302 69
 15.31 200
 16.239 200
 17.52 71
 18.282 53, 54 nn.25, 27
 24.1 166 n.15
Schol. Lucian.
Im. 16–17 Rabe 171 n.27
Schol. Lyc.
 418b Leone 226
 440a 221
 1276 179 n.49
Schol. Nic.
Alex. 32d2 Geymonat 272 n.37
Ther. 237 Crugnola 214 n.4
Schol. Opp.
Hal.
 1.78, p. 266 Bussemaker 173 n.34
 1.335, p. 280 243 n.51
 1.559, p. 290 243 n.51
Schol. vet. Pind.
Isthm.
 1.11c Drachmann 204 n.44
 1.15b 249
 1.26a 244
 1.55–56 244
 1.76b 254
 1.79 205 and n.47
 2.19a 251, 252 n.100
 4.47c 252
 4.63a 237 n.19, 252 n.102
 4.110c 240
 4.140 205 and n.48
 6.47e 246 n.70
 7.1a 255
 8.93c 241f.
 8.95b 252
Nem.
 1.25b 252 n.100
 1.49b–c 238
 1.74a 248
 1.76 244

1.104b	239	6.78h	240
3.38b	237	6.106a	247
3.45b	237f.	6.106d	247
3.45c	238	6.170d	240 n.32
3.80	246	7.27b	246 n.65
4.60b	238f.	7.146a	248
5.10a	244, 245 and n.60	7.146b	249 and n.83
5.25b	254 n.109	8.48	246
5.89a	26 n.65	9.3f	246
6.42	236 n.19	9.15b	247
6.71	236 n.19	9.74a	233 n.2
6.71c	236 n.19	9.119a	249
7.1a	250	9.119e	249 n.86
7.35a	203f. and n.40	10.55b	203, 205 n.47
7.56a	204 n.44	10.55c	203 n.33
7.70	204 n.44	10.91	245f.
8.32a	238 n.23	13.12d	245
8.114b	238 n.24	13.12e	245 n.61
9.20	251	13.97a	242f.
9.40	257	13.114b	245 n.62
10.4	256	14 <i>inscr.</i> b–c	224
11 <i>inscr.</i> a	204 and n.43	14.2	225 n.45
<i>Ol.</i>		14.27c	250 n.90
1.9d	247	<i>Pyth.</i>	
1.20c–d	246	1 <i>inscr.</i> a	250
2.44	240 n.32	1.109	204 and n.46
2.96	221 n.32	1.101a	247
2.157b	247	1.167a	240f.
2.158b	247	1.172	202
2.161b	237 n.20	2 <i>inscr.</i>	204 and n.42
2.162a	240 n.34	2.31–36c	215
2.162b	240	2.155d	254 n.112
3.1c	246	3.48d	249 n.88
3.33c	245 n.63	3.52b	249 n.88
4.1e	246 n.68	3.141a–b	253
4.29d–e	224 n.43	3.158a	243
4.31b	249	3.160	244
4.31b–c	224 n.43	3.167a	240, 247
4.32a–c	224 n.43	3.198c	246 n.68
5.42a	213	4 <i>inscr.</i> a	236
6.8b	249	4.44b	242 n.48
6.23a	204 n.44	4.123b	254 n.113
6.55a	248 n.82	4.156b	248 n.79
6.48c	70	4.160a	247 n.74, 248
6.78a	239	4.274c	252 n.100
6.78f	239 n.30	4.303a	243
6.78g	239 n.31	4.370	242

4.371	242
4.398d	221 n.32
4.447b	246 n.66
4.518a	250
5.1a	221 n.32
6.11	241
7.6a	252 n.100
7.14	249 n.85
8.136c	250
9.185a	249
9.119c	243
10.46b	236
10.51b	251
10.56a	251 n.97
10.79b	237
10.85a	252 n.102
11.23b	237
11.58a	237
12.25a–54a	215
12.45b	241
fr. 52i (<i>Pae.</i> 2.5) Maehler	220
fr. 52b (<i>Pae.</i> 2.37)	218, 220
fr. 52d (<i>Pae.</i> 4.4)	219
fr. 52b (<i>Pae.</i> 8.143ff.)	221f., 224f. and n.45
fr. 169a.11	226

Schol. rec. Pind.

<i>Ol.</i>	
1.4	242 n.48
2.162	243 n.49
<i>Pyth.</i>	
1.157–160	238 n.24
10.56	240 n.32

Schol. Soph.

<i>Ai.</i> 1123 Papageorgius	250 n.94
------------------------------	----------

Schol. Theocr.

16.104–105 Wendel	225 and n.45
-------------------	--------------

Schol. Thuc.

1.46.5 Hude	122 n.51
-------------	----------

Servius

<i>Aen.</i> 1.8	169 n.16, 170 n.21
-----------------	--------------------

Sextus Empiricus*Math.*

1.57	34 n.31, 39 n.58
1.60–61	39 n.58
1.72–74	39 n.58
1.79	40
1.154	37 n.42
1.176–240	35
1.250–251	34 n.31
7.242–246	301 n.47
8.64	302 n.48
8.67	301f. nn.47f.

Simonides

<i>PMG</i> 557 (fr. 277 Poltera)	294
----------------------------------	-----

<i>PMG</i> 602 (fr. 310 Poltera)	233
----------------------------------	-----

Solon

fr. 8.3 Gentili–Prato ²	
(fr. 6.3 W. ²)	245 n.61

Sophocles

fr. 523 Radt ²	294
---------------------------	-----

Stephanus Byzantius

α 132 Billerbeck	214 n.4
β 106	226 n.49
κ 169	214 n.4
κ 300	214 n.4

Stesichorus

Tb47 Ercoles	235
--------------	-----

Strabo

1.2.2	43 n.77
9.2.18	177

Suda

α 936 Adler	12 n.3
α 3932	329
α 3933	55f.
α 3936	55
β 234	14 n.10
α1 226	254 n.110
α1 255	273
ε 2020	209 n.61
ε 2064	71

ε 2238	209 n.61
κ 2308	11 n.1, 14
κ 2388	17 n.16
μ 805	71
μ 1291	163 n.3
μ 1406	274
σ 1182	122 n.51
σ 1183	123 n.52

Synagoge

α 86 Cunningham	71 n.54
α 209	273
ε 237	73
ε 610	71
μ 186	71
σ 249	122 n.51
σ 250	123 n.52

Theocritus

13.45	171 n.28
-------	----------

Theognis

153	245 n.61
-----	----------

Theognostus

<i>Orth.</i>	
(<i>An.Ox.</i> 2.128.12 Crammer)	267 n.20

Theon

41a Guhl	224 n.43
43a–b	221 n.33
44a–b	221 n.33
54a	224 n.42
72a	221 n.33
76a	224 n.42
83a–b	221 n.33
84a	221 n.32
84b	221 n.32
93a–b	221 n.33
94a–b	221 n.33
95a–c	221 n.33
96a–b	221 n.33

Theophrastus

Appendix F 9 Fortenbaugh	12
--------------------------	----

Thucydides

1.9.4	70 n.49
1.10.4	70 n.49
3.107.1	121 n.51

Timocreon

fr. 10 West	234 n.6
-------------	---------

Timotheus Grammaticus

<i>Can.cath. synt.</i>	
(<i>An.Par.</i> 4.239–244 Cramer)	264 n.9

[Tryphon]

<i>Pass.</i>	
1.18 Schneider	22 n.35
2.16	22 n.35

Tzetzes, Iohannes

<i>All. Od.</i>	
5.104–105 Hunger	165 n.6
<i>Carm. II.</i>	
3.177–184	167 n.11
<i>De metr.</i>	
p. 302.18 Cramer	181 n.56
<i>Epigr. 2 = Proll. in Op.</i>	
ll. 15–26 Colonna	165 n.6
<i>Exeg. II.</i>	
3–6 Papatthomopoulos	120 n.43
8.1–13	127
101.3–9	109
101.11–14	109
101.17–19	109
102.1	109
103.10–16	109
103.10–104.6	125
104.1–6	109
104.9–11	109
105.1–3	109
105.4–7	109
106.4–8	109
106.9–12	109
107.9–108.4	109
109.17	109
109.19–110.2	109
110.20–111.9	109
111.9–11	109

111.13–14 109

423.10–16 127

Hist.

6.916–926 165 n.6

6.927–940 165 n.6

In [Hes.] Op.

1 Gaisford 161–165

In [Hes.] Scut.

216 Gaisford 316

In Hes. Th.

20.26–32 Bekker 166f.

In Lyc.

831 Scheer 172 n.29

1275 Scheer 181 n.56

Schol. Carm. II.

2.465a, p. 208.8–9 Leone 165 n.6

3.183a, p. 218.10–13 Leone 167 n.11

Varro*Ant. rer. div. fr.* 212 Cardauns 170 n.19*Ling.*

8.23 35–37

8.63 42 n.70

8.68 42 n.70

9.1 35–37, 43

fr. 282 Funaioli 203

Vibius Sequester

1.117 179 n.49

Vita Aeschyli

7 (T 1.25–26 Radt) 307

9 (T 1.30–32 Radt) 303, 307

14 (T 1.53–57 Radt) 307

Zeno

SVF 1.64 299 and n.40

Zenobius vulgatus

6.50 Leutsch–Schneidewin 170 n.21

[Zonaras]*Lex.*

258.16 Tittmann 73

608.14 329

1213.11 329

1214.11 329

1252.8 277 n.49

1298.3 328